

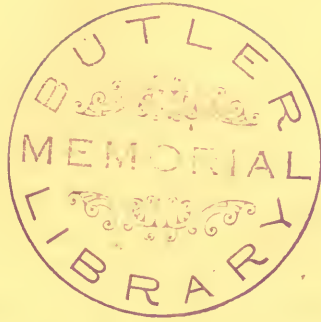
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HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES



VOL. I

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES,

FROM

THE EARLIEST PERIOD

TO THE

ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON.

BY

J. A. SPENCER, D. D.,

MEMBER OF THE AMERICAN ETHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY AUTHOR OF "EGYPT AND THE HOLY
LAND," ETC., ETC., ETC.

Illustrated with highly Finished Steel Engravings,

INCLUDING

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TO THE
PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

IN MEMORY
OF
The Lusty Principles and Noble Deeds
OF
THE MEN WHO FOUNDED THE UNION,

ONE AND FOREVER,
THE
INDISSOLUBLE BOND OF OUR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE,

This History

IS RESPECTFULLY AND EARNESTLY

DEDICATED.

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P R E F A C E .

IN presenting to the public a new HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, the indulgence of the reader is asked to a few preliminary remarks respecting the object had in view in these volumes, and the claims which they have upon the attention of the American people.

The one great object ever before me has been to present a truthful, impartial, and readable narrative of the origin, rise, and progress of that mighty Republic which, extending from ocean to ocean, is destined to assume yet higher rank, and to wield larger and larger influence among the family of nations. Having an entire and thorough conviction of the superintending care and control of Divine Providence in our country's affairs; having no ends to gain but those of truth and right; having no theories to establish, no partisan views or wishes to gratify; I have honestly endeavored to ascertain what the truth is, and then to set it forth as clearly, and as fully, as was possible within the limits to which I was restricted. Mere speculations on historic points, I have avoided; attempts to penetrate or pronounce upon the motives of men and nations, beyond what may be regarded as plainly and fairly deducible from their acts, I have deemed of little value; and, in general, I have preferred to leave the intelligent reader to draw his own conclusion from an impartial presentation of the facts and circumstances of the case. At the same time, in cases of difficulty or doubt, I have carefully and conscientiously sought to compare and sift conflicting accounts, and to arrive at that which seemed to be the nearest approximation to the truth which, probably, under the circumstances, can now be attained.

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Book First.



FROM THE
DISCOVERY OF AMERICA
TO THE
ACCESSION OF WILLIAM III.



1492—1689.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

1492—1609.

EARLY VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES.

Voyages of the Northmen—Vinland—State of Knowledge on this Subject in the 15th century—Christopher Columbus—His early life, his genius, labors and success—Discovery of America—Origin of the name—Amerigo Vespucci—Sebastian Cabot's voyages—Cortereal—Ponce de Leon—Verrazzani—Cartier—Robertval—De Soto—Ribault, Melendez, De Gourgues—Champlain—Canada, Acadie, New France.

It is not unlikely that the Western Continent had been visited by some chance adventurers before the period when it was made known to Europe

by COLUMBUS. The researches of 1492. modern days into American antiquities seem to have established, with tolerable certainty, the fact, that about the year of our Lord 1000, some of

those daring navigators known 1000. as the "NORTHMEN," did accidentally discover a part of the Continent of America, which they named "Vinland;" and it may be that repeated voyages were made, and even colonies planted in the new world. But this discovery, and the many or few visits

which were made to the region "Vinland," produced no impression upon the old world, and ere long everything connected with the Northmen and their voyages was buried in oblivion; moreover, as Mr. Wheaton justly observes, "there is not the slightest reason to believe that the illustrious Genoese was acquainted with the Discovery of North America by the Normans five centuries before his time, however well authenticated that fact now appears to be by the Icelandic records to which we have referred."*

* "History of the Northmen, or Danes and Normans, from the Earliest Times to the Conquest of England by William of Normandy." By Henry

It is certain, as Mr. Irving states, "that at the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the most intelligent minds were seeking in every direction for the scattered lights of geographical knowledge, a profound ignorance prevailed among the learned as to the western regions of the Atlantic; its vast waters were regarded with awe and wonder, seeming to bound the world as with a chaos, into which conjecture could not penetrate, and enterprise feared to adventure."* Few, at that time, dared, even in dreams, to think of venturing forth upon the great and stormy ocean, and no man living probably ever imagined the existence of those vast regions which lay beyond the Atlantic. Doubtless many a one thought, and thought deeply and earnestly, upon these things, and we may well believe that many a one desired much to know what it was deemed almost presumption to suppose could ever be known by mortal man. But there was no man who determined resolutely, and with unflinching intrepidity, which we at this day cannot at all adequately appreciate, to launch forth upon the unknown and trackless waste of waters, before the illustrious, enthusiastic, and noble-hearted CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS arose to set his face

westward, and open for ever after the pathway to the New World.

This truly great man was born in the city of Genoa about the year 1435, and had two brothers and one sister younger than himself. His parents were poor, but they were able to give him, at the University of Pavia, the advantage of instruction in the Latin language, geometry, cosmography, astronomy, and drawing. His progress was rapid and successful. Strongly bent upon becoming a sailor, at the early age of fourteen, he made his first voyage in company with a hardy old sea captain of the same name as his father. After many years of adventure and various fortunes Columbus, in 1470, removed to Lisbon, which city, at that time, owing to the ability and sagacity of Prince Henry of Portugal, was the most busy port in Europe for commercial enterprise. He shortly after was married to the daughter of a distinguished navigator recently deceased.

The active and ardent spirit of Columbus was deeply stirred within him by reflection and study, respecting the possibility of reaching the rich and attractive East Indies by sailing directly across the Western Ocean. Heretofore the commodities of the far East had been brought overland by a long, tedious and expensive journey; if a new route could be struck out, especially by water, and if the distance could be shortened—as was then currently believed to be possible in a westerly direction—it was certain to bring untold wealth into the hands of that nation which first succeeded in

Wheaton, LL.D., p. 31. The reader who wishes further information may consult Wheaton's volume to advantage; also the "*Antiquitates Americaneæ*," edited by Prof. Rafn, 1837.

* Irving's "*Life and Voyages of Columbus*," vol. i., p. 20. In proof of the statement made above, the author cites a passage from Xerif al Edrisi, a distinguished Arabian writer, which is a curious illustration of the views and feelings of even well-informed and intelligent men of that day.

opening the pathway to the Indies. Columbus was sure that, as the earth was spherical, if one sailed directly *West* he must in due time reach the lands of the *East*, and discover also any islands or lands which might lie between Europe and Asia. The more he thought of the matter the more sure he became, and when once he had reached a conclusion, it was with him a fixed and unalterable conclusion. Henceforth his only aim was how to get the means to prove the truth of his convictions, by actually sailing over the Atlantic Ocean to find the land of Cathay, or the easternmost regions of Asia. "It is singular," as Mr. Irving remarks in this connection, "how much the success of this great undertaking depended upon two happy errors, the imaginary extent of *Asia* to the East, and the supposed smallness of the earth; both, errors of the most learned and profound philosophers, but without which Columbus would hardly have ventured upon his enterprise."*

He offered his services first to John II., king of Portugal; but having been deceived and very unhandsomely treated by the king and his advisers, and also having, some time before, lost his wife, he took his son Diego, and in 1484, bade adieu to Portugal.

1484. Columbus next repaired to Spain, and made his suit at the court of Ferdinand and Isabella. The weary years of waiting upon the court of the impassive, calculating Ferdinand, the coldness, the repulses, the neglect, the sneers of contempt, the absurd preju-

dice and conceited ignorance which he encountered, might well have worn out a man less resolute and determined than was Columbus; but he never faltered in his course; he never gave up his great plan and purpose; and his constancy and courage finally obtained their just reward. "Let those, then, who are disposed to faint under difficulties, in the prosecution of any great and worthy undertaking, remember that *eighteen years* elapsed after the time that Columbus conceived his enterprise, before he was enabled to carry it into effect; that the greater part of that time was passed in almost hopeless solicitation, amidst poverty, neglect, and taunting ridicule; that the prime of his life had wasted away in the struggle, and that when his perseverance was finally crowned with success, he was about his fifty-sixth year. His example should encourage the enterprising never to despair."*

At last, through the generous impulses of the noble-hearted Isabella, and the substantial seconding of the family of the Pinzons, Columbus was enabled, on Friday, August 3d, 1492, to embark on his adventurous voyage. His expedition consisted of only three caravels or small vessels, the *Santa Maria*, the *Pinta*, and the *Niña*.

1492. Happily preserved from the violence of storms, on Friday, the 12th of October, 1492, the eyes of Columbus were gladdened by the full view of land: the great mystery of the ocean lay revealed before him; the theory which wise and learned men had scoffed

* Irving's "*Life and Voyages of Columbus*," vol. i., p. 53.

* Irving's "*Life and Voyages of Columbus*," vol. i. p. 118.

at was now triumphantly established; and Columbus had secured to himself a glory as lasting as the world itself. The land thus reached proved to be the island Guanahani—now called *Cat Island*, one of the Bahamas*—which Columbus named SAN SALVADOR, in token of his devout gratitude to God our Saviour.

Of the further and important voyages and discoveries of Columbus, and ¹⁴⁹³ ^{to} ^{1503.} of the varied fortune which it was his lot to meet with, it is not our present purpose to speak. Envy, detraction, injustice and cruelty embittered his latter days. Deprived of the honor, which was only his just due, of giving his name to the newly discovered world, and rendered hopeless of all redress by the death, in 1504, of his patron and fast friend, the good queen Isabella, Columbus died at Valladolid, May 20th, 1506, at peace with the world, and sustained in his last hours by the hopes and consolations of the Christian religion. The selfish Ferdinand did indeed order a monument to his memory, with the motto taken from Columbus's coat of arms—A CASTILLA Y A LEON NUEVO MUNDO DIO COLON: *To Castile and Leon Columbus gave a new world*—but it could add nothing to the fame of Columbus; it simply serves to stamp the character and conduct of Ferdinand as one who was an unfeeling, ungenerous, ungrateful king.

* Mr. George Gibbs, in an interesting paper read before the New York Historical Society, Oct. 6th, 1846, presents several cogent reasons for believing that the *Grand Turk Island* was the one which Columbus first touched at: his paper is worth examining.

The name AMERICA which was applied to a portion of the Western Continent soon after its discovery, and which has now become its unalterable title, took its rise from a ^{1499.} voyage made in 1499* by Amerigo Vespucci, a distinguished Florentine navigator. Vespucci wrote several letters in Latin to Lorenzo de Medici, one of which was printed in 1505, being the first of his narratives that was published. He also wrote a letter, dated Lisbon, September 4th, 1504, addressed to René, duke of Lorraine, in which it is claimed that he discovered the main land in 1497. Now, as he was a man of superior learning and intelligence, and as his name was thus publicly connected with the New World as the Discoverer of the Continent—although he was not the first to reach Terra Firma. Columbus, and Cabot, and others having preceded him—it happened that a famous cosmographer, Martin Waldseemüller, of Fribourg, patronized by René, thought good, in 1507, to apply this name AMERICA to the New World. The geographical works of Waldseemüller, who styled himself by the Grecianized title, *Hylacomylas*, went through repeated editions, and thus the name America became familiarized to the larger part of the civilized world. And so must it remain, though there can hardly be any one who can repress a sigh of regret at the injustice which has thus been done to Columbus.

* Mr. C. E. Lester (*Life and Voyages of Americus Vespuccius*," pp. 93—108,) argues in favor of an earlier voyage, said to have been made in 1497: Mr. Irving has, however, successfully controverted this view, and his authority is followed in the text. (See *Life of Columbus*," vol. iii., pp. 330—345.)

The marvellous discovery of a new world aroused the spirit of maritime enterprise in England, and to one of her sons indisputably belongs the glory of having first reached the Continent of NORTH AMERICA. England had not yet assumed that position of preëminence in naval affairs which she afterwards acquired. Long and exhausting civil wars had prevented the development of that active energy and hardy endurance which have since characterized the natives of England on the ocean. Yet when the news of what Columbus had done reached England, Henry VII., a shrewd and thrifty monarch, was ready at once to enter into competition for the prizes which the new world might disclose. Accordingly he availed himself with eagerness of the offer of John Cabot, a Venetian* merchant, residing in Bristol, to fit out several vessels for discovery which might be made any where north of the route originally taken by Columbus. In a patent obtained from the king, and signed at Westminster,

1496. March 5th, 1496, Cabot was authorized, with his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian and Sancius, "to saile to all parts, countreys and seas of the East, of the West, and of the North, under our banners and ensigns, with

* Charlevoix ("*Travels, &c., in 1720,*") notices a point connected with early discoveries in America well worth remembering:—"I cannot dispense with a passing remark. It is very glorious to Italy, that the three powers which now divide between them almost the whole of America, owe their first discoveries to Italians—the Spanish to Columbus, a Genoese, the English to John Cabot and his sons, Venetians, and the French to Verrazzani, a citizen of Florence." Sebastian Cabot, however, as noted above, was a native of England.

five ships, of what burden or quantitie soever they may be, and as many mariners and men as they will have with them in the said ships, upon their own proper cost and charges, to seeke out, discover and find whatsoever isles, countreys, regions or provinces of the heathen and infidels, whatsoever they may be, and in what part of the world soever they may be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians."* The expedition sailed under the command of Sebastian Cabot, who was born in Bristol, England, a youthful but sagacious mariner, and on June 24th, 1497, they discovered land, which was a part of the coast of Labrador, and which they named Prima Vista: they saw also an island, which they called St. John's Island, from the day on which it was discovered: it was "full of white bears, and staggas, far greater than the English."† Disappointed in his expectation of finding a north-west passage to the land of Cathay, or the Indies, with its marvels and wonders, as old Marco Polo tells them, Cabot returned to England. He made a second voyage to America, the particulars of which have been but scantily preserved. On a third voyage, in 1517, Hudson's Bay was undoubtedly entered, and Cabot penetrated to about the sixty-seventh degree of north latitude; but his crew, terrified by the fields of ice, in the month of July, clamored for a return, and Cabot reluctantly sailed back to England. This eminent navigator, having lived to a

* Hakluyt's "*Voyages and Discoveries,*" vol. II., p. 6.

† See Hayward's "*Life of Sebastian Cabot,*" p. 8.

good old age, after many and various adventures, died in the city of London. It is an instructive lesson of the uncertainty of human distinction, that although he gave a continent to England, neither the date of his death is known, nor does the humblest monument show where his remains lie interred.

In 1498, Vasco de Gama, under the patronage of Emanuel, king
1498. of Portugal, an able and enterprising monarch, doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and opened to the Portuguese a new and most important route to the Indies. The same king sent

1501. Gaspar Cortereal with two vessels to explore the north-western ocean. This navigator sailed some seven hundred miles along the shores of North America. His only exploit was the kidnapping a number of the natives, and carrying them to Portugal as slaves.

Juan Ponce de Leon, a hardy old Spanish warrior, and one of the companions of Columbus, having conquered Porto Rico, greatly enriched himself by the compulsory labor of the unhappy natives. But, growing in years, and ill content to let go his grasp upon the possessions for which he had fought and toiled, he listened to the romantic story of that miraculous fountain fabled to restore to youth and vigor all who bathed in its waters. He actually set
 out to find this wonder of nature.
1512.

In the course of his voyage, on Easter Sunday, March 27th, which the Spaniards call *Pascua de Flores*, he discovered that peninsula which separates the Gulf of Mexico from the Atlantic. It was the beautiful season of

flowers, and from this as well as the day on which he saw the land, he gave to the new region the name of FLORIDA. On his return from Spain some
1521 years after, he was unable to effect a settlement in consequence of the hostility excited among the natives by previous injustice and ill usage.

It was about this date that another famous Spanish captain, Vasco
 Nuñez de Balboa, discovered the
1513. *Pacific Ocean*. This memorable event took place on the 26th September, 1513. It certainly was one of the most sublime discoveries that had yet been made in the New World, and must, as Mr. Irving says, have opened a boundless field of conjecture to the wondering Spanish adventurers who from the mountain summit gazed down upon the vast ocean, with its waters glittering in the morning sun.

The hardy English and French mariners had engaged with zeal and success in the productive fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland at the beginning of the century. Fishermen from Brittany discovered and named
 CAPE BRETON in 1504. "This
1504 fishery," says Hildreth, "on the coast and bank of NEWFOUNDLAND formed the first link between Europe and North America, and, for a century, almost the only one."*

Francis I. of France, although busily occupied in his contests with the astute and powerful Charles V. of Spain and Germany, was not wholly unaware of the importance of giving due attention to discoveries and settlements in the New

* Hildreth's "*History of the United States*," vol. i., p. 37.

World. Accordingly, he engaged Juan Verrazzani, a Florentine, to explore, on his behalf, new regions in the unknown West. With a single vessel, the Dolphin, this mariner left Madeira, and wrote to the king a description of his discoveries, which was the earliest ever penned, and which is remarkable for its freshness and graphic clearness. After "as sharp and terrible a tempest as ever sailors suffered, whereof with the Divine help and merciful assistance of Almighty God, and the goodness of our ship, *accompanied with the good-hap of her fortunate name—the Dolphin—we were delivered, and with a prosperous wind followed our course west by north, and in other twenty-five days we made above 400 leagues more, when we discovered a new land, never before seen of any, either ancient or modern.*" This was the low, level coast of North Carolina, along which, illumined at night by great fires, they sailed fifty leagues in search of a harbor;—at length they cast anchor and sent a boat on shore. The wandering natives at first fled to the woods, yet still would stand and look back, beholding the ship and sailors "with great admiration," and at the friendly signs of the latter, came down to the shore, "marvelling greatly at their apparel, shape, and whiteness." Beyond the sandy coast, intersected "with rivers and arms of the sea," they saw "the open country rising in height with many fair fields and plains, full of mightie great woods," some dense and others more open, replenished with different trees, "as pleasant and delectable to behold as it is possible to imagine. And your Majesty may not think," says

Verrazzani, "that these are like the woods of Hercynia, or the wild deserts of Tartary, and the northern coasts, full of fruitless trees; but they are full of palm trees, bay trees, and high cypress trees, and many other sorts unknown in Europe, which yield most sweet savors far from the shore." The land he represents as "not void of drugs or spicery, and of other riches of *gold*, seeing that the color of the land doth so much argue it." He dwells upon the luxury of the vegetation, the wild vines which clustered upon the ground or trailed in rich festoons from tree to tree, the tangled roses, violets, and lilies, and sweet and odoriferous flowers, different from those of Europe. He speaks of the wild deer in the woods, and of the birds that haunt the pools and lagoons of the coast. But, after his rude tossing on the stormy Atlantic, he is beyond measure transported with the calmness of the sea, the gentleness of the waves, the summer beauty of the climate, the pure and wholesome and temperate air, and the serenity and purity of the blue sky, which, "if covered for a while with clouds brought by the southern wind, they are soon dissolved, and all is clear and fair again." Verrazzani also entered the harbors of New York and Newport, and coasted northwardly to the fiftieth degree of north latitude. No settlement, however, resulted from this voyage of Verrazzani to America.

The first attempt at colonization by the English was disastrous in the extreme. A London merchant, named Hore, with others who joined him, undertook to found a set

tlement in Newfoundland. But they hardly escaped from starvation, and seizing a French fishing vessel which had just arrived, they returned again to England.

While the Spaniards were engrossed with plans and efforts for conquest in

South America, Chabot, admiral **1534.** of France, dispatched Jacques Cartier, an able mariner of St. Malo, on an exploring expedition to the north-west coast of America. After a rapid passage over the Atlantic, he sailed across the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and entered a bay which he called *Des Chaleurs*, from the extreme summer heat then prevailing; but he soon

after returned to France. The **1535.** next year, with three large ships and a number of colonists, Cartier revisited the scene of his former discoveries, entered the Gulf on St. Lawrence's Day, and so gave it that name which it now bears, ascended the river to the isle of Bacchus, now *Orleans*, and thence advanced to Hochelaga or Montreal. Cartier wintered on the isle of Orleans; but his company suffering much from the scurvy, they took a disgust at the prospects of colonization, and Cartier was compelled to return home. With that too common disregard for the rights of others, he also must needs carry off some of the natives to France.

Some years afterwards, Francis de la Roque, lord of Robertval, in Picardy, attempted to colonize the same **1540.** region. Cartier was furnished by **to** **1542.** the king with five vessels, and had associated with him Robertval to act as governor in Canada and Hochelaga. Delays and misunderstanding prevented

this effort likewise from being successful, and France gave up for a long time all further attempts at founding colonies in North America. What had been done, however, served in later days as a basis for claims, on the part of France, to the northern portion of the American Continent.

The disastrous attempt of Narvaez, in 1528, to conquer and obtain possession of Florida did not deter other bold spirits from efforts of a like character. Ferdinand de Soto had been one of the most distinguished companions of Pizarro, and a main instrument in annexing to Spain the golden regions of Peru; but in the conquest of Peru his part had been secondary—the first prize had been carried off by another; and he now sought to find a country, the glory of conquering which should be wholly his; and Charles V. was quite willing to gratify his desires. He was created Adelantado of Florida, combining the offices of governor general and commander-in-chief.

In May, **1539.** Soto sailed from Havana with six hundred men in the bloom of life, a number of priests, besides sailors, more than two hundred horses, and a herd of swine. Arriving on the 30th of May at the bay of Spiritu Santo, on the western coast of Florida, he landed three hundred men, and pitched his camp; but, about the break of day the next morning, they were attacked by a numerous body of natives, and obliged to retire. Having marched several hundred miles, he passed through a number of Indian towns, to Mavila, a village enclosed with wooden walls, standing near the





mouth of the Mobile River. The inhabitants, disgusted with the
1540. strangers, and provoked by an outrage committed on one of their chiefs, brought on a severe conflict, in which two thousand of the natives and about twenty Spaniards were slain. A considerable number of Spaniards died afterwards of their wounds; they also lost about forty horses. The village was burnt in the action. After this engagement, Soto retreated to Chicaça, a small town in the country of the Chickasaws, where he remained until March, 1541. His army now resumed its march through the Indian territory, and after many mishaps and very grievous discouragements, in the latter

1541. part of April Soto first beheld the Mississippi: this was probably not far from the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude. The river was crossed by Soto, and still further attempts were made to discover the wealth and magnificence which they had set out to find in Florida. But it was all in vain: chagrined by a conviction of total failure, Soto sank under his disappointment, and died May 25th, 1542.

1542. "To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and, in the stillness of midnight, was silently sunk into the middle of the stream. The discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial place."* The remains of this vaunted expedition, in number not

half that with which they embarked, floated down the Mississippi to its mouth, and in September, **1543.** 1543, reached a Spanish settlement near the present site of Tampico.

Florida was thenceforth abandoned. Not a settlement was made; not a single site occupied by the Spaniards; yet Spain, under the name of Florida, laid claim to the entire sea-coast of America, as far even as Newfoundland. Their first actual settlement arose out of that bitter hatred and fierce persecuting zeal which characterized at that time, on the Continent, both Roman Catholics and Protestants.

The illustrious and excellent Admiral de Coligny, one of the ablest of the French Protestant leaders, was desirous of finding a home in America for the persecuted Huguenots. Accordingly—an expedition to Brazil in 1555 having failed—he fitted out an expedition, sanctioned by the bigotted but feeble Charles IX., and gave the command to Jean Ribault of Dieppe, an experienced mariner and decided **1562.** Protestant. The expedition consisted of two ships, with a goodly company who went out as colonists. Ribault reached the coast of Florida in May, entered a spacious inlet which he named Port Royal, and built a fort called CAROLINA, a name which still remains to us, although the early colony perished. Twenty-six were left to found a settlement, while Ribault returned to France for supplies; but becoming disheartened, they hastily resolved to abandon the settlement; the commandant was killed in a mutiny; and well-nigh starved, they were **1563.**

* Bancroft's "*History of the United States*," vol. i., p. 57.

picked up by an English vessel, and landed part in France, the rest in England.

Ribault found the fires of civil war burning throughout France, so that he could not obtain the needed supplies at once. A sort of peace having been patched up, in 1564 Coligny again re-

1564. renewed his efforts. Three ships were sent out, under command of Laudonnière, a companion of Ribault. They landed in June at the River of May, now the *St. John's*, and built a fort. Mutinies occurred, and some of the colonists set out on piratical expeditions, and took two Spanish vessels, thus becoming the first aggressors in the New World. In great distress for provisions, they were about to abandon the settlement when the notorious Sir John Hawkins, the slave-merchant, relieved them. Ribault arrived in August with an abundant supply of all kinds.

But the colony was by no means as yet in security. A fierce and unsparing soldier, Pedro Melendez, obtained permission from Philip II. of Spain, to conquer and occupy Florida, and also to drive out the French as both intruders and heretics. "Death to the Huguenots!" was the cry; and with some three

1565. hundred soldiers and over two thousand volunteers, the expedition left Spain in July; although weakened by the violence of a storm, Melendez did not delay in Porto Rico; but anxious to make quick work of his enemies, he sailed to the coast of Florida. Land was seen on St. Augustine's day, August 28th, and Melendez named the inlet and haven which he entered two days after, *St. Augustine*. The town here founded by this name still

remains, and though not a place of much size, is by more than forty years the oldest town in the United States. Melendez was not long in finding the French colony. Ribault's vessels cut their cables and put to sea; a violent storm arose, and the French vessels which had set out to attack the Spaniards, were scattered and cast on shore. Melendez marched overland from St. Augustine through the forests and swamps, surprised the French fort, and indiscriminately butchered men, women, and children. A few escaped to the woods, and having found two small vessels in the harbor, after severe suffering ultimately reached Bristol. But Ribault and his shipwrecked companions, half famished, reached the fort to find it in the hands of the Spaniards. Relying on the word of honor of the perfidious Melendez, they gave themselves up, and were massacred, near St. Augustine, with circumstances of most shocking barbarity. A number of the mangled limbs of the victims were then suspended to a tree, to which was attached the following inscription:—"Not because they are Frenchmen, but because they are heretics and enemies of God."

When intelligence of this horrible outrage reached France, it excited an almost universal feeling of grief and rage, and a strong desire for vengeance. Charles IX. was invoked in vain, by the prayers of the widows and orphans of the slain, to require of the Spanish monarch that justice should be awarded against his murderous subjects. An avenger, however, was speedily found. Dominic de Gourgues, a brave Gascon,

determined to devote himself, his fortune, and his whole being, to the achievement of some signal and terrible retribution. He found means to equip three small vessels, and to put on board of them eighty sailors, and one hundred and fifty troops. Having crossed the Atlantic, he sailed along the coast of Florida, and landed at a river about fifteen leagues' distance from the river May. The Spaniards, to the number of four hundred, were well fortified, principally at the great fort, begun by the French, and afterwards repaired by themselves. Two leagues lower, towards the river's mouth, they had made two smaller forts, which were defended by a hundred and twenty soldiers, well supplied with artillery and ammunition. Gourgues, though informed of their strength, proceeded resolutely forward, and, with the assistance of the natives, made a vigorous and desperate assault. Of sixty Spaniards in the first fort, there escaped but fifteen; and all in the second fort were slain. After a company of Spaniards, sallying out from the third fort, had been intercepted, and killed on the spot, this last fortress was easily taken. All the surviving Spaniards were led away prisoners, with the fifteen who escaped the massacre at the first fort; and were hung on the boughs of the same trees on which the Frenchmen had been previously suspended. Gourgues, in retaliation for the label Melendez had attached to the bodies of the French, placed over the corpses of the Spaniards the following declaration:—"I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as

unto traitors, robbers and murderers." Having razed the three forts, and not being strong enough to remain in the country, he returned to France in May, 1568. Such was the end of the efforts made by the French Protestants to found settlements in Florida. Had France been wise enough to have protected her sons in this attempt, she might easily have obtained a flourishing empire in the south, before England had planted a single spot on the Continent. But she did not, and Spain consequently retained her claim—such as it was—to Florida undisputed.

The long and bloody struggles between Protestants and Roman Catholics in France during the latter half of the 16th century, effectually prevented all attempts at colonization by that nation in the New World. The accession of Henry IV., his abjuration of Protestantism, and especially the issue of the Edict of Nantes, which secured civil and religious freedom to the Huguenots, restored peace and prosperity to France; and the wise and skilful administration of Sully fostered the arts of peaceful industry and trade. A commission was obtained in 1598, by the Marquis de la Roche, of Brittany, to take possession of CANADA and other neighboring countries "not possessed by any Christian prince;" the attempt, however, failed entirely. On the death of La Roche, Chauvin, a naval officer, and Pontgravé, a merchant of St. Malo, entered profitably into the fur trade, without, however, doing anything of moment towards colonization.

In 1603, a company of merchants was formed at Rouen, and Samuel Cham-

plain, an able and scientific officer, was sent out in command of an expedition.

1603. This celebrated man, after careful exploration and examination, selected the site of Quebec as a suitable place for a fort. This same year a patent was issued to De Monts, a Huguenot gentleman of the king's bedchamber, and the sovereignty of ACADIE, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of north latitude—i. e., from about the latitude of Philadelphia as far northerly as Cape Breton—was granted to him, together with a monopoly of the fur

1604. trade, etc. In 1604, the expedition, consisting of four ships, sailed for its destination. Poutrincourt, an officer of the expedition, obtained permission to remain in the harbor, which he called *Port Royal*, now Annapolis. Champlain explored the Bay of Fundy, discovered and named the River St. John's, and selected a site for a settlement on the island *St. Croix*, in the river of the same name. But the spot was not well chosen, and in the

1605. spring of the following year the colony removed to Port Royal. Here the first actual settlement on the American Continent by the French was made. The hostility of the natives along the coast rendered it dangerous to attempt settlements in the vicinity of Cape Cod. During the following ten years, numerous and successful efforts were made by Jesuit priests to convert the natives.

The monopoly of De Monts having been revoked, a company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo founded

1608. *Quebec*. This was principally due to Champlain, who not only laid the

foundation of the city of Quebec, but also the next year explored and was the first of white men to enter the beautiful lake which bears his name and perpetuates his memory. **1609.** This persevering and energetic man lived through many and severe trials and afflictions which beset his efforts in establishing the authority of his countrymen on the St. Lawrence. He died in 1635. Consequent upon the explorations of Champlain and others, the French laid claim to that vast tract of interior America, which, together with Canada and Acadie, was denominated NEW FRANCE.

In concluding the present chapter, in which has been attempted a brief sketch of some of the early voyagers and discoverers, to whom succeeding generations owe so large a debt of gratitude, the language of Mr. Bancroft may very appropriately be quoted: "Such were the voyages which led the way to the colonization of the United States. The daring and skill of these earliest adventurers upon the ocean deserve the highest admiration. The difficulties of crossing the Atlantic were new, and it required the greater courage to encounter hazards which ignorance exaggerated. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown. The possibility of making a direct passage was but gradually discovered. The imagined dangers were infinite; the real dangers exceedingly great. The ships at first employed for discovery were generally of less than one hundred tons burden; Frobisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons; two of those of Columbus were without a

deck; and so perilous were the voyages deemed, that the sailors were accustomed, before embarking, to perform solemn acts of devotion, as if to prepare for eternity. The anticipation of disasters was not visionary; Columbus was shipwrecked twice, and once remained for eight months on an island, without any communication with the civilized world; Hudson was turned adrift in a small boat by a crew whom

suffering had rendered mutinous; Wiloughby perished in the cold; Robertval, Parmenius, Gilbert—and how many others?—went down at sea; and such was the state of the art of navigation, that intrepidity and skill were unavailing against the elements without the favor of heaven.”*

* Bancroft's "*History of the United States*," vol. i. p. 115.

CHAPTER II.

1492—1600.

THE ABORIGINES OF AMERICA.

Origin of the name INDIANS—Preceding Races—American Antiquities—General characteristics of the Indian tribes—Columbus's Letter—Manners and customs—Government, laws, chiefs, priests—Law of retaliation—War the Indian's great business—Females—Numbers—Dialects spoken—Mr. Schoolcraft's paper—Intimations of prophecy—View of Europeans as to the rights of Indians—Decision of the Supreme Court—Origin of difficulties.

WHEN Columbus had succeeded in demonstrating the truth of his long and anxiously advocated views respecting the existence of land to be discovered by sailing to the west, he supposed that he had reached the far-famed Cathay, or the East Indies. **1492.** This natural error was one which the great navigator did not live to correct, and it led to the name INDIANS being applied to the inhabitants of the islands and main land of America. It is a name which time and custom have sanctioned as the designation of the natives of the soil when Columbus and his successors reached the New World, as also of their descendants; and how-

ever inappropriate, it is now too late to seek to change it. Before proceeding with the history of the gradual colonization of America, and the many and severe contests between the new-comers and those whom they found in possession of the country, it may be well to devote a brief space to some account of the aborigines of the Western Continent, more especially of North America.

Without entering into a discussion of the question, whence came the people who first settled America—a question more curious than profitable—it is quite certain that the Indian tribes scattered over the face of the country were the successors of a race or races

which had passed away entirely, ages before the discovery of the New World by Columbus. The numerous and well authenticated antiquities found in various parts of our country clearly demonstrate that there was once a people civilized, and even highly cultivated, occupying the broad surface of our Continent; but the date of their occupancy is so remote that all traces of their history, progress, and decay, lie buried in the deepest obscurity. Nature, at the time that Columbus came, had asserted her original dominion over the earth; the forests were all in their full luxuriance, the growth of many centuries; and nought existed to point out who and what they were who formerly lived, and loved, and labored, and died, on the Continent of America. The Indian tribes could give no account of their predecessors; they knew nothing whatever on the subject; and so, probably, as respects these the question must ever remain doubtful, if not wholly inexplicable.

As to the Indians themselves it will be sufficient, for the present, to note, that in some points there was soon discovered to be a very general resemblance among all the various tribes. They all partook of the same reddish hue of the skin, their hair was found to be black, lank, and straight, with little or no beard; the cheek-bones were high, the jaw-bone prominent, and the forehead narrow and sloping. Their figure, untrammelled in every movement, was lithe, agile, and often graceful, but they were inferior in muscular strength to the European. Their intellectual faculties were also more limited,

and their moral sensibilities, from want of cultivation, less lively. They seemed to be characterized by an inflexibility of organization, which rendered them almost incapable of receiving foreign ideas, or amalgamating with more civilized nations—constituting them, in short, a people that might be broken, but could not be bent. This peculiar organization, too, together with the circumstances in which they were placed, moulded the character of their domestic and social condition.

Columbus, in a letter sent to Ferdinand and Isabella, spoke enthusiastically of those natives whom he encountered on his first voyage. "I swear to your majesties," said he, "that there is not a better people in the world than these, more affectionate, affable, or mild. They love their neighbours as themselves: their language is the sweetest, the softest, and the most cheerful; for they always speak smiling; and although they go naked, let your majesties believe me, their customs are very becoming; and their king, who is served with great majesty, has such engaging manners, that it gives great pleasure to see him, and also to consider the great retentive faculty of that people, and their desire of knowledge, which incites them to ask the causes and the effects of things." A larger acquaintance with the Indians showed that their dwellings were of the simplest and rudest character. On some pleasant spot by the banks of a river, or near a sweet spring, they raised their groups of wigwams, constructed of the bark of trees, and easily taken down and removed to another spot. The abodes

of the chiefs were sometimes more spacious, and constructed with care, but of the same materials. Their villages were sometimes surrounded by defensive palisades. Skins, taken in the chase, served them for repose. Though principally dependent upon the hunting and fishing, its uncertain supply had led them to cultivate around their dwellings some patches of maize, but their exertions were desultory, and they were often exposed to the severity of famine. Every family did everything necessary within itself; and interchange of articles of commerce was hardly at all known among them.

In strictness of speech, the Indians could not be said to have either government or laws. Questions of public interest relating to war, peace, change of hunting grounds, and the like, were discussed in a meeting of the whole tribe, where old and young participated, and the most plausible speaker, or the most energetic and daring warrior, generally carried the day. The chiefs among them were such by superior merit, or superior skill or cunning, not on any principle of appointment recognized among civilized communities; and they exercised their authority as best they might, without being able to compel obedience. The most powerful influences, however, under which the Indians were brought was that exercised by those who had the skill to work upon their ignorance and credulity to establish a claim to their obedience. Like all rude and barbarous tribes, they were very superstitious, and the priests, or "medicine men," were equally feared and observed by the Indians

generally. As a consequence of this, the tribes varied in their apparent forms of government. Some were the slaves of a spiritual despotism; some resembled a limited monarchy; others an oligarchy; and others yet a democracy, in which the principal warriors stood nearly on a level.

In cases of dispute and dissension, each Indian held to the right of retaliation, and relied on himself almost always to effect his revenge for injuries received. Blood for blood was the rule, and the relations of the slain man were bound to obtain bloody revenge for his death. This principle gave rise, as a matter of course, to innumerable and bitter feuds, and wars of extermination where that was possible. War, indeed, rather than peace and the arts of peace, was the Indian's glory and delight; war, not conducted on the grand scale of more civilized, if not more Christian-like, people, but war where individual skill, endurance, gallantry and cruelty were prime requisites. For such a purpose as revenge the Indian was capable of making vast sacrifices, and displayed a patience and perseverance truly heroic; but when the excitement was over, he sank back into a listless, unoccupied, well nigh useless savage. The intervals of his more exciting pursuits the Indian filled up in the decoration of his person with all the refinements of paint and feathers, with the manufacture of his arms—the club, and the bow and arrows—and of canoes of bark, so light, that they could easily be carried on the shoulder from stream to stream. His amusements were the war-dance and song, and ath-

letic games, the narration of his exploits, and the listening to the oratory of the chiefs. But, during long periods of his existence, he remained in a state of torpor, gazing listlessly upon the trees of the forests, and the clouds that sailed far above his head; and this vacancy imprinted an habitual gravity and even melancholy upon his aspect and general deportment.

As in all uncivilized communities, the main labor and drudgery fell upon the females; planting, tending and gathering the crops; making mats and baskets; carrying burdens; in fact, everything of the kind; so that their condition was little better than that of slaves. For marriage was principally a matter of bargain and sale, the husband giving presents to the father of his bride; and sooner or later, as caprice or any other excuse moved him, degrading her to the place of a mere servant in his house. In general, they had but few children; and were subjected to many and severe attacks of sickness: famine and pestilence at times swept away whole tribes.

From their migratory habits, their continual wars and battles, their slowness of increase, and their liability to famine and fatal diseases, Mr. Hildreth is inclined to conclude that at no time since the discovery of America did the total Indian population east of the Rocky Mountains exceed, if it equalled, three hundred thousand.

The dialects of the various tribes in North America are generally reduced to five heads or subdivisions. "The most widely diffused of these five languages, called the *Algonquin*, after one

of the tribes of Canada, from whom the French missionaries first learned it, is exceedingly harsh and guttural, with few vowels, and words often of intolerable length, occasioned by complicated grammatical forms—a whole sentence, by means of suffixes and affixes, being often expressed in a single word. This character, indeed, is common, in a greater or less degree, to all the American languages, serving to distinguish them, in a remarkable manner from the dialects of the Old World. Tribes of Algonquin speech extended from Hudson's Bay south-east beyond the Chesapeake, and south-west to the Mississippi and Ohio. They inclosed, however, several formidable confederacies, the *Hurons*, the *Iroquois*, the *Eries*, and others settled around Lakes Erie and Ontario, and occupying all the upper waters of the western tributaries of the Chesapeake, who spoke a different language, less guttural and far more sonorous, called the *Wyandot*, after a tribe inhabiting the north shore of Lake Erie. The *Cherokee* is peculiar to a confederacy of that name, occupants for centuries of the southern valleys of the great Alleghany Chain, from whence they have been but very lately expelled. The common name of *Mobilian* includes the kindred dialects of the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the Creeks or Muscogeas, the Appalachees, and Yamassees, ancient inhabitants of the valley of the Lower Mississippi, and thence, by the southern foot of the Alleghanies, to the Savannah and beyond it. Compared with the northern languages, the Cherokee and Mobilian are soft and musical, abounding with vow-

els, thus indicating the long continued influence of a southern climate. The number of syllables in the Cherokee is very limited—a circumstance of which an uneducated but ingenious member of that tribe recently availed himself to invent a syllabic alphabet, by means of which the Cherokee is written and read with great facility. Of the ancient state of the wandering tribes of the prairies west of the Mississippi little is known; but the *Dacotah* or *Sioux*, still spoken in a great variety of dialects, has been probably for centuries the prevailing language of that region. The *Catawbas*, who have left their name to a river of Carolina, and who once occupied a wide adjacent territory; the *Uchees*, on the Savannah, subjects of the Creeks; the *Natchez*, a small confederacy on the Lower Mississippi, in the midst of the Choc-taws, appear to have spoken peculiar languages; and no doubt, there were other similar cases. Of the dialects west of the Rocky Mountains hardly anything is known.”*

Mr. Schoolcraft, in a very interesting paper read before the “New York Historical Society,” November, 1846, attributes to the Red Race who inhabited the Continent of America, in the equinoctial latitudes, a very great antiquity, so great indeed, as to be inclined to think that they might have reached the Continent within five hundred years of the original dispersion. That they were of the Shemitic stock, too, can hardly be questioned. Civilization, gov-

ernment, and arts, began to develop themselves in the tropical regions of Mexico and Central America. Mexico, like Rome of old, seems to have been invaded by one tribe of barbarians after another, who in the end, as in the case of Rome, were meliorated and modified by that civilization which they came to destroy. Such was probably the origin of the Toltecs, and the Aztecs, whom Cortez subdued.

Turning our view from this ancient centre of power, to the latitudes of the American Republic, we find there, at the opening of the sixteenth century, various tribes, of divers languages, existing in the mere hunter state, or at most, with some habits of horticulture superadded. They had neither cattle nor arts. They were bowmen and spearmen—roving and predatory, with very little, if anything, in their traditions, to link them to these prior central families of man, but with nearly everything in their physical and intellectual type, to favor such a generic affiliation. They erected groups of mounds, to sacrifice to the sun, moon, and stars. They were, originally, fire-worshippers. They spoke ONE general class of transpositive languages. They had instruments of copper, as well as of silex, and porphyries. They made cooking-vessels of tempered clay. They cultivated the most important of all the ancient Mexican grains, the *zea mays*. They raised the tobacco plant, and used the Aztec drum in religious ceremonies and war-dances. They believed in the oriental doctrines of transformation, and the power of necromancy, and they were largely in sub

* Hildreth's “*History of the United States*,” vol. i. p. 52.
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jection to an influential and powerful order of priesthood.

There can be little doubt that this race dwelt on the Continent of America many centuries before the Christian era, and also that it is anterior in age to the various groups who inhabit the Polynesian Islands. Probably they derived their character and mental peculiarities from the early tribes of Western Asia, which was originally peopled, to a great extent, by the descendants of Shem. In this connection, Mr. Schoolcraft adduces the following as the fulfillment of a very ancient prophecy. "Assuming the Indian tribes to be of Shemitic origin, which is generally conceded, they were met on this Continent, in 1492, by the Japhetic race, after the two stocks had passed around the globe by directly different routes. Within a few years subsequent to this event, as is well attested, the humane influence of an eminent Spanish ecclesiastic, led to the calling over from the coast of Africa, of the Hamitic branch. As a mere historical question, and without mingling it in the slightest degree with any other, the result of three centuries of occupancy has been a series of movements in all the colonial stocks, south and north, by which Japhet has been immeasurably enlarged on the Continent, while the called and not voluntary sons of Ham, have endured a servitude, in the wide-stretching valleys of the tents of Shem.—Gen. ix., 27."*

They who came from civilized Eu-

* *Proceedings of the New York Historical Society*, 1846, pp. 33—38. See, also, the "*North American Review*," No. L., January, 1826.

rope in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries found the American Continent peopled by tribes without cultivation, refinement, literature, fixed habitations, or anything which could give them consideration and respect in the eyes of Europeans. They looked upon the Indians as mere savages, having no rightful claim to the country of which they were in possession. They inflicted upon the unhappy natives injuries of various descriptions, as caprice, cruelty, lust, or rapine dictated, and where a different course was pursued it was not so much because the Indians had a *right* to just treatment, but simply because it pleased here and there liberal-minded persons to deal justly and kindly by them. Every European nation deemed that it had acquired a lawful and just claim to the possession of that part of the Continent which any one of its subjects might have discovered or visited, without any reference to the prior occupation and claims of the Indian tribes. In later times, too, the Supreme Court of the United States, (1810)—Chief Justice Marshall delivering the opinion of the Court—has held, that the Indian title to the soil is not of such a character or validity as to interfere with the possession in fee, and disposal, of the land as the State may see fit.*

Mr. Justice Story, in speaking of this matter, justly remarks:—"As to countries in the possession of native inhabitants and tribes at the time of the discovery, it seems difficult to perceive what ground of right any discovery

* See Cranch's *Reports*, vol. vi., p. 142.

could confer. It would seem strange to us, if, in the present times, the natives of the South Sea Islands, or of Cochin China, should, by making a voyage to, and discovery of, the United States, on that account set up a right to the soil within our boundaries. The truth is, that the European nations paid not the slightest regard to the rights of the native tribes. They treated them as mere barbarians and heathens, whom, if they were not at liberty to extirpate, they were entitled to deem mere temporary occupants of the soil. They might convert them to Christianity; and, if they refused conversion, they might drive them from the soil, as unworthy to inhabit it. They affected to be governed by the desire to promote the cause of Christianity, and were aided in this ostensible object by the whole influence of the papal power. But their real object was to extend their own power and increase their own wealth, by acquiring the treasures, as well as the territory, of the New World. Avarice and ambition were

at the bottom of all their original enterprises.”*

It must, we think, be admitted, that it was right in principle for our forefathers to seek to cultivate the soil of a country situate as this of America was, and to open a new pathway to the enterprise and energy of the human race; yet, seeing that their intercourse with the natives was not always marked by either fairness or due regard to the natural sentiments of those who had long held undisputed possession of the Continent, it is no wonder that dissensions and collisions soon occurred, and that all the fierce passions of the Indians were aroused into savage and unpitying activity. Neither need it occasion any surprise that ere long the Indians persuaded themselves that the white man was, with here and there an exception, their necessary and perpetual foe. The facts of history, as hereinafter related, will too sadly verify the correctness of this general statement.

* “*Familiar Exposition of the Constitution*,” p. 13.

CHAPTER III.

1553—1606.

ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION BY THE ENGLISH.

Enterprise of Englishmen—Willoughby and Chancellor—Reign of Elizabeth—Frobisher—Drake—Sir Humphrey Gilbert—Sir Walter Raleigh—Amidas and Barlow's Letter—Roanoke—VIRGINIA—Lane, governor—Hariot—Indian hostility—Abandonment of the colony—New one sent out—White, governor—Virginia Dare—Political agitations in England—Colony lost entirely—Assignment of Raleigh's patent—Gosnold—James I.—Hakluyt—Pring—Weymouth—London Company—Plymouth Company—Charter—Instructions issued by the king.

THE enterprising spirit of Englishmen led them, from the earliest period, to enter earnestly and vigorously into the work of discovery, and to engage with equal zeal and energy in attempts at settlement and colonization. The fame of Sebastian Cabot's efforts, and his undoubted skill and sagacity in respect to naval affairs, were very influential during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Although the attempt to find a north-west passage to the Indies had failed, still the idea of there being such a passage yet to be discovered was ever uppermost in the minds of navigators of that age. By Cabot's advice and urgency a new path was sought. He presented various reasons for thinking it probable that

1553. there was a passage to the north-east; accordingly a company of merchants was formed, at the head of which Cabot was placed, and an expedition was fitted out with special instructions and directions drawn up by the celebrated navigator himself. The command of the expedition was entrusted to Sir Hugh Willoughby. "At

the first setting forth of these north-eastern discoverers," observes the excellent Hakluyt, "they were almost altogether destitute of clear lights and inducements, or if they had an inkling at all, it was misty as they found the northern seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deter than to give them encouragement. Into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselves, 'animus meminisse horret,' I tremble to relate. For, first they were to expose themselves unto the rigor of the stern and uncouth northern seas, and to make trial of the swelling waves and boisterous winds which there commonly do surge and blow." The "driftes of snow and mountains of ice, even in the summer the hideous overfalls, uncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and other fearful inconveniences," which the expedition had to encounter, he contrasts with "the milde, lightsome, and temperate Atlantick Ocean, over which the Spaniards and Portuguese have made so many pleasant, prosperous, and golden voyages, to the satisfaction of their *fame-thirsty* and *gold-thirsty* minds

with that reputation and wealth which made all misadventures seem tolerable unto them." Willoughby and Chancellor were divided by storms, and after doubling the "dreadful and mistie North Cape," the terrors of a polar winter surprised them, but with very different issue. The former sought shelter in an obscure harbor of Lapland, to die a fearful and a lingering death. In the following spring his retreat was discovered, the corpses

1554. of the frozen sailors lay about the ship, Willoughby was found dead in his cabin, his journal detailing the horrible sufferings to which they had been reduced. Chancellor, more fortunate, entered the White Sea, and found a secure shelter in the harbor of Archangel. Here the Muscovites received their first foreign visitors with great hospitality, and Chancellor, on learning the vastness of the empire he had discovered, repaired to Moscow, and presented to the czar, John Vasilowitz, a letter with which each ship had been furnished by Edward VI. The czar, who was not deficient in sagacity, saw the advantages likely to accrue from opening a trade with the western nations of Europe, and accordingly treated Chancellor with courtesy and attention. He, also, by a letter to the king, invited the trade of England, under promises of ample protection and favor.

The spirit of maritime adventure, though not so active during the reign of Mary, was still on the increase. The accession and reign of Elizabeth afforded full opportunity for its large development. "The domestic tran-

quillity of the kingdom," says Dr. Robertson, "maintained almost without interruption, during the course of a long and prosperous reign; the peace with foreign nations, that subsisted more than twenty years after Elizabeth was seated on the throne; the queen's attentive economy, which exempted her subjects from the burden of taxes oppressive to trade; the popularity of her administration; were all favorable to commercial enterprise, and called it forth into vigorous exertion. The discerning eye of Elizabeth having early perceived that the security of a kingdom environed by the sea depended on its naval force, she began her government with adding to the number and strength of the royal navy; she filled her arsenals with naval stores; she built several ships of great force, according to the ideas of that age, and encouraged her subjects to imitate her example, that they might no longer depend on foreigners, from whom the English had hitherto purchased all vessels of any considerable burden. By those efforts the skill of the English artificers was improved, the numbers of sailors increased, and the attention of the public turned to the navy, as the most important national object."* The queen gave every encouragement to her subjects to trade

**1561
to
1568.**

with Russia, to seek to penetrate into Persia by land, and in any and every way to open new paths to commercial enterprise and activity.

The attempt to discover a north-

* Robertson's "*History of America*," Book ix., p. 207.

east passage having failed, a new effort was made to find an opening to the north-west. Three small ves-

1576. sels were placed under the command of Martin Frobisher, an eminent mariner of that day; but although he made three successive voyages, and explored to some extent the coast of Labrador, he did not succeed in accomplishing the object of his expedition.

1578. It was about this same date that Sir Francis Drake entered upon his voyage of fortune, which by its success added a kind of lustre to his name, without producing any essential benefit to legitimate trade and commerce. Drake had the boldness to follow in the track of Magellan, and, crossing the equator, he ranged the Pacific coast of America to the latitude of forty-three degrees north, in hope of discovering the north-west passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific; but without accomplishing that object.

In the same year that Frobisher's third voyage terminated so fruitlessly, an attempt was made by Englishmen,

1578. under the queen's patronage, to plant a colony in America. It was mainly due to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, a gentleman of distinction and marked ability, as a soldier and a writer on navigation. Without difficulty he obtained a patent from the queen which empowered him to proceed at once with every hope of success in carrying out his designs. Six years were allowed for the establishment of the colony. As this is the first charter to a colony granted by the crown of England, the articles in it merit especial attention, as they unfold

the ideas of that age with respect to the nature of such settlements. Elizabeth authorizes Sir Humphrey Gilbert to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands, unoccupied by any Christian prince or people; invests in him the full right of property in the soil of those countries whereof he shall take possession; empowers him, his heirs and assigns, to dispose of whatever portion of those lands he shall judge meet, to persons settled there, in fee simple, according to the laws of England; and ordains that all the lands granted to Gilbert shall hold of the crown of England by homage, on payment of the fifth part of the gold or silver ore found there. The charter also gave Gilbert, his heirs and assigns, full power to convict, punish, pardon, govern, and rule, by their good discretion and policy, as well in causes capital or criminal as civil, both marine and other, all persons who shall, from time to time, settle within the said countries; and declared, that all who settled there should have and enjoy all the privileges of free denizens and natives of England, any law, custom, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. And finally, it prohibited all persons from attempting to settle within two hundred leagues of any place which Sir Humphrey Gilbert, or his associates, shall have occupied during the period named for the permanent founding of the colony.*

Sir Humphrey Gilbert embarked a large part of his fortune in this projected expedition, but dissensions and

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 135.

disputes among those who had volunteered to go with him, rendered it virtually a failure before it set out. With

only a few tried and fast friends
1579. he put to sea; one of his ships was lost in a storm, and it is probable, also, that he had an encounter with a Spanish squadron; so that, disheartened to a great extent, he was compelled to return.

The step-brother of Gilbert was the illustrious Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of surpassing genius, wonderful acquirements, and lofty aspirations. He was a soldier under Coligny, eminent for gallantry and skill: he was a statesman, a patriot, a devoted lover of his country and his country's fame. Raleigh readily came to the aid of his brother; it is even thought that he accompanied Gilbert in his first voyage, in 1579; by his influence he enlisted the queen's special favor in behalf of the expedition; he furnished a vessel of two hundred tons, which bore his name; and did everything that could be done except go in person with the

expedition. With a fleet of five
1583. ships and barks, the *Delight*, Raleigh, *Golden Hind*, *Swallow*, and *Squirrel*, in which a large body of men were embarked, Gilbert set sail in June on his second voyage. On reaching Newfoundland, early in August, he took possession of it in the name of Elizabeth; a pillar with the arms of England was raised, and, after the feudal custom, the royal charter was read, and a sod and turf of the soil delivered to the admiral. The mutinous and disorderly conduct of many of his sailors had already been a trying

obstacle. As they steered towards the south, to "bring the whole land within compass of the patent," the principal ship, owing to their carelessness, struck upon a shoal and was totally lost; nearly a hundred men perishing with her, among whom were Parmenius the Hungarian—called Budæus, from his native city—who was to have been the chronicler of the expedition, as well as "their Saxon refiner and discoverer of inestimable riches," and the valuable papers of the admiral. They now decided on returning home; the autumnal gales were already beginning to render the navigation perilous for such small vessels; yet Sir Humphrey, who had sailed in the *Squirrel*, their "frigate of ten tons," contrary to all remonstrance, persisted in remaining with his brave shipmates, rather than go on board the larger vessel. The two ships sailed in company, Gilbert from time to time repairing on board the *Hind*, and encouraging his companions with prospects of future success. The weather now became frightful; and the oldest sailors never remembered more mountainous and terrific surges. On Monday, the 9th of September, in the afternoon, the *Squirrel*, which was overcharged with artillery and deck hamper, was nearly engulfed by a heavy sea, from which she escaped as by miracle. As she emerged from the watery abyss, a shout of surprise and thanksgiving burst from her decks; and Gilbert, seated on the stern with a book in his hand, calmly exclaimed, when the roll of the waves brought them within hearing of those on board the other vessel, "We are as near to heaven

by sea as by land"—the last words he was ever heard to utter. At midnight, the Squirrel being somewhat ahead, those on the watch on board the Hind, observing her lights to disappear in an instant amidst the blackness of the swell, cried out that the general was lost: the miniature frigate had suddenly foundered. The Hind, after narrowly escaping the tempestuous weather, at length reached Falmouth in safety, bearing the heavy tidings of loss and disaster.

The sad fate of his step-brother did not deter Raleigh from endeavoring to carry out his favorite plan of colonization and discovery in America. Desirous, if possible, to secure a milder climate for his colony, he sought and obtained from Elizabeth a patent fully as ample as that which had been bestowed upon Gilbert. He was constituted lord proprietary, with powers almost unlimited, on condition of
1584. reserving to the crown a fifth part of the gold or silver ore which might be found. In April, two ships set sail under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, and early in July they reached the shores of Carolina. Ranging the coast for a hundred and twenty miles, they landed and took possession, in the name of the queen, of the island of *Wococon*, the southernmost of the islands that form Ocracock Inlet.

Hakluyt has preserved the glowing description which Amidas and Barlow gave to Raleigh on their return to England, in September of the same year. Their language is graphic and well worth quoting:—"The soile," say

they, "is the most plentiful, sweete, fruitfull and wholesome of all the worlde; there are above fourteene severall sweete smelling timber trees, and the most part of their underwoods are bayes and such like; they have those okes that we have, but farre greater and better. After they had bene divers times aboard our shippes, myselfe, with seven more, went twentie mile into the river that runneth towarde the citie of Skicoak, which river they call Occam; and the evening following, we came to an island, which they call Roanoke, distant from the harbour by which we entered seven leagues; and at the north end thereof was a village of nine houses, built of cedar, and fortified round about with sharpe trees to keep out their enemies, and the entrance into it made like a turnepike, very artificially; when we came towardes it, standing neere unto the waters' side, the wife of Granganimo, the king's brother, came running out to meete us very cheerfully and friendly; her husband was not then in the village; some of her people shee commanded to drawe our boate on shore for the beating of the billoe, others she appointed to cary us on their backes to the dry ground, and others to bring our oares into the house for feare of stealing. When we were come into the utter roome, having five roomes in her house, she caused us to sit down by a great fire, and after tooke off our clothes and washed them, and dried them againe; some of the women plucked off our stockings, and washed them, some washed our feete in warm water, and she herself tooke

great paines to see all things ordered in the best manner she could, making great haste to dresse some meate for us to eate. After we had thus dryed ourselves, she brought us into this inner roome, where shee set on the boord standing along the house, some wheate like furmentie; sodden venison and roasted; fish, sodden, boyled, and roasted; melons, rawe and sodden; rootes of divers kinds; and divers fruites. Their drinke is commonly water, but while the grape lasteth, they drinke wine, and for want of caskes to keepe it, all the yere after they drink water, but it is sodden with ginger in it, and black sinamon, and sometimes sassaphras, and divers other wholesome and medicinable hearbes and trees. We were entertained with all love and kindnesse, and with as mach bountie, after their manner, as they could possibly devise. We found the people most gentle, loving, and faithfull, voide of all guile and treason, and such as live after the maner of the golden age. The people onely care howe to defend themselves from the cold in their short winter, and to feed themselves with such meat as the soile afforeth; their meat is very well sodden, and they make broth very sweet and savorie; their vessels are earthen pots, very large, white, and sweete; their dishes are wooden platters of sweet timber. Within the place where they feede was their lodging, and within that their idoll, which they worship, of whom they speake incredible things. While we were at meate, there came in at the gates two or three men with their bowes and arrowes from

hunting, whom, when we espied, we beganne to looke one towardes another, and offered to reach our weapons; but as soone as shee espied our mistrust, she was very much moved, and caused some of her men to runne out, and take away their bowes and arrowes and breake them, and withall, beate the poore fellowes out of the gate againe. When we departed in the evening, and would not tarry all night, she was very sory, and gave us into our boate our supper half dressed, pottes and all, and brought us to our boate side, in which we lay all night, removing the same a prettie distance from the shoare; shee perceiving our jelousie, was much grieved, and sent divers men and thirtie women to sit all night on the banke-side by us, and sent us into our boates five mattes, to cover us from the raine, using very many wordes to intreate us to rest in their houses; but because we were fewe men, and if we had miscarried the voyage had bene in very great danger, we durst not adventure any thing, although there was no cause of doubt, for a more kinde and loving people there cannot be found in the worlde, as far as we have hitherto had triall.”*

Charmed with the beauty of everything they saw, and quite willing to believe that no change could ever mar the loveliness of a scene so enchanting, Amidas and Barlow contented themselves with very limited explorations, and taking with them two of the natives, Wanchese and Manteo, they returned to England. Raleigh was in

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 301.

raptures with the prospect before him, and Elizabeth expressed her desire that the new region should be called VIRGINIA, in honor of the virgin queen of England. Raleigh soon after received the honor of knighthood, and by special favor had granted to him a lucrative monopoly of wines, which enabled him to carry on vigorously his efforts at colonization. It was not difficult, under so many favoring circumstances, to fit out a new and strong expedition. Seven vessels, which carried out one hundred and eight colonists,

1585. sailed from Plymouth in April, under the command of Sir Richard Grenville, one of the bravest men of his age. Ralph Lane was appointed governor; and Hariot, an eminent mathematician, and With, an ingenious painter, were included in the expedition. Proceeding by way of the West Indies, on the 20th of June they fell in with the main land of Florida, and having narrowly escaped shipwreck at Cape Fear, they came to anchor, on the 26th, at Wococon.

Ralph Lane was a gallant officer, knighted subsequently by the queen for his valor, but he possessed rather the qualities of the ardent soldier than of the patient and judicious colonist. Hasty in resolve, and "sudden and quick in quarrel," his rash and hostile conduct towards the Indians was the source of very great tribulation to this and other succeeding expeditions. But the first deadly offence was given by Grenville himself. A party was sent on shore, accompanied by Manteo, and all might have gone well, but for an act of hasty revenge, the first probably

which tended to arouse uneasy and suspicious thoughts in the breasts of the confiding Indians. One of these had been tempted to steal a silver cup; its promised restoration was delayed; upon which the English "burnt and spoiled their corn and towne, all the people being fled."

The colonists being landed, Grenville, after a short stay, and the collection of a cargo of pearls and skins, returned to England, capturing on the way a Spanish ship richly laden, "boarding her with a boat made with boards of chests, which fell asunder and sank at the ship's side, as soon as ever he and his men were out of it." With this prize he returned to Plymouth, and was warmly welcomed. After this first experience of unprovoked cruelty, the Indians, anxious to get rid of the settlers, whom they now learned both to hate and fear, began to form secret combinations against them. Lane, who was evidently but little qualified for his post, being alternately severe and credulous, received such information from one of the chiefs, as induced him to ascend the Roanoke, partly in quest of pearls, mineral treasures, and partly to explore the interior. The adventure was disastrous; the boats made slow progress against the rapidity of the current; the banks were deserted, and no provisions to be obtained; yet all agreed not to abandon the enterprise while a half-pint of corn remained for each man; moreover they determined that they would kill their "two mastives, upon the pottage of which, with sassafras leaves—if the worst fell out—they would make shift to

live two dayes." Having been treacherously attacked by the Indians, and having consumed the "dogge's porridge that they had bespoken for themselves," and returned to the river's mouth, and their boats being unable to cross the sound on account of a storm "on Easter Eve, which was fasted very truly," they were reduced to the sassafras without the animal seasoning, "the like whereof," observes Lane, "was never before used for a meate as I thinke." The next morning they arrived at Roanoke famished and dispirited.

Thomas Hariot was undoubtedly the most acute observer in the colony, and his efforts at obtaining a correct knowledge of the country, the people, productions, etc., were unusually successful. He labored especially among the simple natives, and endeavored to lead them to a knowledge of the truths of Christianity. To use his own language, "Most things they saw with us, as mathematicall instruments, sea-compasses, the vertue of the loadstone, perspective glasses, burning glasses, clocks to goe of themselves, bookes, writing, guns, and such like, so far exceeded their capacities, that they thought they were rather the workes of gods than men, or at least the gods had taught us how to make them, which loved us so much better than them; and caused many of them to give credit to what we spake concerning our God. In all places where I came, I did my best to make His immortall glory knowne; and I told them, although the Bible I shewed them contained all, yet of itselfe, it was not of any such vertue as I thought they did conceive. Notwithstanding,

many would be glad to touch it, to kisse, and embrace it, to hold it to their breasts and heads, and stroke all their body over with it."*

Unhappily, however, the majority of the colonists were less distinguished by marks of piety and prudence than by an eager and vehement desire of gaining sudden and great wealth. Failing in this, and in their vexation dealing harshly with the Indians, the natives sought to rid themselves of their visitors, willing even to abandon their fields without planting, if famine would drive away the English. Lane, apprehensive of a conspiracy to destroy the colony, sought an interview with Wiggins, the most active of the chiefs, and treacherously murdered all within his reach. The stock of provisions which they had brought from England was exhausted; and the colony, reduced to very great straits, was about to dissolve; when unexpectedly Sir Francis Drake appeared with his fleet, on his return from a successful expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies. He supplied to the full the wants of Lane; gave him a bark of seventy tons, with suitable boats, and arranged everything for the prosperous continuance of the colony. A sudden storm, however, destroyed the vessel which Drake had provided; and not only the colonists themselves, but Lane also, in great despondency, begged to be permitted to return with Drake's ships to England. The privilege was freely given, and in June, 1586, the settlement at Roanoke was abandoned.

* Hakluyt, vol. iii., p. 324.

Their desertion of the colony was quite too precipitate; for only a few days after their departure, a vessel arrived laden with stores. It had been sent by Raleigh; but finding the colony broken up, the ship returned home again. Within less than two weeks, Sir Richard Grenville, too, appeared off the coast with three ships well furnished, in search of the colony. Leaving fifty men* on the island of Roanoke, with two years' provisions, he also returned home. "The Paradise of the World" thus far had been little else than expense and disappointment.†

Raleigh, however, was not the man to yield to disappointment. The valuable descriptions which Hariot gave of the country and its productions, **1587.** the soil, climate, etc., rendered it comparatively easy to collect a new colony for America; and it was determined to found if possible an enduring state. Emigrants with their wives and

families were sent out to make their homes in the New World; municipal regulations were established; Mr. John White was appointed governor, and a charter of incorporation was granted for the "City of Raleigh." Leaving Portsmouth on the 26th of April, they anchored off the coast on the 22d of July. An immediate search was made for the men left the year before on the island of Roanoke; but in vain. The Indians had easily wreaked their vengeance upon them. Desolation and ruin brooded over the scene.

According to the instructions of Raleigh, Chesapeake Bay was marked out for the new settlement; but dissension speedily arising, White was unable to proceed farther, and the foundations of the proposed city were laid on the island of Roanoke. Manteo, with his kindred, joyfully welcomed the English; but the Indians in general were decidedly hostile. As little progress could be made under so many discouraging circumstances, the united voices of the colonists begged White to return with the ship to England to secure prompt and abundant supplies and reinforcements. Only a few days before sailing, the daughter of the Governor, Mrs. Eleanor Dare—August 8th—gave birth to a daughter, who was the first child born of English parentage on the soil of the United States. She was appropriately named VIRGINIA DARE. Reluctantly leaving his family and the colony, which now numbered eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and eleven children, White returned home. He was never privileged to look upon them again.

* Mr. Bancroft says fifteen; but Smith, and others, fifty. The latter seems the more probable number.

† It is asserted by Camden, that tobacco was now for the first time brought into England by these settlers; and there can be little doubt that Lane had been directed to import it by Raleigh, who must have seen it used in France during his residence there. There is a well-known tradition, that Sir Walter first began to smoke it privately in his study, and that his servant coming in with his tankard of ale and nutmeg, as he was intent upon his book, seeing the smoke issuing from his mouth, threw all the liquor in his face by way of extinguishing the fire, and running down stairs, alarmed the family with piercing cries, that his master, before they could get up, would be burned to ashes. From its being deemed a fashionable acquirement, and from the favorable opinion of its salutary qualities entertained by several physicians, the practice of smoking spread rapidly among the English; and by a singular caprice of the human species, no less inexplicable than unexampled, it has happened that tobacco has come into almost universal use.

On reaching England, White found the whole country aroused to prepare for the great invasion threatened by Philip of Spain and his Invincible Armada. Yet Raleigh was not forgetful of his colony; even amidst his engrossing cares at home, he managed to fit out,

1588. in April, two vessels with supplies; but the ships' company,

eager after prize-money, sought the gains of privateering rather than the path of duty. Worst in an engagement, they were compelled to put back, and thus they virtually abandoned the colony to ruin. The delay proved fatal; nothing further could be done at the time; Raleigh was nearly bankrupt by the heavy outlays to which he had been subjected; and it was not

1590. till 1590 that White was enabled to return and search for his family and the colony he had left. Roanoke was literally a desert; the ruins of desolate habitations, and the word "Croatan," on the bark of a tree, were all the traces that remained of the ill-fated colony. It was thought possible that they might have taken refuge with Manteo and his people; but nothing transpired ever after to point out what had been their lot.

Raleigh, who had spent nearly \$200,000 in his noble efforts, was unable to do anything more. Accordingly he assigned his rights as proprietary to Sir

1589. Thomas Smith and a company of merchants in London, and engaged in other schemes, especially that of penetrating into the heart of Guiana, where he fondly hoped to repair his shattered fortunes. The London company did not succeed in in-

ducing colonists to go to Virginia; they simply carried on a traffic of no great moment, by the agency of a few vessels, without being able to effect any settlements in the New World. Hence, in 1603, after a period of more than a hundred years from the time that Cabot discovered the Continent of North America, and twenty from the time that Raleigh sent out his first colony, not a single Englishman remained in the New World. Thus slowly did the work of colonization go on!

In the last year of the reign of Elizabeth, Bartholomew Gos- **1602.**
nold set out in a small vessel to make a more direct course to Virginia than that which was usual by way of the Canaries and West Indies. In seven weeks he reached the coast of Massachusetts, near Nahant. Keeping to the south in search of a harbor, he discovered the promontory which he called Cape Cod; this was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen. Doubling the cape, and passing Nantucket, they entered Buzzard's Bay, which they called Gosnold's Hope. On the westernmost of the islands in the Bay they determined to settle, and named it Elizabeth, after the queen. They built a fort and store-house, on a rocky islet in the centre of a small lake of fresh water, traces of which were seen by Dr. Belknap in 1797. They were delighted with the luxuriant vegetation of early summer, the fragrance of the scented shrubs, the abundance of the wild grapes and strawberries; and the natural impulse was to wish to remain

there. But the smallness of their number, surrounded as they were with the Indians, the want of provisions, and the recollection of what had befallen the hapless settlers in Virginia, with the dissensions that sprung up, induced them, shortly after, to return to England. They arrived in less than four months from the time of their departure, without having suffered from any sickness; and spread on all sides most favorable reports of the soil and climate of the new-discovered lands, while the new course they had held was shorter by one third than any by which the shores of America had been previously visited.

The accession of James I. was speedily followed by peace between **1603.** England and Spain. Many active and energetic men who had been engaged in the struggle, were desirous of new fields of labor and enterprise, and nothing promised so well as the New World. Merchants and others became deeply interested in the reports of Gosnold and his companions, and it was not found difficult to induce them to undertake the following up the discoveries already made. These projects were powerfully aided by the judicious counsel and zealous encouragement of Richard Hakluyt, a prebendary of Westminster, a man of eminent attainments in naval and commercial knowledge, the patron and counsellor of many of the English expeditions of discovery, and the historian of their exploits. By his persuasion, two vessels were fitted out by the merchants of Bristol, under command of Martin Pring, to examine the

discoveries of Gosnold, and ascertain the correctness of his statements. They returned with an ample confirmation of his veracity. A similar expedition, commanded by Captain Weymouth, equipped and despatched **1605.** by Lord Arundel, not only produced additional testimony to the same effect, but reported so many further particulars in favor of the country, that all doubts were removed; and an association sufficiently numerous, wealthy, and powerful, to attempt a settlement, being soon formed, a petition was presented to the king for the sanction of his authority to its being carried into effect.

James listened with a favorable ear to the application. But as the extent as well as value of the American continent began now to be better known, a grant of the whole of such a vast region to any one body of men, however reputable, appeared to him an act of impolitic and profuse liberality. For this reason he divided **1606.** that portion of North America, which stretches from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, into two districts nearly equal; the one called the First or South Colony of Virginia, the other, the Second or North Colony. He authorized Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, and their associates in the London Company, being mostly resident in London, to plant anywhere between thirty-four and forty-one degrees of north latitude, or between Cape Fear and the east end of Long Island. The Plymouth Company, composed of residents in the west of England,

might plant anywhere between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, or between Delaware Bay and Halifax; but neither company were to begin its settlement within a hundred miles of any spot previously occupied by the other. Each colony was to extend along the coast fifty miles either way from the point first occupied, and from the same point inland a hundred miles, embracing ten thousand square miles of continental territory. The supreme government of the colonies that were to be settled, was vested in a council, resident in England, named by the king, with laws and ordinances given under his sign manual; and the subordinate jurisdiction was committed to a council, resident in America, which was also nominated by the king, and to act conformably to his instructions. The charter, while it thus restricted the emigrants in the important article of internal regulations, secured to them and their descendants all the rights of denizens, in the same manner as if they had remained or had been born in England; and granted them the privilege of holding their lands in America by the freest and least burdensome tenure. The king permitted whatever was necessary for the sustenance or commerce of the new colonies to be exported from England, during the space of seven years, without paying any duty; and, as a farther incitement to industry, he granted them liberty of trade with other nations; and appropriated the duty to be levied on foreign commodities, as a fund for the benefit of the colonies, for the period of twenty-one years. He also

granted them liberty of coining money, of repelling enemies, and of detaining ships trading there without their leave "In this singular charter," says Dr. Robertson, "the contents of which have been little attended to by the historians of America, some articles are as unfavorable to the rights of the colonists as others are to the interest of the parent state. By placing the legislative and executive powers in a council nominated by the crown, and guided by its instructions, every person settling in America seems to be bereaved of the noblest privilege of a free man; by the unlimited permission of trade with foreigners, the parent state is deprived of that exclusive commerce which has been deemed the chief advantage resulting from the establishment of colonies. But in the infancy of colonization, and without the guidance of observation or experience, the ideas of men, with respect to the mode of forming new settlements, were not fully unfolded or properly arranged. At a period when they could not foresee the future grandeur and importance of the communities which they were about to call into existence, they were ill qualified to concert the best plan for governing them. Besides, the English of that age, accustomed to the high prerogative and arbitrary rule of their monarchs, were not animated with such liberal sentiments, either concerning their own personal or political rights, as have become familiar in the more mature and improved state of their constitution."*

* Robertson's "*History of America*," book ix p. 212.

Not long after the grant of this charter, James issued "Instructions for the Government of Virginia," in which he appointed a council, as provided for in the charter, to be increased or altered at the king's pleasure, and authorized to nominate and superintend the local councils, reduced by these instructions to seven members each. These seven were to choose a president from their own number, with power to suspend him or any counsellor for good cause, and to fill vacancies till new appointments came from England; the president to have a double vote. It was made the especial duty of these councils to provide that "the true Word and service of God, according to the rites and service of the Church of England, be preached, planted, and used in the colonies and among the neighboring savages." Tumults, rebellion, conspiracy, mutiny and

sedition, along with seven other offences, all triable by jury, were declared capital; lesser offences were to be tried summarily, and punished by the local councils at their discretion; all laws enacted by these councils not touching life or limb, to remain in force till set aside by the king or the council for Virginia. For five years after their first plantation, the trade and industry of the colonists were to remain a common stock, or "two or three stocks at the most," to be managed, in each colony, by a factor selected annually by the local council, and in England, by committees appointed for that purpose. A knowledge of these provisions is quite necessary to make the early history of Virginia intelligible.

Under such a state of things as this, and under auspices of this nature, was the first permanent settlement effected by Englishmen in the New World.

CHAPTER IV.

1606—1625.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.

The London Company — Members of the council and emigrants — Dissensions — Enter Chesapeake Bay — Jamestown — John Smith — His eminent value to the colony — Sickness — Smith takes the lead — Explorations — Taken prisoner — Saved by Pocahontas — New arrivals — Smith explores the Chesapeake — Made president of the council — New charter — Lord Delaware captain-general — Character of emigrants — Smith returns to England — The "starving-time" — Timely arrival of Gates, Somers, and Lord Delaware — Return of better days — Dale — Enlargement of grant — Marriage of Pocahontas — Rights of private property — Argall — Yearley — First Colonial Assembly — Introduction of Negro slavery — Tobacco, cotton, etc. — Colony not profitable to the Company — Massacre by the Indians — Retaliation — Dissolution of the Company — Death of King James.

THE London Company consisted of Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Edward Maria Wingfield, and others, especially Sir Thomas Smith, one of the assignees of Raleigh's patent. Every contributor of about

sixty dollars was entitled to a hundred acres of land, and every person **1606.** emigrating to the colony, or carrying others there at his own expense, was allowed a hundred acres for each person. On all grants of lands a quit-rent was reserved. Three vessels were fitted out by the Company, under command of Christopher Newport, and together with Wingfield, Gosnold, Hunt, the chaplain, and the famous John Smith, a hundred and five men embarked—this was on the 19th of December, 1606. Unfortunately, less than twenty of these were practical mechanics and workmen, the large proportion being in no sense possessed of the qualifications necessary in laying the foundations of a colony in a new and unknown world.

Dissensions arose on the voyage, almost of necessity, for the king, by a refinement of folly, had sealed up in a tin box, the names and instructions of those who were to form the council. The evident superiority of Smith for the present undertaking excited envy and jealousy, and on a frivolous charge he was put in confinement on the voyage. The prudent and judicious conduct and exhortations of the excellent chaplain served, however, greatly to allay the feelings of jealousy and animosity which had been aroused. Newport took the old route by the Canaries, so that he **1607** did not reach the coast of Virginia till April, 1607. By what may be termed a fortunate gale, he was driven quite past the site of the old colony, into the mouth of the noble Chesapeake Bay. The headlands were called Cape Henry and Cape Charles,

and the deep water for anchorage led to the name of Point Comfort. Delighted with this noble inlet, they sailed up and explored James River for fifty miles, and there fixed upon the site for the colony. The name JAMESTOWN was adopted, and it is the oldest town founded by the English in America.

Smith was found named as one of the council, when the box came to be opened, yet so great was the jealousy of Wingfield that he succeeded in having the only competent man among them excluded from the council, and put upon his trial for sedition. He was honorably acquitted, and by the good offices of Hunt, the chaplain, was restored to his seat in the council. Indeed, had it not been for this courageous, energetic, and ever ready man, the whole colony would probably soon have shared the like disastrous fate with that at Roanoke.

In company with Newport, Smith ascended James River, and visited Powhatan, who received them with ceremony, but with little cordiality. In June, Newport returned to England with the ships, and the colonists became speedily sensible of their true position. Weak in numbers, reduced by sickness, without suitable provisions, suffering from the summer heats, exposed to the hostility of the natives, their condition was truly deplorable; half of the whole died before autumn, one of whom was Gosnold. The president of the council, Wingfield, was deposed for avarice and endeavoring meanly to desert the colony in its trouble; Ratcliffe, his successor, was

quite incompetent; so that, in fact, the whole care and management of affairs fell into the hands of Smith. And well was it for the colony that so it was.

The fortifications were repaired; conspiracies set on foot by Wingfield and others were crushed; and winter, as it approached, furnished plenty of game and wild fowl. Smith now set out to explore the Chickahominy, a tributary which entered James River a little above Jamestown. This was in obedience to a command which required, with singular ignorance as to the breadth of the continent, that a communication should be sought with the South Sea, by ascending some stream that flowed from the north-west. Surprised by the Indians while on this expedition, Smith was made prisoner: his presence of mind did not forsake him: he so astonished the Indians with a pocket compass, and with accounts of its marvellous powers, that he was conducted by them with mingled triumph and fear from tribe to tribe, as a remarkable being, whose character and designs they were unable to penetrate, in spite of all the incantations of their seers. At length he was brought into the presence of the aged Powhatan. The politic chief, seated in the midst of his women, received him with a display of barbaric ceremony; and whilst he was feasted they proceeded to deliberate upon his fate. Their fears dictated the policy of his destruction; he was suddenly dragged forward, his head placed upon a large stone, and the club already uplifted to dash out his brains, when Pocahontas, "the king's

most deare and well-beloved daughter a child of tenne or twelve years of age," after unavailing and passionate entreaties for the life of the white man, so noble a being to her youthful imagination, ran forward and clung to him with her arms, and laying her head upon his own, disarmed the savage fury of his executioners. The life of the wondrous stranger was preserved, and his open and generous character won the heart of the youthful Pocahontas. By the promise of "life, liberty, land, and women," they now sought to engage Smith in an attack upon the colonists, but his address and influence turned them from the project, and he was, after seven weeks' captivity, dismissed with promises of support and amity. Like a tutelary genius, the loving Indian girl, after saving the life of their chief, "revived the dead spirits" of the colonists by her attention to their wants, bringing every day with her attendants, baskets of provisions, so that, the enmity of the savages disarmed, and a supply of food obtained, "all men's fear was now abandoned."

On his return to Jamestown, Smith found the colony on the brink of ruin, and only at the risk of his life succeeded in preventing the de-
1608sertion of the forty persons yet remaining. Newport soon after arrived with supplies and a hundred and twenty emigrants. These, however, proved not only of no service to the colony, but positively injurious, for, being chiefly vagabond gentlemen and goldsmiths, they stirred up the old thirst for gold; and Newport was



THE SCAPEGOAT. BY J. H. BRADY.



foolish enough to carry back to England a cargo of worthless earth which covetous and greedy eyes had magnified into sands full of gold. Little satisfied with such egregious folly, Smith now undertook, in an open barge of three tons' burden, the exploration of the vast Bay of the Chesapeake. The event was more answerable to his anticipations, than to the very limited means at his command. During three months he visited all the countries on the eastern and western shores, explored the Patapsco, the Potomac, and others of the great tributaries that swell that magnificent basin, trading with friendly tribes, fighting with those hostile, observing the nature and productions of their territories, and leaving behind him, by the exercise of ready tact and dauntless intrepidity, unstained by a single act of cruelty, a high impression of the valor and nobleness of the English character. After sailing in two successive cruises above three thousand miles, in contending with hardship and peril, and the discouragement of his companions, whose complaints he humorously silenced by a reference to the expedition of Lane, and the "dogge's porridge" to which he had been reduced, he succeeded in bringing back to Jamestown an account of the regions bordering on the Chesapeake, with a map that long served as the basis of subsequent delineations.

A few days after his return, Smith was made president of the council, and speedily infused vigor and activity into the whole administration of the colony. Seventy new emigrants, two of them females, arrived, but as before, they

were quite unsuitable in character for the benefit of the settlement:

"When you send again," Smith **1608.** wrote home, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have." But he was equal **1609.** to the emergency, and his firmness never gave way; despite all difficulties, he enforced order and industry among the colonists.

The London Company, chagrined at its failure of acquiring sudden wealth, readily agreed to a change in its constitution. The king made over to the Company the powers which he had reserved to himself; the supreme council was to be chosen by the stockholders themselves, and in the exercise of the powers of legislation and government was independent of the king. The limits of the colony were extended, and many of the nobility and gentry, as well as tradesmen of London, became associates in the Company. The Council thus empowered to establish what laws they deemed best for the colony, and to send out a governor to execute them, obtained absolute control over the lives, liberty, and fortunes of the colonists. There seemed now reasonable hope of at least a firm and effective administration of the affairs of the colony. The first act of the new council was to appoint Lord Delaware, whose virtues adorned his rank, as Governor and Captain-general of the colony. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers were authorized to administer its affairs until his arrival.

Under such auspices, an expedition of unusual magnitude might have been expected; and nine vessels, under the command of Newport, containing more than five hundred emigrants, were soon on their way out. The prosperity of Virginia seemed placed at length beyond the reach of danger. An unforeseen accident interrupted their sanguine expectations; a violent storm arose; the vessel on board of which were Gates, Somers, and Newport, was separated from the rest, and after a narrow escape from foundering, was stranded on the coast of the Bermudas, but without loss of life. The rest of the ships, with the exception of one small ketch, succeeded in reaching Jamestown in safety.

Smith meanwhile had been zealously occupied in maintaining order and security among the little band of colonists. The sudden arrival of so considerable a reinforcement disconcerted all his arrangements. The new emigrants were "unruly gallants, packed off to escape ill destinies at home," men of broken fortunes and unsteady habits; the actual government was void, the fate of the new governor uncertain, the provisional authority of Smith doubtful and contested, and everything tended to the speedy dissolution of their little society. Union alone could insure their defence against the Indians, whose jealousy of their encroachments was steadily gaining ground; but every day their dissensions increased. Powhatan, checked at times by the ascendancy of Smith, at others formed plans for cutting them all off. In these distresses and perils

Pocahontas still proved herself the guardian angel of the unruly colonists; and, "under God," as Smith declared in a letter to the queen of James I., "the instrument for preserving them from death, famine, and utter confusion. When her father," he observes, "with policy sought to surprise me, having but eighteen men with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and with watery eyes gave me intelligence, with her best advice, to escape his fury, which, had he known, he had surely slain her." While disunion thus exposed the settlers to Indian treachery, the want of concerted industry, and the rapid consumption of their stores, soon threatened them with all the horrors of famine. Although his authority had been superseded, Smith still continued, from a feeling of public spirit, to wrestle with the factious colonists, and to hold the helm until the arrival of his successor. But at this critical period, when every thing seemed to be rapidly tending to anarchy and ruin, an accidental explosion of gunpowder inflicted upon him a dangerous wound which the surgical skill of Virginia could not relieve. "Delegating his authority to Percy, he embarked for England. Extreme suffering from his wounds, and the ingratitude of his employers were the fruits of his services. He received for his sacrifices and his perilous exertions, not one foot of land, not the house he himself had built, not the field his own hands had planted, nor any reward but the applause of his conscience and the world. He was the Father of Vir-

ginia, the true leader who first planted the Saxon race within the borders of the United States. His judgment had been ever clear in the midst of general despondency. He united the highest spirit of adventure with consummate powers of action. His courage and self-possession accomplished what others esteemed desperate. Fruitful in expedients, he was prompt in execution. Though he had been harassed by the persecutions of malignant envy, he never revived the memory of the faults of his enemies. He was accustomed to lead, not to send, his men to danger; would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay. He had nothing counterfeit in his nature; but was open, honest, and sincere. He clearly discerned that it was the true interest of England not to seek in Virginia for gold and sudden wealth, but to enforce regular industry. 'Nothing,' said he, 'is to be expected thence but by labor.'**

This illustrious man never revisited Virginia, although he was several times in New England in the service of the Plymouth Company. His death occurred in 1631, at London, in the fifty-second year of his age. Mr. Hillard, in his well-written biography of Captain Smith, thus sums up the obligations which America owes to him:—"The debt of gratitude due to him is national and American, and so should his glory be. Wherever upon this continent the English language is spoken, his deeds should be recounted, and his memory hallowed. His services should

not only be not forgotten, but should be freshly remembered. His name should not only be honored by the silent canvass, and the cold marble, but his praises should dwell living upon the lips of men, and should be handed down by fathers to their children. Poetry has imagined nothing more stirring and romantic than his life and adventures, and history, upon her ample page, has recorded few more honorable and spotless names."**

On the departure of Smith the colony speedily plunged into misery and wretchedness. Their supply of provisions soon failed; the Indians refused further aid, and murdered numbers; in less than six months a horrible famine, remembered long after in Virginia, as the "*starving time*," brought the colony to the last point; out of five hundred persons left by Smith in the colony, only sixty remained; and indolence, vice, and famine had so reduced these, that had relief been delayed ten days longer they also must have perished.

But succor arrived in season to prevent so sad a catastrophe. Gates and Somers, who had been shipwrecked on the Bermudas, but without losing a single life, had fortunately succeeded in preserving their provisions and stores; and while the colonists of Virginia had suffered the pinchings of want, the spontaneous bounties of nature had richly supported them for many months. Anxious to rejoin their companions, they constructed two crazy

1610.

* Bancroft's "*History of the United States*," vol. i., p. 138.

** "*Life of Captain John Smith*," p. 143. See also Mr. W. G. Simms's picturesque and pleasantly written *Life of the same brave adventurer*.

vessels, and were fortunate enough, May 24th, to reach Virginia in safety. They were horror-struck at the appearance of the few surviving colonists, and, finding that their stores would last but for sixteen days longer, they resolved to abandon Virginia, the scene of so many and prolonged miseries, and even to consume the town on their departure; an act of insane folly which was happily prevented by Gates. On the 7th of June, at noon, they embarked in four pinnaces, and fell down the river with the tide. Next morning, before they had reached the sea, they were startled with the sudden appearance of the long boat of Lord Delaware, who had just arrived at the mouth of the river with ships and reinforcements. By persuasion and authority he prevailed upon the melancholy band to return. The first act of Lord Delaware was, on the 10th of June, to publish his commission, and to consecrate his functions by the solemnities of prayer and supplication to God. The hearts of the colonists were full; the arrival of the governor seemed to them like a special deliverance of Divine Providence. They took courage to grapple with the difficulties of their situation, and ere long found them to yield to determined energy. The mingled firmness and gentleness of the new governor restrained the factious, and won over the dissolute and refractory. A regular system of daily labor was established, and every one submitted to his appointed work, which was regularly preceded by public worship. The colony now began to put forth some promise of permanent establish-

ment; but scarcely had Lord Delaware brought about this gratifying result, when his health failed, and he was compelled to return to England, leaving George Percy as his deputy. During his short stay, he had not only reduced the colonists, now numbering about two hundred, to some degree of order, but had repressed the encroachments of the Indians, by the erection of new forts, and by attacking some of their villages. Sir George Somers was dispatched for provisions to the Bermudas, but he did not live to return. Captain Samuel Argall, who accompanied him in another vessel, succeeded at last in obtaining supplies of corn on the shores of the Potomac.

In May, soon after the departure of Lord Delaware, Sir Thomas Dale **1611.** arrived in Virginia with three ships, three hundred emigrants, and a supply of cattle, provisions, and other articles needful for the colony. He was empowered to administer summary justice upon any and all classes of offenders. In the latter part of August, Sir Thomas Gates also arrived with six ships, two hundred and eighty men, and twenty women, a considerable quantity of cattle and hogs, military stores, and other necessaries; and assumed the government amid the thanksgivings of the colony, and with daily prayers for England, their much loved native land. The colony now began to extend itself up James River, where several new settlements were effected, and a town built, enclosed with a palisade, which, in honor of prince Henry, was called Henrico. Yet the rights of the Indians were not sufficiently re-

garded, and in general scant justice was meted out to them.

In the following year the Adventurers in England obtained from **1612.** the king an enlargement of their grants. The Bermudas were included within the limits of their third patent, but were soon after transferred to a separate Company, and named, in honor of Sir George Somers, the Somers Islands. The supreme power which heretofore resided in the Council was now transferred to the Company, and frequent meetings were held for the transaction of business, thus giving to the corporation something of a democratic form. The colony continued steadily to increase in prosperity, and was especially favored at this period in its history by a firm alliance being effected between the English and Powhatan and the Indians, in consequence of the marriage of the gentle and affectionate Pocahontas.

A foraging party, headed by Argall, had succeeded in carrying off this noble maiden, and when her father indignantly demanded her return it was refused. Hostilities were about to break out, when a worthy young Englishman, named John Rolfe, winning the **1613.** favor of Pocahontas, asked her in marriage. Powhatan was delighted; his daughter, docile and gentle, was soon instructed in the Christian faith, and received baptism at the hands of that good man and minister of Christ, the Rev. Alexander Whitaker. The marriage was solemnized by the same clergyman,* according to the usages of

the Episcopal Church. The powerful Chickahominies sought the friendship of the English, and it was earnestly hoped that intermarriages might become frequent; but no such result followed. The colonists seemed to have eschewed all alliances of the kind; and the Indians nursed their vexation and wrath for a fitting revenge.

A few words seem to be only due to the fate of Pocahontas. About three years after her marriage she accompanied her husband to England, where she was much caressed for her gentle, modest behavior, and her great services to the colony. Here she fell in again with the gallant Smith, whom from report she supposed to have been long dead, and who has left us an interesting account of his interview with her, and of the circumstances of her untimely death: "Being about this time preparing to set sail for New England, I could not stay to do her that service I desired and she well deserved; but hearing shee was at Branford with divers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without any word, she turned about, obscured her face, as not seeming well contented; and in that humour, her husband with divers others, we all left her two or three houres, repenting my selfe to have writ she could speake English; but not long after, she began to talke, and remembered mee well what courtesies she had done, saying, 'You did promise Powhatan what was yours should bee his, and he the like to you; you called him father, being in his land a stranger; and by the same reason so must I doe you;'

* Dr. Hawks's "*Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia*," p. 28.

which though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a king's daughter; with a well-set countenance, she said, 'Were you not afraid to come into my father's countrie, and caused feare in him and all his people but mee, and feare you here I should call you father? I tell you, then, I will, and you shall call mee child, and so I will bee for ever and ever your councieman. They did tell us alwaies you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plimoth; yet Powhatan did command Uttamatomakin to seeke you and know the truth, because your counciemen will lie much.'

"The treasurer, councell, and companie having well furnished Captaine Samuel Argall, the Lady Pocahontas, alias Rebecca, with her husband and others, in the good ship called the George, it pleased God, at Gravesend, to take this young lady to his mercie, where shee made not more sorrow for her unexpected death, than joy to the beholders to hear and see her make so religious and godly an end."* This sad event occurred in 1617, when Pocahontas was about twenty-two years of age. She left an infant son, who was educated in England, and through whom several families in Virginia claim direct descent from the daughter of Powhatan.

The stability of the colony was much promoted by the establishment of a right of private property, and the addition of a number of respectable young women from England. Sir Thomas Dale, though empowered to

exercise martial law, was yet so discreet and just withal, that no oppression was felt during the five years that he remained in the colony—from 1611 to 1616. Argall, in 1613, fell upon a colony which the French were just planting on the Penobscot, and completely destroyed it: subsequently he sailed north again, on a sort of piratical expedition, and threw down the fortifications of De Monts on the isle of St. Croix, and set fire to the deserted settlement of Port Royal. On his return, in November, it is said that he entered the mouth of the Hudson and compelled the Dutch traders on the island of Manhattan to make an acknowledgment of the authority and claims of England. But the statement is unsupported, and probably fictitious.*

Gates returned to England in 1614, and Dale two years later, leaving George Yeardley as deputy-governor. Through the efforts of a faction he was displaced, and Argall, an active, but coarse and tyrannical man, was appointed deputy-governor, and also admiral of the country and the neighboring seas. His rapacity and tyranny soon occasioned loud complaints, and the Company solicited Lord Delaware to resume his former office: he left England, but died on the passage off the entrance of the bay which bears his name. After a struggle, Yeardley, the former deputy, was appointed governor, and the honor of knighthood was conferred upon him.

* Smith's "History of Virginia," p. 121.

* Mr. Brodhead positively asserts its falsity. See his "History of the State of New York," First Period, p. 54.

Argall made a hasty departure to the West Indies. Yeardley, soon after his arrival, called together the first Colonial Assembly of Virginia, composed of the governor, the council, and deputies from the eleven plantations. These deputies were called burgesses, a name of note in the history of Virginia. Two years later, when Sir Francis Wyatt succeeded Yeardley, the Company issued a Charter or Ordinance, which gave a constitution and permanent government to the colony. At the same time the plantations were divided into parishes, a glebe of a hundred acres was allowed to each clergyman, and public worship according to the usages of the Church of England was positively enjoined.

Sir Edwin Sandys, whose integrity and energy were of the highest value, had succeeded Sir Thomas Smith, as treasurer. During the year that he held office he sent out to Virginia twelve hundred emigrants, among whom were ninety young women, who became wives of the planters on the payment to the Company of a hundred pounds of tobacco, equal to about \$75. The introduction of these into the colony, sanctioned by marriage and domestic ties, was in every point of view a decided advantage, and proved in the result a blessing. The king also did the colony the great injustice to send out a hundred dissolute vagabonds, picked out of the jails and sold to be servants for a term of years—a practice, by the way, which was long continued, though earnestly protested against by the colonists. At this date, a Dutch trading vessel brought into

Jamestown a cargo of twenty negroes, who were purchased by the planters for slaves: at intervals 1620. others were brought and purchased in the same way, and for the same purpose. Whatever may have since been thought and said of the practice of buying and selling negroes, it is but simple justice to state, that neither the Virginians of that day, nor any one else, supposed that there was the slightest moral wrong in condemning to perpetual slavery that part of the human race whose skin is black.

The Earl of Southampton succeeded Sandys as treasurer, and, during the two years following, twenty-three hundred emigrants were sent to Virginia. New plantations were established on James and York Rivers; and an estate of ten thousand acres near the falls of James River was assigned as an endowment for a College in which the Indians, as well as colonists, were to be educated. "The cultivation of tobacco had given a sudden impulse to Virginia; but the use of it was still quite limited, and the English market was soon overstocked. The price began to fall, and great anxiety was evinced by the enlightened treasurer for the introduction into the colony of other staples—flax, silk, wine, and the preparation of lumber. New attempts were made at the manufacture of glass, pitch, tar, and potashes, and some Italians and Dutch were sent out to instruct the colonists in these operations."*

The colony thus far, on the whole,

* Hildreth's *History of the United States*; vol. i., p. 121

had not proved profitable to the Company; although it had taken deep root, and promised great results in the future.* Sir Francis Wyatt superseded

1621. Yeardley as governor, and was instructed, beside restricting the amount of tobacco which each planter might raise, to cultivate the good will of the natives. But unhappily it was too late, and a fearful visitation fell upon the colony in consequence.

The aged Powhatan was dead. Opechancanough, his successor, a bold and cunning chief, had bided his time, and in profound secrecy he arranged and matured a scheme for an universal massacre of the whites. The Indians had been treated with contempt, as enemies of no moment; military exercises had gone into desuetude; and the Indians had gradually become as dexterous as the colonists in the use of

1622. fire-arms. On the 22d of March, at a given signal, in the midst of apparent security, they fell upon every settlement; men, women, and children were slaughtered without mercy; and had not a converted Indian, named *Chanco*, given warning the night before, the extent of the massacre must have been nearly universal. As it was, three hundred and fifty persons perished, including six of the Council. "And thus," says a contemporary, quoted by old Purchas, "the rest of the colony, that had warning given them, by this means was

saved. Such was—God be thanked for it—the good fruit of an infidel converted to Christianity; for though three hundred and more of ours died by many of these pagan infidels, yet thousands of ours were saved by the means of one of them alone, which was made a Christian."

A savage war of retaliation and extermination ensued. Sickness and famine, too, came upon them, and within a brief period the colonists were reduced from four thousand to twenty-five hundred. But the white men soon regained their wonted superiority over the red race, and the Indians, entrapped by lying promises of security and immunity, were slain without mercy: this state of warfare continued for about fourteen years.

The colonists, by the terms of the charter, were not much better than indentured servants to the Company, who, notwithstanding the privileges they had granted, still retained the supreme direction of affairs. Their policy was narrow, timid, and fluctuating; and its unfortunate result led to dis-
1623. sensions, in which political, even more than commercial, questions, soon became the subject of eager dispute. In England the ministerial faction eagerly endeavored to fortify itself by gaining adherents among the Virginia Company, but the great majority were determined to assert the rights and liberties of the subject at home, as well as of the colonists abroad. A freedom of discussion on political matters in general was thus generated, which was regarded by the asserters of royal prerogative, as being of highly dangerous

* "The first culture of cotton in the United States deserves commemoration. This year (1621) the seeds were planted as an experiment; and their plentiful coming up' was, at that early day, a subject of interest in America and England."—Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. i., p. 179.

tendency. King James, who had taken the alarm, was appealed to as arbiter by the minority, and, furnished with a pretext in the ill-success and presumed mismanagement of the Company's affairs, determined upon a summary method of reforming them after his own standard. Without legal right, by the exercise of his prerogative alone, he ordered the records of the Company in London to be taken possession of, and appointed a commission to sit in judgment upon its proceedings, while another body was sent to Virginia to inquire into the condition and management of the colony. The first inquiry brought, it was confessed, much mismanagement to light, upon which the king, by an order in council, declared his own intention to assume in future the appointment of the officers of the colony, and the supreme direction of its affairs. The directors were invited to accede to this arrangement, on pain of the forfeiture of their charter. Paralysed by the suddenness of this attack upon their privileges, they begged that they might be allowed time for consideration. An answer in three days' time was peremptorily insisted on. Thus menaced, they determined to stand upon their rights, and to surrender them only to force. Upon their decided refusal, a writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued by the king against the Company, in order that the validity of its charter might be tried in

the court of King's Bench. Parliament having assembled, a last appeal was made; little sympathy, however, had that body for their exclusive privileges. At length the commissioners returned from Virginia with accumulated evidences of misgovernment, and an earnest recommendation to the monarch to recur to the original constitution of 1606, and to abrogate the democratic element which, it was asserted, had occasioned so much dissension and misrule. This afforded additional ground for a decision, which, as usual in that age, says Robertson, was "perfectly consonant to the wishes of the monarch. The charter was forfeited, the Company was dissolved, and all the rights and privileges conferred on it returned to the king, from whom they flowed." Thus fell the Virginia Company, in 1625, after spending nearly \$700,000 in their efforts to establish the colony.

An agent was sent to England by the colonists praying that no change might take place in their acquired franchises and privileges; he, however, died on the passage. James continued Wyatt in office to exercise his authority on the precedent of the last five years, i. e., from the time that the Company established the Colonial Assembly. The king had further plans in view, but his death on the 27th of March, 1625, finally closed his career with all its good and all its evil.

CHAPTER V.

1609—1640.

SETTLEMENT OF NEW NETHERLAND.

Henry Hudson—Enters the service of the Dutch—Discovers and explores the River now called by his name—His conduct to the natives—His fate—Dutch East India Company—Block's explorations—New Netherland—The Walloons—Purchase of Manhattan Island—Trade the principal object—Plan of Colonization—The patroons and their purchases—Swaanendael—Difficulties of this plan—Minnit recalled—Van Twiller governor—Disputes with the English—Attempts of the Swedes at colonization on the Delaware—Their success.

ABOUT two years after the settlement of Jamestown, and nearly at the same point of time that Champlain was making explorations in northern New York, a famous navigator, named Henry Hudson, entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. He was by birth an Englishman, and an intimate friend of the illustrious Captain John Smith. He had already made two voyages in the employ of London merchants, in search of a north-west passage to India, but not meeting sufficient encouragement at home, he went to Holland, and, early in April, 1609, was placed in command of a small vessel of eighty tons' burden, called the *Half-Moon*, for a third voyage. Impeded by the ice in the northern seas, he ran along the coast of Acadie, entered Penobscot Bay, made the land of Cape Cod, entered the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, and on the 2d of September discovered and entered Sandy Hook Bay. On the 11th, he passed through the Narrows, and on the 12th began his voyage up that noble river which now justly perpetuates his fame, pronouncing the

country along the river's banks "as beautiful a land as one can tread upon." Hudson ascended the river with his ship as far as where the present city of Albany stands, and thence sent a boat which probably explored somewhat beyond Waterford. Mr. Hildreth stigmatizes Hudson's conduct towards the natives on several occasions, as marked by "reckless cruelty," which is hardly borne out, we think, by the facts on record.* Descending the river, Hudson, on the 4th of October, set sail for home,† and in little more than a month

* See Cleveland's "*Life of Henry Hudson*," ch. iv.

† Mr. Bancroft's language, after narrating Hudson's departure for Europe, will interest those who would like to know something about "New York as it was:"—"Sombre forests shed a melancholy grandeur over the useless magnificence of nature, and hid in their deep shades the rich soil which the sun had never warmed. No axe had levelled the giant progeny of the crowded groves, in which the fantastic forms of withered limbs, that had been blasted and riven by lightning, contrasted strangely with the verdant freshness of a younger growth of branches. The wanton grape vine, seeming by its own power to have sprung from the earth and to have fastened its leafy coils on the top of the tallest forest tree, swung in the air with every breeze like the loosened shrouds of a ship. . . . Reptiles sported in stagnant pools, or crawled unharmed over piles of mouldering trees. The spotted deer crouched among the thickets; but not to hide,



THE NATIVE AMERICANS OF THE BAY OF FUNDIA, 1848.

arrived safely at Dartmouth in England. The ship, after some eight months' delay, was allowed to continue its voyage to Holland, but Hudson was detained by a royal order, and soon after fitted out for a fourth voyage. From that voyage he never returned, but, set

1610. adrift in an open boat with his young son and eight others, he perished in the frozen regions of that Bay which still bears his name and reminds us of his fearful fate.

The Dutch East India Company claimed a right to the new lands discovered by their agent; and vessels were immediately despatched to open a trade with the natives. A

1613. few fortified trading houses were erected for this purpose on the island of Manhattan, the nucleus of the future city of New York. Argall, it is said, returning to Virginia from his attack on the French settlements, entered the harbor, and claimed the right of possession for England. Too weak to dispute his claim, the Dutch affected submission, but only till his vessels were out of sight. But this statement lacks confirmation, and is positively denied by the best authorities.* The States-general had meanwhile granted a four years' monopoly to any enterprising traders, and an Amsterdam company sent out five ships. One of these adventurers, Adriaen Block, extended the sphere of discovery by way

of the East River, ran through the formidable "Hellegat," or Hell Gate, and traced the shores of Long Island and the coasts of Connecticut as far as Cape Cod. A few years later, Captain Thomas Dermer was the first Englishman who visited the Dutch at Manhattan and sailed through Long Island Sound. A fort was erected on Manhattan Island, and another a few **1615.** miles below Albany, more, however, as centres of traffic with the Indians, than with the view of permanent colonization. After a further duration of three years, during which they were first brought into contact with the Mohawks, the easternmost of the Iroquois or Five Nations, and succeeded in opening friendly relations with different tribes of Indians, the trading monopoly passed into the hands of the **1621.** Dutch West India Company, who were endowed with the exclusive privilege of trafficking and colonizing on the coasts of Africa and America.*

This wealthy and important corporation, combining military with commercial operations, was divided into five chambers, established in five of the principal Dutch cities. Its affairs were managed by a Board of Directors called the Assembly of Nineteen; and its attention was devoted more especially to making reprisals on Spanish commerce, purchasing slaves, the conquest of Brazil, etc. New Netherland was committed to the charge of the

for there was no pursuer; and there were none but wild animals to crop the uncut herbage of the productive prairies. Silence reigned," etc., etc.—Bancroft's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii., pp. 266—8.

* See Brodhead's "*History of the State of New York*," First Period, p. 54.

* It deserves to be put on record here, to the credit of a Dutch navigator, that, in the year 1616, William Cornelis Schouten, a merchant of Hoorn, in North Holland, first sailed around the southernmost point of South America: in honor of his native city, he called it "*Cape Hoorn*."

Amsterdam Chamber. Two vessels were sent out under command **1623.** of Cornelis Jacobsen May, the companion of Block, who became the first Director of New Netherland. During his brief administration of one year, a fort was built on the Delaware called *Nassau*: there was also built, on the Hudson, where Albany now stands, **1624.** a fort named *Fort Orange*. A number of Walloons, who had been denied the privilege of settlement within the territory of the Virginia Company, came out in the vessel under command of May: these, who were, properly so called, the first colonists, settled on the north-west corner of Long Island, at Waal-Bogt — “Walloon’s Bay”—now, *Wallabout*.

In May, 1626, Peter Minuit arrived at Manhattan as Director-general of New Netherland, and entered vigorously upon the duties of his office. Manhattan Island was “purchased of the Indians for sixty gilders—**1626.** about \$24—and a block-house, surrounded by a palisade, was built at the southernmost point: this was called *Fort Amsterdam*. Staten Island was also purchased of the Indians, and the Dutch sent over to Holland specimens of wheat, rye, barley, flax, etc., as evidence of the fertility and goodness of the soil. Although the fur trade had already reached, in the value of the exports, about \$20,000 per annum, the

1627. Dutch had not as yet entertained seriously the project of actual colonization and settlement on the banks of the Hudson. They were content to enjoy the profits of trade, and to have friendly intercourse with

the English at New Plymouth, who, however, with characteristic feeling on the subject, did not fail to remind them that England claimed the region of country they were occupying; and when England claimed any thing, she was not likely very soon or easily to give it up.

The States-general were induced, however, the next year, to approve a plan for colonization which the Assembly of Nineteen had **1629.** drawn up. “Any member of the Company, who might establish in any part of New Netherland, within four years after the notice of his intention, a colony of fifty persons upwards of fifteen years of age, was to be entitled, by the name of *Patroon*, to a grant of territory so occupied, sixteen miles in extent along the sea shore, or the bank of some navigable river, or eight miles where both banks were occupied, with an indefinite extent inland. The island of Manhattan and the fur trade with the Indians were expressly reserved to the Company; and upon all trade carried on by the patroons, an acknowledgment of five per cent. was to be paid. These patroons were to extinguish the Indian title, and were to settle their lands with tenants, farmers having indented servants the same with those of Virginia; but the feudal privileges reserved to the patroons, some traces of which still exist, present a marked difference between this Dutch scheme of settlement, and the free tenure of lands adopted in Virginia. Free settlers who emigrated at their own expense, were to be allowed as much land as they could cultivate, and settlers of

every description were to be free of taxes for ten years. The colonists were forbidden to make any woolen, linen or cotton cloth, or to weave any other stuffs, on pain of being banished, and arbitrarily punished 'as perjurers,'—a regulation in the spirit of that colonial system adopted by all the nations of Europe, who sought to confine the colonists to the production of articles of export, and to keep them dependent on the mother country for the most necessary manufactures."*

The scheme met with favor: several members of the Company selected and purchased the most desirable locations on the Delaware Bay, and on the west bank of the Hudson opposite Manhattan Island. The former was called *Swaanendael*, or Swansdale; and the latter, to which Staten Island and other tracts were added, was entitled *Pavonia*. The agents of Van Rensselaer purchased the lands in the vicinity of Fort Orange: the name *Rensselaerwyck* was given to this tract, twenty-four miles long and forty-eight broad. De Vries went to Swansdale and settled there with a small colony, where the town of Lewiston now stands; and some beginnings were made in colonizing Rensselaerwyck and Pavonia.

Difficulties soon occurred between the patroons and the Company in respect to trading privileges, and Minit, who was accused of favoring the claims of the patroons, was recalled. On his return to Holland with a cargo of furs, he was compelled by

stress of weather, to put into Plymouth harbor, where he was detained and threatened with being treated as an interloper. The Dutch title to New Netherland was discussed between the governments of England and Holland, the former insisting upon her right to the territory. De Vries, in December of this year, brought supplies to the little colony at Swansdale; but sad to relate, not a living being was to be found there; the Indians had completely destroyed every thing. De Vries subsequently settled on Staten Island.

Wouter Van Twiller, who succeeded Minit, appears to have been appointed through family influence, and had few or no qualifications for the post of Director-general. He brought out with him over a hundred soldiers, a school-master, and a clergyman named Bogardus. Trade, however, was still the prevailing object with the Dutch. Nearly twenty years before, Block had ascended the Fresh or Connecticut River, where a profitable trade had commenced with the Indians, and continued to increase in importance. In order to secure this valuable traffic, the Dutch purchased of the Pequods, a tract on the west bank of the Connecticut, near where the city of Hartford now stands, and built a trading-house which was fortified with two cannon, and named the House of Good Hope. Soon after, a small vessel came from Boston with a letter to Van Twiller, from Winthrop, the governor, asserting anew the claims of England, and expressing surprise that the Dutch had taken possession on the Connecti-

* Hildreth's "History of the United States," vol. p. 142.

cut. The people of Plymouth, meanwhile, had taken steps to establish a post on the Connecticut, which they did, and when Van Twiller sent a company of soldiers to drive them out, they stood on their defence, and the Dutch withdrew without making trial of force.

The new governor was zealous in his efforts to improve New Amsterdam :

1634. a church was erected, as were barracks for the soldiers, mills, etc. But the disputes with the patroons proved a serious hindrance to the progress of the colony ; to get rid of these controversies, it was proposed to buy up the patroonships, and Swansdale was sold back to the Company for about \$6,000. On the Connecticut the Massachusetts people were gradually

1635. crowding the Dutch out, and Fort Nassau, on the Delaware, was attempted to be surprised by a party from Plymouth. Van Twiller, with an eye to his own interests, secured several valuable tracts on Long Island and other smaller islands near by. Complaints having been made against him at home by Van Dincklagen, late Schout-fiscal at New Amsterdam and an able and upright

1637. man, he was soon after recalled, and William Kieft was sent out as his successor, in March of the next year.

While the people of New England were steadily advancing towards possession of the country claimed by the Dutch on the Connecticut, new competitors also appeared in Delaware Bay, in the persons of hardy and energetic Swedes. The illustrious Gustavus Adolphus had early perceived

the advantages which would ensue from colonization in America, and under his auspices a commercial **1627** company was formed for this purpose. The untimely death of Gustavus, at the battle of Lutzen, in 1632, and the breaking out of the German war, prevented any decisive action for some years. The chancellor Oxenstiern favored the plan of the company, **1633** and renewed their patent ; but it was not till the close of 1637 that an expedition was actually fitted out. Under the command of Minuit, who had been previously Director of New Netherland, two vessels with fifty men entered the Delaware ; lands **1638.** were purchased of the natives near the head of the Bay, and a fort was built, called *Christina*, in honor of the queen of Sweden. The Dutch governor, Kieft, protested against this intrusion, but to little purpose : it was unwise to attempt hostilities against the Swedes, and he desisted. Emigration continued to increase for several years, and Printz, the governor, established a residence, and built a fort near Philadelphia : thus Pennsylvania was occupied by the Swedes long before Penn became proprietary, and the banks of the Delaware, from the ocean to the falls near Princeton, were known as NEW SWEDEN. At enmity with the Dutch in all other things, the Swedes, nevertheless, joined with them **1640.** in keeping out the English, who occasionally attempted to settle within the limits which they claimed as their own : all who came were either driven out by force or rigidly compelled to submit to Swedish authority.

CHAPTER VI.

1620—1631.

FOUNDATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

Interest and importance of New England History — The Reformation — Its effects — The English Reformation — Progress under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth — James I. — His education and conduct — Points of variance between the Puritans and the Church of England — The king's feelings toward the Puritan party — Internal dissensions — The Brownists or Independents — Elders Brewster and Robinson — Emigration to Holland — Disputes in Amsterdam — Removal to Leyden — Reasons for desiring to leave Holland — Determination to colonize in America — Set sail — Stormy voyage — Reach the coast near Cape Cod — Social compact — Plymouth Rock — Sufferings during the winter — Intercourse with the Indians — Apprehensions — Plantation at Wiscasset — State of the colony in 1630 — Massachusetts Bay colony — Question of Religion — Charter and Company transferred to New England — Foundation of Boston — Organization of churches — Severe trials — Theocratic basis of the Government — Position and influence of the ministers.

PECULIAR interest and importance belong to the early history and progress of New England. Its position among the English colonies in America; the influence which it has always exerted in American affairs; the persons by whom it was settled; the specialities of opinion and practice among the Puritan colonists; the reasons which led to their adoption of views in regard to religious and civil duties and obligations such as they held, maintained, and earnestly endeavored to carry into full effect,—these, and the like points, seem to render it necessary to inquire with some care into several matters antecedent to the landing of the Pilgrims on the rock-bound coast of New England. It will be our effort to do this as briefly and impartially as possible.

It was but natural that the great Reformation in the 16th century should have given rise to many varieties of opinions, and even very serious differences and disputes among those who re-

nounced the corruptions in doctrine and practice of the Church of Rome. When one considers what an astonishing change was wrought by the preaching and labors of such men as Luther, Zuingli, Calvin, and other eminent Reformers, among a people who had for centuries been in absolute subjection, mentally and morally, to papal domination and tyranny; when one calls to mind the vast and incalculable effect produced throughout the civilized world by the art of printing, the revival of learning in Europe, the free use of the Scriptures in the vernacular language of the people, and free discussion of all religious subjects; and further, when one remembers that there is always a tendency among men to push matters of reform to an extreme; it need not surprise us that good men, and honest and conscientious men, held sentiments not altogether accordant on many religious topics, even topics of vital importance, and adopted practices and views of the meaning of Holy Scrip-

ture which produced dissension and difficulty in the very earliest days of Protestantism.

But beside considerations of this kind, there were marked peculiarities in the origin and progress of the Reformation in England, which were almost certain to produce strong feeling on both sides, and lead to the formation of religious parties and sects within the realm. Henry VIII., as every student of history knows, was not much influenced by love for truth and purity in what he did towards setting England free from papal tyranny and superstition. On the contrary, he had his own ends to serve, and he looked out for that in all the steps which he took. If he did no good to Protestantism, if he were a tyrant, and a beastly tyrant too, he certainly crushed under his heel the insolent pretensions of the pope to rule over and draw revenue from England; and in so far, at least, he was an instrument in God's hand for beginning the good work in England. Edward VI. died young, and unhappily before much could be done for reformation. Mary succeeded him, and very soon gave the English people a bitter draught of that chalice which Rome has always made her victims quaff, when she has had them quite in her power. Elizabeth came to the throne with a large share of her father's imperiousness, and with energy and ability probably unsurpassed by any monarch that has ever, as yet, guided the destinies of England. Fond of show and display in religious things, she determined that the Established Church should have all the advantage and dig-

nity which these could afford. Conscientiously opposed to popery, she yet did not mean to alienate her Roman Catholic subjects, if that were possible, by any undue severity against the religion which they professed; equally indisposed to the bald, stern simplicity of the Puritanical worship, and sagacious enough to see the inevitable tendency of the doctrines which the Puritans set forth and maintained, she held a tight hand, all through her reign, over the heads of those who pleaded further reformation and larger liberty than the Church of England has ever, thus far, been willing to allow. She had no liking for those who opposed her views, and she was not at all disposed to tolerate non-conformity to what seemed to her and her principal advisers, good and proper in Church and State. Such a man as Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, was both able and willing to aid the queen in her efforts to enforce conformity under severe penalties, a course not likely, certainly, to produce harmony and concord and brotherly love among the contending parties.

James I. was bred up in early life in strict Presbyterian views; but when, by that strange turn of affairs which brought the son of the murdered Mary to the throne of her who had so cruelly pursued even to the death the ill-fated Queen of Scots, James was in possession of the crown, he adopted at once the high notions of prerogative which characterized, as well as finally ruined, the Stuart dynasty, and he was disposed to go to any length against dissenters from his wishes and opinions,

whether in Church or State. He disliked the Puritans especially, because he had capacity enough to understand, that if their free opinions prevailed, they would interfere most materially with those prerogatives of absolute irresponsible exercise of power in Church and State, which he so eagerly coveted, and which he claimed as his by what he termed "divine right." At all times, too, and sincerely, we believe, both James, and Charles, his immediate successor, opposed every attempt to make the English Church conform to the pattern of that which Calvin had established in Geneva.

The two parties were at variance in several particulars. The Puritans planted themselves upon the open, naked Bible, as the only safe chart and guide in religious and civil duties and obligations. The defenders of the Church of England, while they freely and fully declared that Holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation, and that nothing was to be held a matter of faith but what is contained in or proved from it, claimed that deference was due to the testimony and practice of the primitive Church, and the decisions of the first four or six General Councils. The Puritans scouted at all tradition without exception, as certainly the remnants of popery and superstition: the Church of England men were willing to yield respect to that they deemed primitive tradition and the unanimous consent of the fathers and doctors of the first ages. The Puritans liked well the extent to which reformation had been carried on the Continent; and many of the

exiles in Queen Mary's reign came back, on the accession of Elizabeth, full of zeal and determination to try to effect in the English Church a similar thoroughness of reform, and a closer and more perfect union and concord in doctrine and practice with the Calvinistic Churches abroad. The bishops and clergy of the Established Church, steadily opposed all this, for they held Episcopacy to be of divine origin and perpetual obligation; and they counted ceremonies, such as were retained in the Church, as calculated to help forward the cause of truth and godliness. These complained of all ceremonies, as marring the simplicity and purity of the Gospel; those advocated ceremonies as useful and edifying. These denied the need of ordination by a bishop in order to preach the Gospel and administer the sacraments; those refused then, and have always refused, to allow any one to officiate in the Church of England unless he first receive orders by the laying on of a bishop's hands.

As might have been expected, sharp contentions ensued, and the breach was widened. King James, counting the Establishment to be his special ally, and the doctrines set forth by the clergy peculiarly adapted to further his pretensions to kingly prerogative, it soon came to be understood that the Puritans were the party opposed to all his extravagant claims to irresponsible supremacy in civil and religious matters. The Puritans were loyal subjects, and devoted to the sustaining the crown and royalty in the regular line of succession. Yet they could not, and did not, deny the tendency of their

opinions to larger liberty, and more extended toleration, than the age was prepared for; and as time passed on and the way was gradually opened, they developed their views more and more, particularly as the government endeavored, both unwisely and unfairly, to force conformity by stringent and oppressive legislation.*

Notwithstanding the hardships of their position, antagonistic to the government and the Established Church, the Puritans were divided among themselves. Some desired to remain in the Church of England, and endeavor to effect more complete reformation. But there were many who, repudiating alike Episcopal and Presbyterian government, contended for the absolute independence of every separate congregation of believers, and their right to frame for themselves, unrestricted by human authority, such a form of church government and discipline as they could derive from the study of Scripture. This section of the Puritan party who called themselves Independ-

* To use the language of one of the New England Society orators:—"There was gradually developed among the Puritans a sect or division which boldly pushed the questions at issue to their ultimate and legitimate solutions; which threw off all connection with the Established Church, rejected alike the surplice and the bishops, the Prayer-Book and the ceremonies, and, resting upon the Bible, sought no less than to restore the constitution of the Christian Church to the primitive simplicity in which it was first instituted. These Separatists, as they were called, put in practice their theoretical opinions by the formation of churches in which the members were the source of all power, and controlled its administration, and, in a word, applied to ecclesiastical organizations principles, which, if introduced into civil governments, would produce a pure democracy."—Mr. W. M. Ewart's *Heritage of the Pilgrims*, p. 16; the Oration for 1854.

ents, but had obtained the appellation, at once distinctive and contemptuous, of Brownists, from the name of one of their leaders, a man whose intemperate zeal was speedily succeeded by his ignominious recantation, still continued to exist, in the north of England, and was subjected to the severest measures on the part of the government. Many of them had fled for refuge to the States of Holland, and established a Congregational church in the city of Amsterdam.

Of those who remained in England a church was gradually formed through the influence of "Elder Brewster," the occupant of a large mansion-house at Scrooby, in Yorkshire, belonging to the bishop of York. Bradford, afterwards governor of New Plymouth, was one of this congregation; and Robinson was invited to be their pastor. This latter was a man of high character, and universally respected and beloved by his congregation, whose interests, both temporal and spiritual, were ever near his heart.

Greatly distressed at the discomforts of their position, the congregation over which Robinson presided, earnestly meditated upon following the example of the other refugees **1607.** of their persuasion, who had emigrated to Holland. It was in the autumn or early winter of 1607, that the church at Scrooby began to put into execution the intention, which must have been forming months before, of leaving their native country, and settling in a land of which they knew little more than that there they should find the toleration denied them at home. Bradford

says much in his general way of writing, of the oppression to which they were subjected, both ministers and people; and there cannot be a doubt that attempts would be made to put down the church, and those attempts, whatever they were, would be construed into acts of ecclesiastical oppression by those who deemed the maintenance of such a church an act of religious duty. And controversy, as it was in those days conducted, was likely to set neighbor against neighbor, and to roughen the whole surface of society. Much that Bradford speaks of, was probably this kind of collision, or at most acts of the neighboring justices of the peace in enforcing what was then the law. Bradford speaks of the excitement of the neighborhood when they saw so many persons of all ranks and conditions parting with their possessions, and going simultaneously to another country, of whose very language they were ignorant. Some carried with them portions of their household goods; and it is mentioned that some of them carried with them looms which they had used at home. They were not, however, allowed to go without some opposition. The principal party of them, in which were Brewster and Bradford, intended to embark at Boston, and they made a secret bargain with a Dutch captain of a vessel, to receive them on board in that port as privately as might be. The captain acted perfidiously. He gave secret information to the magistrates of Boston, and when they were embarked, and, as they thought, just upon the point of sailing, they were surprised by finding officers of the port

come on board, who removed them from the vessel and carried them to prison in the town, not without circumstances of contumely. Some were sent back to their homes; others, among whom appears to have been Brewster, were kept for many months in confinement at Boston. Some were disheartened and remained in England; but the greater part persevered and met together in Amsterdam. During the twelve years of their stay in Holland, a constant stream of disaffected persons from England set towards that country where all were permitted to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. Winslow and Captain Miles Standish were among those who joined the church of Robinson after it had left England.

It was not long before disputes and controversies arose among the non-conformists in Amsterdam. This induced Robinson, a lover of 1609. peace, to remove his congregation to Leyden, where they lived in amity and concord for a number of years. Still they were not at ease. Exiles for conscience' sake, they still felt that they were Englishmen, and they had a natural aversion to losing their birth-right, and allowing their children to become absorbed among the friendly Dutch. With an eye, too, to the temporal advantages that might accrue, they turned their thoughts towards the New World, and its promise of success to enterprising and hardy emigrants. "Well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land," as they express themselves in a letter to

Sir Edwin Sandys, it did not require long to bring them to the fixed determination to embark for America.

Having failed in an application to the Dutch government to allow them to emigrate to New Netherland,* the Puritans debated for some time between Guiana, famed for its wealth, and Virginia; at length they decided on the latter colony. As it had, however, been settled by Episcopalians, and the public profession of adherence to the Church of England was required and enforced by penalties, they sent over agents to England, to endeavor to make terms with the Virginia Company, and to insure for themselves liberty of conscience in case of their removal to their colony. The Company, desirous of attaching to the soil so valuable a body of emigrants, whose steadiness and character they appreciated, endeavored to obtain, through their influence

1619. with the heads of Church and State, an assurance of toleration; but without success. Brewster soon after proceeded to England to obtain as favorable a patent as possible. This was readily granted by the Virginia Company, although the patent taken out was never of any practical use. The next difficulty was to procure means, which could only be done by entering into an arrangement with some London merchants, whose terms were not very favorable to the emigrants. The whole property acquired in the colony was to belong to a joint-stock for seven years; and the services

of each emigrant were only to be held equivalent to every ten pounds furnished by the capitalists. Upon these rather hard terms they now prepared to set out for the New World.

It was thought best that Robinson should remain with such of the congregation as were deemed unfit for pioneers, or were unable to find room in the vessels. A small ship, the *Speedwell*, had been purchased in Holland, and was now ready to convey the emigrants to Southampton. Those appointed to go accordingly left Leyden, accompanied by their brethren to Delft Haven, where they were joined by members of the church at Amsterdam. The night was spent in mutual encouragement and Christian converse and next day, July 22d, the wind being fair, they got ready to go on board. The parting with Robinson and their brethren was very affecting. A fair breeze soon carried them to Southampton, where they remained a few days, and were joined by the larger vessel, the *Mayflower*. They here received a touching letter from Robinson, which was read to the assembled company.

The passengers were distributed between the two vessels, which soon got under way; but the *Speedwell*, proving to be unseaworthy in every respect, they were obliged to put into Dartmouth, and then into Plymouth. Leaving there a portion of their company, and crowding as many into the *Mayflower* as could be accommodated, they again, early in September, launched forth upon the trackless ocean. The voyage was tedious and full of danger, owing to the equinoctial gales, whose

* See Brodhead's "*History of the State of New York*," First Period, pp. 124, 5.

fury the Mayflower encountered; and it was not till the 9th of November that they came in sight of the coast of New England, at no great distance from Cape Cod. As their object had been to settle near the Hudson River, the course of the ship was turned to the south; getting entangled, however, among the shoals, they bore up again, and came to anchor in Cape Cod harbor.*

Weary of the discomforts of the crowded Mayflower, they were all eager to land; but as they were out of the limits of the Virginia Company, and as there were some signs of insubordination among a portion of the emigrants, it was judged best to enter into a voluntary compact as a basis of social polity, and to appoint a governor. John Carver was chosen to act as governor for the term of one year, and the whole company of the men—who, with their wives and children, amounted to one hundred and one souls—affixed their signatures to the following document:—

“In the name of God. Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, etc.,

“Having undertaken, for the glory of God, and the advancement of the Christian faith, and the honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body-politic, for our better order and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names. Cape Cod, 11th November, in the reign of our sovereign lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, 18, and of Scotland, 54. Anno Domini 1620.”

An exploring party was sent out directly. The country was covered with pine forests, and here and there a deserted wigwam was found, but rarely did they get sight of any of the natives. A quantity of Indian corn was discovered buried in the sand in baskets, which proved a very timely supply of seed for the following spring. Winter came upon them in all its severity; and as it was absolutely necessary to fix upon some spot for a settlement, the hardiest of the company, despite the cold and the fatal exposure, undertook the labor of searching out a good harbor and convenient place where they might begin to lay the

* The story which has often been told, to the injury of the Dutch, that they bribed the master of the Mayflower not to land the company on the Hudson, is without solid foundation. It seems to have originated in the ill feeling which sprung up at a subsequent date between the New England colonists and the Dutch. Grahame (*History*, vol. i., p. 144.) repeats the story as if it were undoubtedly true. Bancroft (*History*, &c., vol. i., p. 309.) leaves the matter somewhat in doubt.

foundations of the colony. Five weeks were thus spent, and it was not till Monday, December 11th, O. S., or more correctly, the 21st of December, **1620.** that this band of pioneers set foot on the far-famed Plymouth Rock. Remembering the kindness which they had received at Plymouth, in England, the name **NEW PLYMOUTH** was bestowed upon the infant settlement.

The whole company were landed at this point, on the report of the exploring party, and they immediately set about erecting habitations to shelter them from the weather. A bold hill, commanding a look-out over the bay, offered a vantage ground for their fort, which was garnished with a few small pieces of ordnance; at its foot two rows of huts were laid out and staked—the habitations of nineteen families. The winter had now set in, with severity and sternness, and their labors at felling trees and constructing their rude habitations were carried on in the midst of constant storms of rain and sleet; already had the seeds of mortal disease been implanted; by privations and exposure to the rigor of the season, by wading through the icy water from the ship to the land, the strong man became weak as a child, and the delicate frame of woman sunk under the double pressure of mental anxiety and physical exhaustion. During this first winter they faded gradually away; and

one of the first entries was the **1621.** following:—"January 29, dies Rose, the wife of Captain Standish." Bradford's wife had perished by drowning. But not to follow the melancholy chronicle of bereavements, suffice it to

say, that during these three dreary months one half their number were cut off. That winter they had to form seven times more graves for the dead than habitations for the living. They were buried on the bank not far from the landing—a spot still to be venerated—and, lest the Indians should take courage to attack the survivors from their weakened state, the soil which covered the graves of their beloved relatives was carefully beaten down and planted with a crop of corn.

During the winter the colonists saw but little of the Indians, although they were not without occasional alarm. Early in the spring, when they were beginning again to have hope of success, an Indian one morning walked boldly into the village, and saluted them in tolerable English, "Welcome, Englishmen!" He was a sagamore or petty chief, named Samoset, and informed them that a great plague had recently raged among the Indians on these shores; this circumstance, leaving the country entirely open to settlement, is noted by the early New England historians, as a special providence in behalf of the infant colony. By means of Samoset and other friendly Indians, intercourse was opened, and finally a treaty of amity agreed upon with Massasoit, head chief of the Pokanokets or Wampanoags, who were immediate neighbors of the colonists.

Carver was reëlected governor, but died a few weeks after. Bradford was chosen his successor. The Mayflower set sail for England in **1621.** April of this year; and the colonists, taking heart as the mild weather ap-



proached, sent out a party to explore Massachusetts Bay, some forty miles to the northward: they then, for the first time, beheld the three-crested peninsula of Shawmut, site of the present city of Boston. In November, the *Fortune* arrived, bringing thirty-five new colonists, together with Cushman, who had obtained a patent from the Council of New England, chiefly through the good offices of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Cushman returned to England shortly after.

The *Fortune* had brought over new mouths, and no provisions; the result was a famine of several months' duration; all had to be put on half allowance; the corn was all eaten, and the colonists were reduced to the scantiest rations—chiefly of fish, or to such precarious supplies as were occasionally obtained from passing vessels at an exorbitant cost. No cattle had been yet imported; their agricultural instruments were scanty and rude, and they were almost destitute of boats and tackle to enable them to profit by the shoals of fish which abounded on the coasts. Mortality and distress had prevented them from subduing the soil—men, toiling at the rude labors of a first settlement, “often staggered for want of food.” Nor were they without apprehensions of attack from the Indians. On one occasion, Canonicus, sachem of the powerful Narragansetts, who were enemies of the Wampanoags, sent, by way of defiance, to New Plymouth, a bundle of arrows, tied up with the skin of a rattlesnake. Bradford lost no time in returning the same skin, stuffed with powder and ball—a

significant hint of what the whites would do—whereat the Indians were not a little frightened, esteeming it some fatal charm. It was judged prudent by the colonists to surround the village with a palisade of timbers driven into the ground, a mile in circuit, with three gates. 1622.

Weston, who had taken an active part in fitting out the Plymouth colony, was dissatisfied with the pecuniary results of that undertaking, and accordingly resolved to found a separate plantation for his own advantage. He sent out some sixty men, chiefly indented servants, to begin the settlement. They were fellows of indifferent character at best, who, after intruding upon the people of Plymouth for two or three months, and eating or stealing half their provisions, attempted a settlement at Wissagusset, now Weymouth, on the south shore of Massachusetts Bay. Having soon exhausted their own stock, they began to plunder the Indians, who formed a conspiracy to cut them off. The plot was revealed by the dying sachem Massasoit. Here there was fresh cause to deplore that hasty spirit of revenge which had, in almost every instance, sown the seeds of lasting hatred and hostility in the Indian breast. Captain Standish, brave but greatly wanting in discretion, surprised Wituwamot, the chief of this conspiracy, and put him to death on the spot, together with several of his Indians. When Robinson heard of this, he wrote back to the colonists, “Oh how happy a thing had it been, had you converted some, before you had killed any!” The plantation at

Wissagusset was then speedily abandoned.

The energetic Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in connection with an able partner named Mason, had obtained a grant of territory from Naumkeag, now Salem, to the Kennebec, and thence to Canada. This grant was named Laconia. Portsmouth and Dover, in New Hampshire, were now founded; but

1623. the "Company of Laconia" did not prosper, and these towns long remained mere fishing stations. Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, obtained at this time a grant of ten miles on the northern shore of Massachusetts Bay; he was also appointed lieutenant-general of New England, Francis West being the admiral sent out to prohibit disorderly trading within the limits of the patent held by the Council for New England. Gorges brought with him a clergyman of the Church of England, named Morrell, who was appointed, by the archbishop of Canterbury, commissary of ecclesiastical affairs. His mission was looked on with no favor by the stern Puritans, and in the course of a year or so he returned to England without having attempted any interference with the colonists or their religious views and practices.

1624. The following year, another clergyman, by name Lyford, was recommended by the partners in London, to supply the pastoral office vacant at New Plymouth: he was as little acceptable as Morrell, and soon after, under charge of practising against the colony, he and a few adherents were expelled. Migrating to Nantasket, at the entrance of Boston harbor,

the expelled colonists formed a new settlement at that point.

The colony of New Plymouth, though still feeble, gave encouraging signs of life and energy, for though there were no luxuries as yet to be met with, there was wholesome food and a good supply of pure water to drink. "The non-existence of private property, the discontent and unwillingness to labor thence arising, and the exorbitant interest, as high as forty-five per cent. paid for money borrowed in London, were, however, serious drawbacks to the prosperity of the colony. It was found necessary, indeed, to enter into an agreement that each family should plant for itself; and an acre of land was accordingly assigned to each person in fee. Under this stimulus, the production of corn soon became so great, that, from buyers, the colonists became sellers to the Indians. At the end of the fourth year after its settlement, Plymouth had thirty-two dwelling houses, and a hundred and eighty-four inhabitants. The general stock, or whole amount of the investment, personal services included, amounted to £7,000, or \$34,000. The London partners were very unwilling to make any further advances. John Robinson died in Holland, and several years elapsed before his family, and the rest of the Leyden congregation could find means to transport themselves to New Plymouth. Those already there—passengers by the *Mayflower*, the *Fortune*, the *Anne*, and the *Little James*—were afterward distinguished as the 'old comers,' or 'forefathers.' Six or seven years elapsed before the colony received any

considerable addition to its numbers."*

In 1627, at which date the agreement between the Plymouth colonists and the London merchants **1627.** came to an end, the latter agreed to sell out their interest for \$9,000. The joint-stock principle was abandoned, and some twenty acres of land nearest the town, were donated to each colonist.

Although the number of the colonists at New Plymouth in 1630, did not **1630.** amount to three hundred, yet they considered themselves permanently established. "It was not with them as with other men," was their language, "whom small things could discourage, or small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again." By degrees, too, as distance from the mother country favored the assumption of responsibility, they exercised all the prerogatives of government, even to capital punishment. All laws were enacted in a general assembly of the colonists; and in religious matters the same freedom of speech prevailed. Every one who chose, addressed the congregation on Sundays, and for many years they had no settled pastor or minister among them.

The settlement at New Plymouth was soon after followed by another and more extensive one of the Puritans on the shores of Massachusetts Bay. Their position at home was becoming less and less satisfactory, and it was but natural that their minds should turn to America as a place of

refuge from trial and persecution. A grant was obtained from the New England Company of Plymouth, embracing Massachusetts Bay and the country to the westward. John Endicott, a Puritan of the sternest and severest sort, first established himself at Naumkeag, and soon after, a **1628.** strong body, chiefly from Boston, in Lincolnshire, followed. A patent was obtained, but not without considerable difficulty, from Charles I., incorporating the adventurers as the "Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England," the stockholders to elect annually a governor, deputy-governor, and eighteen assistants, who were to administer the affairs of the colony in monthly court **meetings.** Four great and general courts of the whole body of freemen were to be held for the transaction of public affairs. Nothing was to be enacted contrary to the rights of Englishmen, but the supreme power resided with the Company in England. It was regarded as a patent for a trading corporation, and no specific provision was made on the subject of religion. A large number of the proprietors were attached to the Church of England; Endicott, however, having visited Plymouth, desired to establish an Independent church, and to renounce the use of the Liturgy; hence he became involved in a dispute with two brothers of the name of Browne—who were among the original patentees, and who desired to have the services of the Church of England fully carried out in the colony—and he **1629.** shipped them off to England as "fac-

* Hildreth's "History of the United States," vol. 1. p. 171.

tious and evil conditioned." Endicott was reprimanded by the Company for this stretch of authority, but the complaints of the Brownes were unheeded. "This transaction," as Mr. Bartlett remarks, in his "*Pilgrim Fathers*," "not merely illustrates the character of Endicott, but exposes the secret principle upon which the new commonwealth was founded, the open avowal of which would have certainly prevented the concession of a royal charter. It was, while nominally subject to the authority of the Church of England, to establish a totally different system, in which all that was really vital to that system, such as its Episcopal government and appointed formularies, should be entirely set aside and no toleration granted to any other form of worship but that agreed upon by themselves. The expulsion of the Brownes was only the first of that series of oppressive actions which ended in the judicial murder of the quakers."

A plan to transfer the charter and the Company from England to the colony itself was next formed, which led to a very important increase in the number and distinction of the emigrants. The principal of these were, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, (brother-in-law of the Earl of Lincoln,) Thomas Dudley, and John Winthrop. Winthrop was chosen governor, and, by his admirable conduct, fully justified the general confidence. He was indeed a noble specimen of the English gentleman—loyal, yet no less firmly bent upon the assertion of public liberty, and, by old association, attached to the Church, which he nevertheless

desired to see reformed upon what the Puritans deemed the pure basis of Scripture. The emigrants included many persons of high character, wealth, and learning. Their attachment to the mother country was manifested in a protestation against certain calumnious reports which had gone forth against them, wherein they declare their undying attachment, both to the Church that had nursed them in her bosom, and to the land, from which they were now voluntarily expatriating themselves.* The expedition was by far the most important that had ever left the shores of England for the wilds of America, consisting of fifteen ships conveying about a thousand emigrants, among whom were four

* We quote a striking paragraph from the letter addressed by them to "the rest of their brethren in and of the Church of England." It was dated from Yarmouth, aboard the *Arbella*, April 7th, 1630. "We desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of England, from whence we rise, our dear mother; and cannot part from our native country, where she specially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we have obtained in the common salvation, we have received in her bosom, and sucked it from her breasts. We leave it not, therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith we were nourished there, but, blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfeignedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her; and while we have breath, sincerely desire and endeavor the continuance and abundance of her welfare, with the enlargement of her bounds in the kingdom of Christ Jesus." They also ask, further on in the letter, of their brethren in England, that they may not be despised nor deserted "in their prayers and affections."—See Hubbard's *New England*, pp. 126, 7. Consult, also, the famous Dr. Cotton Mather's "*Magnalia*," vol. i., pp. 74, 5, for some curious and edifying remarks on this letter and its purport.

non-conformist ministers. Every necessary for the foundation of a permanent colony was carried out by the settlers.

In regard to this important movement of transferring the government of the colony from England to America, the observations of Dr. Robertson are worthy attention: "In this singular transaction," he says, "to which there is nothing similar in the history of English colonization, two circumstances merit particular attention: one is the power of the Company to make this transference; the other is the silent acquiescence with which the king permitted it to take place. If the validity of this determination of the Company be tried by the charter which constituted it a body politic, and conveyed to it all the corporate powers with which it was invested, it is evident that it could neither exercise those powers in any mode different from what the charter prescribed, nor alienate them in such a manner as to convert the jurisdiction of a trading corporation in England into a provincial government in America. But from the first institution of the Company of Massachusetts Bay, its members seem to have been animated with a spirit of innovation in civil policy, as well as in religion; and by the habit of rejecting established usages in the one, they were prepared for deviating from them in the other. They had applied for a royal charter in order to give legal effect to their operations in England as acts of a body politic; but the persons whom they sent out to America, as soon as they landed there, considered themselves as individuals

united together by voluntary association, possessing the natural right of men who form a society, to adopt what mode of government, and to enact what laws, they deemed most conducive to the general felicity. Upon this principle of being entitled to judge and decide for themselves, they established their church in Salem, without regard to the institutions of the Church of England, of which the charter supposed them to be members, and bound, of consequence, to conformity with its ritual. Suitably to the same ideas, we shall observe them framing all their future plans of civil and ecclesiastical policy. The king, though abundantly vigilant in observing and checking slighter encroachments on his prerogative, was either so much occupied with other cares, occasioned by his fatal breach with his parliament, that he could not attend to the proceedings of the Company, or he was so much pleased with the proposal of removing a body of turbulent subjects to a distant country, where they might be useful, and could not prove dangerous, that he was disposed to connive at the irregularity of a measure which facilitated their departure."*

Winthrop, Dudley, and others had embarked on board the *Arbella*, so named after the *Lady Arbella Johnson*, who, with her husband, was also a passenger. They arrived in the Bay in June, and found Endicott at Charlestown, where, at first, they contemplated forming a settlement. The opposite

* Robertson's "*History of America*," book x., p. 230.—See also, Chalmers's "*Introduction to History of Revolt of American Colonies*," vol. i., pp. 42, 3.

peninsula, however, as was natural, speedily attracted their attention: it was then in a state of nature, and in the undisturbed possession of the solitary occupant, by name Blackstone. Here Winthrop and his people determined to fix themselves, and begin a settlement, which, after the English town in Lincolnshire, they called BOSTON. Other parties of emigrants, as they arrived, settled at various points in the vicinity of Boston, and gave names to the various towns and villages which they then and there founded.

"Each settlement," says Mr. Hildreth, "at once assumed that township authority which has ever formed so marked a feature in the political organization of New England. The people assembled in town meeting, voted taxes for local purposes, and chose three, five, or seven of the principal inhabitants, at first under other names, but early known as 'selectmen,' who had the expenditure of this money, and the executive management of town affairs. A treasurer and a town clerk were also chosen, and a constable was soon added for the service of civil and criminal processes. Each town constituted, in fact, a little republic, almost complete in itself."*

The warmth of their attachment to home had led to the expression of strong feeling of affection for their "dear mother," the Church of England; but when they set foot on the soil of the New World, they did not hesitate to arrange and organize churches

according to their own views of right and propriety; but, as they were inclined to a temporizing policy, at least for the present, they acted prudently, so as not needlessly to provoke collision on such nice points as the value and necessity of Episcopal ordination, the obligation of ceremonies, and the like.

Although the new settlers were not subjected to hardships so severe as those which had fallen upon the New Plymouth colony, yet owing to various circumstances of an unfavorable character, shortness of provision, debility, severity of the winter, etc., more than two hundred died before December, among them the Lady **1630.** Arbella Johnson and her husband.*

* Cotton Mather bestows this somewhat quaint tribute to their character. "Of those who soon dyed after their first arrival, not the least considerable was the Lady Arbella, who left an earthly paradise in the family of an Earldom, to encounter the sorrows of a wilderness, for the entertainments of a *pure worship* in the house of God; and then immediately left that *wilderness* for the Heavenly *paradise*, whereto the compassionate Jesus, of whom she was a follower, called her. We have read concerning a noble woman of Bohemia, who forsook her friends, her plate, her house, and all; and because the gates of the city were guarded, crept through the common sewer, that she might enjoy the *institutions* of our Lord at another place where they might be had. The spirit which acted that noble woman, we may suppose, carried this blessed lady thus to and through the hardships of an American desert. But as for her virtuous husband, Isaac Johnson, Esq.,

. He try'd
To live without her, lik'd it not, and dy'd.

His mourning for the death of his honorable consort was too bitter to be extended a *year*; about a month after *her* death, *his* ensued, unto the extream loss of the whole plantation. But at the end of this perfect and upright man, there was not only *peace*, but *joy*; and his joy particularly expressed itself, that God had kept his eyes open so long as to see one church of the Lord Jesus Christ gathered in these ends of the earth, before his own going away to Heaven."—Mather's "*Magnalia*," vol. i., p. 77.

* Hildreth's "*History of the United States*," vol. i., p. 186.

Before winter was over, the infant colony was threatened with famine; but the seasonable return of a vessel from England with provisions revived their drooping spirits, and instead of the fast, they observed a day of thanksgiving. Many of the emigrants, discouraged, and in some degree terrified, returned home and spread various reports injurious to the colony.

The second General Court, held in May, 1631, enacted a remarkable law, which clearly points out the **1631.** basis on which, for the next half century, the government of Massachusetts continued to rest. "To the end that the body of commons may be preserved of good and honest men, it is ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." This enactment narrowed down the number of citizens and voters very materially, since, in consequence of the difficulties attendant on becoming a member of one of the churches, not one fourth of the adult population were ever church-members. It was an attempt to establish a theocracy, a reign of the saints on the earth, and as every religious party in power thought it right to require conformity to the

established order, so the Puritan settlers were persuaded that it was a duty to enforce their regulations by aid of the civil magistrate. *The same experiment of a theocratic form of government was tried at a later date in England, with what result every reader of history knows.

Not only were a larger proportion of the people deprived of political rights, under this arbitrary system, but the legislation of this self-constituted body was characterized by a spirit of puritanical severity within themselves, and a harsh and rigid exclusiveness towards those without, which were not long in producing the same bitter fruits of persecution by which they had themselves suffered. The ministers acquired an undue degree of influence; minute enactments interfered with individual freedom of action; amusements, which, though innocent in themselves, were supposed to be inconsistent with the gravity of professing Christians, were studiously discouraged, and devotional exercises substituted in their room. "It was attempted, in fact," to use Mr. Hildreth's words, "to make the colony, as it were, a convent of Puritan devotees—except in the allowance of marriage and money-making—subjected to all the rules of the stricter monastic orders."

CHAPTER VII.

1631—1640.

PROGRESS OF THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES.

Emigration in 1632 — Question of levying taxes — Arrivals in 1633 — Rights of the freemen under the charter — Dudley governor — Progress of the colony under Winthrop's four years' administration — Royal colonial commission — Alarm in Massachusetts — Measures taken — Case of Roger Williams — His sentiments and character — Flight to Providence — Mrs. Hutchinson's heresies — Vane's course — Sad fate of Mrs. Hutchinson — Settlements in Connecticut — Pequod war — Origin and result — Extermination of the Pequod tribe — Emigration in consequence of religious dissensions — Coast of Maine — Nova Scotia and Canada — Progress of the colony in strength and extent — Estimated cost of colonization up to 1640.

THE unfavorable report carried back by those who returned from the first emigration, operated for a while **1631.** greatly to discourage others. The number of new-comers consequently, in 1632, was comparatively small. Among them, however, was the son of Winthrop the governor, and John Eliot, afterwards the celebrated missionary to the Indians.

In virtue of the authority which they supposed was vested in them, the magistrates had, on several occasions, **1632.** levied taxes. This soon excited attention and complaint, and the next General Court, in May, 1632, took the matter in hand. Two deputies were chosen from each plantation to agree upon "raising a common stock." The tenure of office of the assistants was expressly limited to one year, and the choice of governor and deputy-governor was reassumed by the freemen. Boston was determined to be the best place for public meetings of the colonists, and a fort and house of correction were ordered to be built there.

In 1633, several hundred settlers ar-

rived; among them were John Haynes, and those ministers so distinguished in New England history, Cotton, **1633.** Hooker, and Stone. Cotton settled in Boston, as colleague with Wilson, and Hooker and Stone settled at Newtown.

Difficulties having occurred in consequence of some stringent acts of the magistrates, two delegates from **1634.** each town met and requested a sight of the charter, on examining which they concluded, that the legislative authority rested with the freemen, and not with the magistrates. When the General Court met, in May, 1634, that body claimed for itself, under the charter, the admission of freemen, choosing officers, raising money, etc. Notwithstanding a pulpit appeal from Cotton against the rash changing of those in office, Dudley was chosen governor, in place of Winthrop, though this latter was retained as an assistant. During Winthrop's four years' administration, the infant colony had taken firm root. There were already seven churches, eight principal plantations,

and some smaller ones. Ferries had been established between Boston and Charlestown; a fort had been built; water and wind-mills had been brought into use; a flourishing trade with the Virginians, and the Dutch had gradually grown up, etc.

While the Court was in session, six large vessels arrived with a large number of passengers and a goodly supply of cattle; and about a month later, fifteen more vessels entered the harbor. John Humphrey came out in one of these ships, and brought with him a supply of ordnance, muskets, powder, and other things of value to the colony. He brought, also, propositions from some "persons of great quality and estate," to join the Massachusetts colonists if certain points could be conceded to them.

In consequence of complaints made in England against Massachusetts, a Royal Colonial Commission was appointed with full power over the American plantations to revise the laws, regulate the Church, and revoke charters. The news of this measure produced great alarm in Massachusetts, and steps were directly taken to provide for the defence of Boston harbor. Dudley, Winthrop, Haynes, Humphrey, and Endicott were appointed commissioners "to consult, direct, and give command for the managing and ordering of any war that might befall for the space of a year next ensuing."

In the midst of these difficulties, the course pursued by the celebrated Roger Williams was not calculated to render matters more easy of adjustment. This active and energetic young Puritan

minister very early gave trouble to the Massachusetts brethren, by setting forth novelties and heresies, as they esteemed them, which led to his removal to Plymouth, where he remained two years. On returning to Massachusetts, he soon became involved in trouble, not only by denying the validity of royal patents to give title to land in America, but also by a fantastical scruple as to the red cross in the English colors, which cross, being a relic of popery and abomination, he got Endicott, the commander at Salem, to cut out from the national flag. Beside this, denying the lawfulness of an oath imposed on the non-freemen, and the enactment compelling attendance on public worship, he gave great offence to the magistrates and ministers. Amid all his vagaries, and what we can not but deem puerile seizing upon trifles, he appears to have grasped firmly one grand idea, and to have held and acted upon it at all times with entire sincerity: this was what he called "soul-liberty," meaning by the expression, the most perfect and complete right of every man to enjoy freedom of opinion on the subject of religion. The idea, however familiar to us at the present day, was then wholly new, and startling indeed in a colony like Massachusetts, and no wonder that it seemed to those in authority as a most alarming heresy. For, in truth, these principles struck at the very root of the theocracy which had become established in the colony. Alarmed by their dangerous tendency, the Court at Boston was led earnestly to desire the removal of one whom they regarded as

1634.

1635.

unsettled in judgment, and a troubler of the public peace. It was certainly unfortunate that the scruples of Williams were such as tended to divide and weaken the colony, struggling as it was for independent existence, amid all the difficulties by which it was encompassed. His agitations even served to paralyse resistance against aggressions which they were calculated to bring about: and it must be confessed that, however excellent the principles he had espoused, his conduct bears some tinge of factious opposition, or, to say the least, of an ill-timed and narrow-minded scrupulosity. But his piety was so genuine, and his character so noble and disinterested, that the people of Salem, who knew and loved him, reelected him for their pastor, in spite of the censure of his doctrines by the Court at Boston, an act of contumacy for which they were reprimanded and punished by the withholding a certain portion of lands. Such harshness aroused Williams to retort by a spirited protest, and he engaged the Salem church to join with him in a general appeal to the other churches against the injustice of which the magistrates had been guilty—a daring proceeding, for which the council suspended their franchise, and they shrunk from their leader, who was thus left absolutely alone. Upon this he openly renounced allegiance to what he deemed a persecuting church. His opinions and conduct were condemned by the council, who pronounced against him a sentence of banishment, but on account of the dangerous feeling of sympathy it awakened, decided shortly af-

ter on sending him back to England.

In the depth of a New England winter, Williams fled into the wilderness, and took refuge among the Narragansett Indians, with whom he had become acquainted at Plymouth. He wandered for fourteen weeks through the snow-buried forests, before he reached their wigwams, where he was received and sheltered with the utmost kindness. In the spring he departed in quest of some spot where he could find an asylum for those who, like himself, were persecuted for conscience' sake. He first attempted a settlement at Seekonk, but afterwards, at the friendly suggestion of Winslow, 1636. the governor of Plymouth, removed to Narragansett Bay, where he received from the Indians a free grant of a considerable tract of country, and in June, 1636, fixed upon the site of a town, which he named "PROVIDENCE," as being a refuge from persecution and wanderings. Many of his friends from Salem joined him here, and he freely distributed his lands among them. This was the beginning of the State of Rhode Island, one of the most free and liberal in its institutions of any ever founded in America.

It was not long before fresh troubles sprang up, in great measure having their origin in the same claim to the right of private judgment in all matters of religious truth and obligation. Hugh Peters, chaplain to Oliver Cromwell, and Henry Vane, a young man of superior ability and acquirements, came over to join the Massachusetts colony. The emigration of a man of Vane's distinction and family created



Alonso Chapiel

Illustration of the scene of the capture of the Indians of the State of New York.

considerable stir, and it was even proposed, to meet the desires of those among the aristocracy who might be expected to make New England their home, to establish an order of *hereditary* magistracy, but the proposition was never carried into effect. Soon af-

1636. ter, Vane was elected chief magistrate of the colony, and on the occasion of a new religious fermentation arising, he became a prominent actor in it. We can not do better, in speaking of this matter, than use the language of Dr. Robertson :

“It was the custom at that time in New England, among the chief men in every congregation, to meet once a week, in order to repeat the sermons which they had heard, and to hold religious conference with respect to the doctrines contained in them. Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, whose husband was among the most respectable members of the colony, regretting that persons of her sex were excluded from the benefit of those meetings, assembled statedly in her house a number of women, who employed themselves in pious exercises similar to those of the men. At first she satisfied herself with repeating what she could recollect of the discourses delivered by their teachers. She began afterwards to add illustrations, and at length proceeded to censure some of the clergy as unsound, and to vent opinions and fancies of her own. These were all founded on the system which is denominated Antinomian by divines, and tinged with the deepest enthusiasm. She taught that sanctity of life is no evidence of justification, or of a state of favor with God ;

and that such as inculcated the necessity of manifesting the reality of our faith by obedience, preached only a covenant of works ; she contended that the Spirit of God dwelt personally in good men, and by inward revelations and impressions they received the fullest discoveries of the Divine will. The fluency and confidence with which she delivered these notions, gained her many admirers and proselytes, not only among the vulgar, but among the principal inhabitants. The whole colony was interested and agitated. Vane, whose sagacity and acuteness 1637. seemed to forsake him whenever they were turned towards religion, espoused and defended her wildest tenets. Many conferences were held, days of fasting and humiliation were appointed, a general synod was called ; and, after dissensions which threatened the dissolution of the colony, Mrs. Hutchinson's opinions were condemned as erroneous, and she herself banished. Several of her disciples withdrew from the province of their own accord. Vane quitted America in disgust, unlamented even by those who had lately admired him ; some of whom now regarded him as a mere visionary, and others, as one of those dark, turbulent spirits doomed to embroil every society into which they enter.”*

The fate of Mrs. Hutchinson was as unhappy as her life was restless. After her retirement to *Aquiday*, or the Isle of Rhodes, where she participated in all the toils and privations of a new

* Robertson's "*History of America*," book ix. p. 232.

settlement, she continued to promulgate her doctrines with the utmost ardor. Her sons, openly arraigning the justice of her banishment, were seized and thrown into prison. To fly beyond the reach of persecution, the whole family passed over into the territory of the Dutch, at the time when Kieft, the governor, had aroused by his rashness and cruelty vindictive reprisals on the part of the Indians. The dwelling of Mrs. Hutchinson was set on fire, and she either perished with her children—except a little granddaughter—amidst the flames, or was murdered by the infuriated savages. This sad event occurred in October, 1643.

A permanent settlement had been formed in the valley of the Connecticut some years before.* A large **1635.** body now prepared to push through the forest to the desired spot where the towns of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield were founded. The expedition was attended with many hardships, being undertaken too late in the year. The cattle perished, provisions failed, and many returned through the snows to the place whence they had set out. Next year a **1636.** larger body, consisting of the members of the two churches, with their ministers, one of whom was Hooker, made their way through the wilderness, by aid of the compass, driving their cattle before them through the tangled thickets.† The Commis-

sioners also sent a party by water to found a port at the mouth of the river which, since Lord Say and Sele, and Lord Brooke, were proprietaries, was called Saybrook. Exposed to trouble in consequence of the jealousy manifested by the Dutch towards the colony, it was besides placed in great

the first soft, warm month of the New England year, Mr. Hooker, with his assistant, Mr. Stone, and followed by about one hundred men, women, and children, set out upon the long contemplated journey. Over mountains, through swamps, across rivers, fording, or upon rafts, with the compass to point out their irregular way, slowly they moved westward; now in the open spaces of the forest, where the sun looked in; now under the shade of the old trees; now struggling through the entanglement of bushes and vines—driving their flocks and herds before them—the strong supporting the weak, the old caring for the young, with hearts cheerful as the month, slowly they moved on. Mrs. Hooker was ill, and was borne gently upon a litter. A stately, well-ordered journey it was, for gentlemen of fortune and rank were of the company, and ladies who had been delicately bred, and who had known little of toil or hardship until now. But they endured it with the sweet alacrity that belongs alone to woman, high-toned and gentle, when summoned by a voice whose call can not be resisted, to lay aside the trappings of ease, and to step from a fortune that she once adorned, to a level that her presence ennobles. The howl of the wolf, his stealthy step among the rustling leaves, the sighing of the pines, the roar of the mountain torrent, losing itself in echoes sent back from rock and hill, the smoking ruins of the Indian council-fire—all forcing upon the mind the oppressive sense of solitariness and danger, the more dreaded because unseen—all these the wife, the mother, the daughter, encountered, with a calm trust that they should one day see the wilderness blossom as the rose. At the end of about two weeks, they reached the land almost fabulous to them—so long had hope and fancy been shaping to their minds pictures of an ideal loveliness—the valley of the Connecticut. It lay at their feet, beneath the shadow of the low-browed hills, that tossed the foliage of their trees in billows, heaving for miles away to the east and west, as the breath of June touched them with life. It lay, holding its silvery river in its embrace, like a strong bow half bent in the hands of the swarthy hunter, who still called himself lord of its rich acres.—Hollister's "*History of Connecticut*" vol. i., p. 29

* The Indian name *Connecticoota*, signifies "Long River."

† Mr. Hollister thus pleasantly enlarges upon this adventurous journey:—"About the beginning of June,

peril from the hostility of the neighboring Indians.

The Pequod war was, perhaps, the inevitable result of the suspicions and fears of the Indians, and the apprehensions of the colonists of sudden attack and massacre similar to that to which the settlers in Virginia had been subjected. It was but natural that the natives should dislike the progress of the white men's settlements, and meditate, at least, upon measures for arresting their advance; on the other hand, the colonists were constantly on their guard, and determined to punish relentlessly the first symptoms of aggression. The Pequods were, at this date, the most powerful confederacy in the neighborhood of Narragansett Bay, and held authority over twenty-six petty tribes.

1636. A band of them had murdered one Stone, a drunken and dissolute master of a Virginia trading vessel, which, exciting some alarm in Massachusetts, the Pequods sent to Boston and stated that the deed had been hastily committed, in revenge for some provocation on the part of Stone and his crew. Beside offering to give up the murderers, they begged the intervention of the magistrates to effect a reconciliation with their enemies the Narragansetts, and desired to open a traffic. The apology was accepted, and the mediation asked for accomplished; but the murderers, from inability or some other cause, were not delivered up. Not long after, an old settler on Block Island, named Oldham, was murdered by a party of Indians, probably in revenge for his opening a trade with the Pequods. Canonicus, the sachem

of the Narragansetts, offered ample apology for a crime committed without his knowledge; but the magistrates and ministers thought something further was required at their hands. Accordingly, an expedition, under command of Endicott, consisting of ninety men, was sent to punish the Block Islanders, and thence to go to the Pequods to demand the delivery of the murderers of Stone, and a thousand fathoms of wampum for damages—equivalent to from three to five thousand dollars. After burning the wigwams, and destroying the standing corn of the Indians on Block Island, Endicott sailed to Fort **1636.** Saybrook, and marched thence to the Pequod River. The Indians refusing his demands, he burned their villages, both there and on the Connecticut, and returned to Boston without the loss of a single man.

The Pequods, enraged at what they deemed an unprovoked attack, retaliated in every way in their power, killing, during the winter, about thirty in all, and endeavored to engage the Narragansetts in an alliance to cut off every white man from the soil. Happily, through the intervention of Roger Williams, who had sent timely information to the Massachusetts magistrates, this dreaded coalition was prevented, and the good will, or at least, the neutrality, of the Narragansetts was secured.

At a special session of the General Court, held early in December, 1636, the militia were organized into three regiments, and officers were appointed in the respective grades. Watches

were ordered to be kept, and travelers were to go armed. No active measures were taken until the spring of 1637, in consequence mainly of the ferment and trouble arising out of Mrs. Hutchinson's case, of which we have spoken on a previous page. Orthodoxy having triumphed, vigorous attention was directed to the Pequod war, and a considerable force was raised to send into the field. But the decisive battle had been fought before the arrival of the Massachusetts troops. The Connecticut towns, early in May, having obtained the alliance of Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, the greater part of the able-bodied men,—ninety in number—under the command of John Mason, who had been a soldier in Flanders, prepared for their departure. It was a perilous crisis; should they fail in the enterprise, the infant settlement, left without defenders, would fall into the power of their vindictive enemies—their wives and children would be ruthlessly scalped. The night of May 10th was spent in solemn prayer. On the morrow the militia embarked at Hartford, and being joined by twenty men, sent sometime before from Boston, under the command of Underhill, sailed past the Thames, and entered, unobserved, a harbor in the vicinity of the Pequod fort. They rested on the following Lord's Day, and early in the week endeavored to engage the assistance of the Narragansetts, whose sachem, Miantonimoh, at first joined them with two hundred warriors, who, on learning that the intention of the English was to attack the Pequod forts with so small a

body, were panic-struck, and most of them retreated. The catastrophe cannot be better described than in the words of an early historian of Connecticut:

“After marching under the guidance of a revolted Pequod to the vicinity of the principal fort, they pitched their little camp between, or near, two large rocks, in Groton, since called Porter's rocks. The men were faint and weary, and though the rocks were their pillows, their rest was sweet. The guards and sentinels were considerably advanced in front of the army, and heard the enemy singing at the fort, who continued their rejoicings even until midnight. They had seen the vessels pass the harbor some days before, and had concluded that the English were afraid, and had no courage to attack them. The night was serene, and towards morning the moon shone clear. The important crisis was now come, when the very existence of Connecticut, under Providence, was to be determined by the sword in a single action, and to be decided by the good conduct of less than eighty brave men. The Indians who remained were now sorely dismayed, and though at first they had led the van, and boasted of great feats, yet were now fallen back in the rear. About two hours before day, the men were roused with all expedition, and, briefly commending themselves and their cause to God, advanced immediately to the fort, and sent for the Indians in the rear to come up. Uncas and Obequash at length appeared. The captain demanded of them where the fort was. They answered, on the

top of the hill. He demanded of them where were the other Indians. They answered that they were much afraid. The captain sent to them not to fly, but to surround the fort at any distance they pleased, and see whether Englishmen would fight. The day was nearly dawning, and no time was now to be lost. The men pressed on in two divisions, Captain Mason to the north-eastern, and Underhill to the western entrance. As the object which they had been so long seeking came into view, and while they reflected that they were to fight not only for themselves, but their parents, wives, children, and the whole colony, the martial spirit kindled in their bosoms, and they were wonderfully animated and assisted. As Captain Mason advanced within a rod or two of the fort, a dog barked, and an Indian roared out,—‘Owanux! Owanux!’ that is, Englishmen! Englishmen! The troops pressed on, and as the Indians were rallying, poured in upon them through the palisadoes, a general discharge of their muskets, and then wheeling off to the principal entrance, entered the fort sword in hand. Notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, and the blaze and thunder of the arms, the enemy made a manly and desperate resistance. Captain Mason and his party drove the Indians in the main street towards the west part of the fort, where some bold men, who had forced their way, met them, and made such slaughter among them, that the street was soon clear of the enemy. They secreted themselves in and behind their wigwams, and, taking advantage of every covert, maintained an obstinate

defence. The captain and his men entered the wigwams, where they were beset with many Indians, who took every advantage to shoot them, and lay hands upon them, so that it was with great difficulty that they could defend themselves with their swords. After a severe conflict, in which many of the Indians were slain, some of the English killed, and others sorely wounded, the victory still hung in suspense. The captain, finding himself much exhausted, and out of breath, as well as his men, by the extraordinary exertions which they had made in this critical state of action, had recourse to a successful expedient. He cries out to his men, ‘We must burn them!’ He immediately, entering a wigwam, took fire and put it into the mats with which the wigwams were covered. The fire instantly kindling, spread with such violence, that all the Indian houses were soon wrapped in one general flame. As the fire increased, the English retired without the fort, and compassed it on every side. Uncas and his Indians, with such of the Narragansetts as yet remained, took courage from the example of the English, and formed another circle in the rear of them. The enemy were now seized with astonishment; and, forced by the flames from their lurking-places into open light, became a fair mark for the English soldiers. Some climbed the palisadoes, and were instantly brought down by the fire of English muskets. Others, desperately sallying forth from their burning cells, were shot, or cut to pieces with the sword. Such terror fell upon them, that they would run

back from the English into the very flames. Great numbers perished in the conflagration. The greatness and violence of the fire, the reflection of the light, the flashing and the roar of the arms, the shrieks and yellings of the men, women, and children, in the fort, and the shouting of the Indians without, just at the dawning of the morning, exhibited a grand and awful scene. In little more than an hour, this whole work of destruction was finished. Seventy wigwams were burnt, and five or six hundred Indians perished, either by the sword, or in the flames. A hundred and fifty warriors had been sent on the evening before, who, that very morning, were to have gone forth against the English. Of these and all who belonged to the fort, seven only escaped, and seven were made prisoners. It had been previously concluded not to burn the fort, but to destroy the enemy, and take the plunder; but the captain afterwards found it the only expedient, to obtain the victory and save his men. Thus parents and children, the sannap and squaw, the old man and the babe, perished in promiscuous ruin.*

At the close of this unrelenting massacre, a new body of the Pequods from the other villages, were found to be fast approaching. Filled with rage at the sight of their ruined habitations and slaughtered companions, they rushed furiously upon the white men; but it was in vain; the destructive fire arms soon checked them, and Mason and his

party easily made good their retreat to Pequod harbor, now New London. The wounded were sent by water, and Mason marched his troops to Saybrook, where he was received with a discharge of artillery.

The work of extermination thus begun by the Connecticut soldiers was, in conjunction with the Massachusetts forces, carried forward to its completion during the summer. The Pequods were hunted from their hiding places in the swamps; their forts were destroyed; the warriors were killed; the women and children were distributed as slaves among the colonists; Sassacus, their head sachem, having fled to the Mohawks, was murdered by them, at the instigation of the Narragansetts; and the adult male prisoners were sold into slavery in the West Indies. It was reckoned that about nine hundred of the Pequods had been killed or taken; and the few that had escaped and were scattered among the Narragansetts and Mohegans, were forever forbidden to call themselves Pequods. The colonists regarded their successes in this war of destruction of the "bloody heathen" as ample proof of Divine approbation; and with characteristic self-complacency, they furnished numerous quotations out of the Old Testament to justify every thing which they had done. Truly, one might well here repeat the wish of pious Robinson, "Would that you had converted some to the truth before you had killed any!"

The Pequods having been exterminated, the attention of the ministers and magistrates was next turned to the

* Trumbull's "History of Connecticut," vol. i., p. 84.

rooting out of heretical pravity, a species of work which they were constantly called upon to undertake, but which, however well done, seemed very frequently to require to be done over again. One beneficial effect resulted certainly from the stringent regulations in Massachusetts, and that was the causing emigrations in different directions. Roger Williams, as before related, had laid the foundation of Rhode Island, and Davenport, in 1638, desirous of enjoying a separate community, which should be for ever free from the innovations of error and licentiousness, established the colony of New Haven. Wheelwright, banished for his participation in the heresies of Mrs. Hutchinson, went forth and planted Exeter. Captain Underhill, involved in the same quarrel, and charged moreover with a license in regard to creature comforts quite unbecoming in austere Massachusetts, was expelled, notwithstanding his services in the field; upon which he retired to Dover. Others also departed as occasion demanded, and thus separate congregations and settlements were sprinkled over the face of the country. Among these, was that of Rowley, in Massachusetts, formed by a company of Yorkshire clothiers, under the pastoral care of Ezekiel Rogers.

In the spring of 1637, a proclamation was issued in England to put a stop to the emigration of Puritans; and a year afterwards, when a squadron of eight ships, which were in the Thames, was preparing to embark for New England, the privy council interfered to prevent its sailing. It has been

asserted that Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet; but there seems no good ground for the assertion, neither of them being likely to take such a step in the then position of affairs at home. The ships were delayed only a few days, when the king removed the restraint, and the vessels arrived in safety in Massachusetts Bay.

The coast of Maine had also, here and there, a few settlements, but their progress was for some time extremely slow. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who, during thirty years had persevered in his efforts at colonization, and had sunk in these efforts nearly \$100,000, obtained a royal charter for his American provinces, in 1639. On the receipt of this charter, Gorges drew up an elaborate scheme for the government of Maine, and sent out Thomas Gorges, as deputy, with subordinates, to administer it. A Scotchman, Sir William Alexander, had obtained from James I. the territory of Acadie, in 1627, and given to it the name of Nova Scotia. During the war between France and England he had taken forcible possession of the province; under the treaty of peace, however, Canada, Cape Breton, and Acadie were restored again, in 1632, to the French. These were rivals to the English colonists in trade, and worse than all, were papists, a fact which led the Massachusetts people to apprehend that they might prove "ill neighbors."

The progress of the colony, in spite of internal dissensions and troubles, was, on the whole, steady and rapid. Trade continued to increase, vessels were built, mills were erected, and

towns and villages gradually began to assume a settled appearance. Inter-course, however, between the settlements, was mostly carried on by coasting, in consequence of the forests and uninhabited regions intervening. Probably no plantation in America had made as safe and substantial progress as this, during the time that the energetic sons of England had been on the soil of the New World.

The cost of New England colonization thus far, according to Mr. Hildreth, has been estimated at a million of dollars, which, although a great sum, is probably short of the truth. There were now east of the Hudson twelve independent communities, comprising some fifty towns or settlements; soon after, however, the separate jurisdictions were reduced to six.

CHAPTER VIII.

1625—1660

PROGRESS OF VIRGINIA.

Wyatt governor of Virginia — Yeardley — West — Letter to the king — Harvey governor — Revisal of the laws — Various regulations — Division into counties — Jealousy of Maryland — Complaints against Harvey — Goes to England — Returns to Virginia — Harvey's administration — Wyatt's administration — Sir William Berkeley — His character — Second revisal of laws — Parliamentary commissioners' efforts — Colony firm in loyalty — War with the Indians — Independence of Virginia — Authority of Parliament enforced — Bennet, Diggs, Matthews, governors — Sir William Berkeley reelected — Desire for restoration of monarchy — Principles of popular liberty.

ON the accession of Charles I., in 1625, although Sir Francis Wyatt's commission as governor of Virginia, was renewed in the same terms as under James, he soon after returned to England, and Yeardley was appointed his successor. Yeardley died the next year, much lamented by the colonists, and the Council elected

Francis West governor *pro tempore*. From a letter addressed to the king by West and the Council, we learn that the industry and energy of the colony were hardly equal to what might have been expected. War against the Indians was still existing;

there was but little enterprise and capital; and, in fact, the staple product was that "nauseous, unpalatable weed, tobacco, neither of necessity nor ornament to human life." Notwithstanding, however, these and similar disadvantages to which Virginia was subjected, the population continued to increase with rapidity, and in 1628, more than a thousand emigrants arrived from Europe.

Dr. John Potts was elected by the Council, in 1629, in place of West, which office he held for a short time, until the arrival of John Harvey, who had recently been appointed to the

government of the colony. Potts fell into trouble under charge of no **1629.** very creditable character, viz., that of cattle-stealing; but nothing of moment grew out of it. Harvey built a new fort at Point Comfort, at the entrance of James River, and a fee, in powder and ball, was demanded of every ship that passed. Salt-works were also established on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay.

In 1632, a revisal of the laws took place, by which they were consolidated **1632.** into a single statute, a process which it was found expedient to repeat on several subsequent occasions. The regulations in regard to religion and morals were numerous, and evince the care and concern of the authorities to promote godliness among the people. These regulations covered such points as the publishing bans of marriage, catechizing children, the number of times the ministers should preach, during the year, and administer the communion, the tithes for the support of religion, punishments for drunkenness, profane swearing, adultery, slander, etc. Attempts were made to limit the amount of tobacco produced, and thus increase its price in the English market. The price had fallen to six-pence per pound, and very serious competition had arisen from the English planters in the Island of Barbadoes, and other settlers in the Leeward Isles. The colonists were required to cultivate a certain portion of the soil in corn, and to plant and rear vines. Military exercises were to be kept up; no parley was to be held with Indians; no emigration to New England was to

take place without leave of the governor. This revised code was read at the beginning of every monthly court, and a manuscript copy was furnished, open to public inspection.

Two years subsequently, in 1654, the colony was divided into eight counties, the governor appointing the **1634.** lieutenants for each county, and the people choosing the sheriff;—so that after many trials, and many obstacles in the way of its growth, Virginia at that date may be regarded as having taken deep and abiding root in the soil of the new empire fast rising into importance in the western hemisphere.

The new colony of Maryland was not looked on with much favor by the Virginians, and they generally felt that it was an encroachment on their just rights. Harvey had rendered himself very unpopular by the adoption of measures obnoxious to the feelings of a large party in Virginia; the consequence of which was, that he was suspended by the Council. An assembly was called to receive complaints against Harvey, and he took his departure for England, to answer there any charges which might be preferred against him. The charges were not even heard, and the deposed Harvey returned, **1636.** in 1636, with a new commission, and with a spirit not improved in kindness towards the colonists. He remained several years in office, and, according to some writers, exercised his powers with much severity, and even tyranny, until at length he was superseded by Sir Francis Wyatt, in 1639. It is but justice, however, to state that

great allowance is to be made in Harvey's case for the violence of political excitement, since it does not appear that he attempted any unlawful interference with the rights and privileges of the colonists.

The administration of Wyatt was peaceful, and quite acceptable to the people. In 1641, however, Sir **1641.** William Berkeley was appointed governor, and the year following arrived in Virginia. He was a man of high and honorable character and principles, and proved himself well adapted to the station to which he had been elevated. Shortly after the commencement of the civil war in Eng- **1643.** land, the laws of Virginia underwent a second revision. Most of the former laws were continued, but with some modifications and additions, among which were the requiring all in the colony to use the liturgy of the Church of England, non-conformists to depart out of Virginia, the monthly courts to be changed into county courts, and held six times a year, certain taxes necessary to public advantage, to be levied, etc., etc.

The Parliamentary Commissioners for Plantations endeavored to obtain from the Virginians an acknowledgment of their authority, offering them the choice of their own governor; but Governor Berkeley, who was a firm royalist, persuaded the majority of the Council to adhere to the king; so that Virginia, retaining its attachment to loyalty, and in a measure left to itself, had an opportunity of legislating for the general good, independent of European control.

The hostility of the Indians, which had been only partially suppressed, was ready to break out on any favorable occasion. Opechancanough, the ancient enemy of the colonists, was now advanced in years, and still meditating upon revenge. A **1644.** favorable opportunity having presented itself, arising out of the dissensions occasioned by the civil war in England, and its general effect upon the colony, a sudden and furious assault was made under Opechancanough's direction, which resulted in the slaughter of some five hundred of the colonists. A general war against the Indians ensued, and the aged chief was taken prisoner, and died soon after of wounds inflicted by a brutal soldier. His successor **1646.** was willing to make peace, and all the lands between James and York Rivers were ceded to the Virginians.

Thus did it happen, to use the words of Mr. Bancroft, that "the colony of Virginia acquired the management of all its concerns; war was levied and peace concluded, and territory acquired, in conformity to the acts of the representatives of the people. Possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staple, and practically all the rights of an independent State, having England for its guardian against foreign oppression, rather than its ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin soil, equal laws, and general uniformity of condition and industry could bestow. Their numbers increased; the cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants. At Christmas, 1648, there

were trading in Virginia ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England. The number of the colonists was already twenty thousand; and they who had sustained no griefs, were not tempted to engage in the feuds by which the mother country was divided. They were attached to the cause of Charles, not because they loved monarchy, but because they cherished the liberties of which he had left them in the undisturbed possession; and after his
1649. execution, though there were not wanting some who, from ignorance, as the royalists affirmed, favored republicanism, the government recognized his son without dispute. The faithfulness of the Virginians did not escape the attention of the royal exile; from his retreat in Breda,
1650. he transmitted to Berkeley a new commission; he still controlled the distribution of affairs, and amidst his defeats in Scotland, still remembered with favor the faithful cavaliers in the western world. Charles the Second, a fugitive from England, was still the sovereign of England. 'Virginia was whole for monarchy, and the last country belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the Commonwealth.'**

The Parliament, however, determined to enforce its claims to authority over the colonies. Sir George Ayscue was
1652. sent with a fleet to compel the obedience of Barbadoes. A separate expedition, to reduce Virginia,

joined Ayscue, and together, in 1652, they reached the Chesapeake. The colony yielded without resistance, their rights and privileges being secured to them. Berkeley's commission was declared void, and Richard Bennet, one of the Parliamentary Commissioners, was elected governor. Cromwell did not interfere with the appointments of governors in Virginia, so that on the retirement of Bennet, Edward Diggs, in 1655, and Samuel
1655. Matthews, in 1658, were successively chosen to fill the office of chief magistrate. Matthews having fallen
1658. into a dispute with the House of Burgesses, claiming powers which were denied, endeavored to have the question submitted to the Protector; but the Virginians, jealous of their liberties, determined not to permit this, and to assert their independent powers. A declaration of popular sovereignty was made, the former election declared void, and then, to show their regard for Matthews, he himself was reelected to the very office from which he had just been removed. The governor submitted, and thus the spirit of popular liberty established its claims.

Matthews died in 1660, just at the time when Richard Cromwell's resignation had left England free to
1660. desire the return of the Stuart dynasty. The burgesses convened, declared afresh their inherent powers of sovereignty, and elected Sir William Berkeley governor, while waiting the settlement of affairs in England. Thus steadily intent upon securing the liberty which they enjoyed, the Virginians established the supremacy of the popu-

* Bancroft's "History of the United States," vol. i., p. 209

lar branch, the freedom of trade, religious toleration, exemption from foreign taxation, and the universal elective franchise. Whenever, at any subse-

quent time, there was deviation from these principles, it was the result of foreign authority and compulsion, not of the people's free will and consent.

CHAPTER IX.

1632—1660.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF MARYLAND.

Peculiarity in the origin of Maryland—George Calvert, Lord Baltimore—His character—The charter—Its advantages—Boundary of the colony—Opposition of Clayborne—Leonard Calvert in command of the expedition—First settlers—St. Mary's—Suspiciousness of Massachusetts—Clayborne's further efforts to do injury—Lord Baltimore's expenditure on the colony—First colonial assembly—Its acts—Dispute about initiative in legislation—Second and third assemblies—The first statutes enacted—Lord Baltimore's policy—Act of toleration—Its limits—Insurrection of Ingle and Clayborne—Temporizing policy of the proprietary—Maryland claimed by different parties—Contest ensuing—Stone and his lot—Fendal's troubles and the result—Philip Calvert governor—Population and growth of Maryland in 1660.

THE settlement of Maryland was in several respects different from that of Virginia or Massachusetts. The former had many perilous struggles before its existence and liberties were secured. The latter put forth many sincere but fruitless efforts, to establish itself on a foundation of theocracy, where private judgment and religious toleration should obtain no resting-place. In the case of Maryland, however, the advantages of a government in which the freemen of the colony were to bear a part, and where toleration in matters of conscience was to be allowed, were wisely provided for by its founder; so that its origin was peaceful, and its course prosperous from the beginning. And this deserves to be noted the rather, because the founder of Maryland was a sincere and liberal-spirited member of

the Roman Catholic Church, a church whose principles, as is well known, are totally opposed to all toleration in religion, and when opportunity serves to carry them out, lead necessarily to persecution. The Romanists, at this period, from a variety of causes, found their position uncomfortable in England, for the Puritans, equally with others, were bent upon the full execution of the penal statutes against them; consequently they had even greater reason than the Puritans to desire to escape from their trials at home, by emigrating to the New World.

About the beginning of James First's reign, George Calvert, a native of Yorkshire, and a graduate of Oxford, was so popular in his own 1604. county, by far the largest in England, as to be chosen its representative in

Parliament, and was so great a favorite at Court as to have become one of the

Secretaries of State. Calvert, **1619.** however, had, some time previously, become a convert to the Romish Church. With honorable candor he avowed his opinions, and tendered the resignation of his office. Far, however, from losing the influence he had obtained, he was loaded with fresh favors, and soon after created an Irish peer, by the title of Lord Baltimore. He had been one of the original associates of the Virginia Company, and had tried an experimental colony of his

own at Avalon, on the island of **1622.** Newfoundland; after having twice visited it, and expended in the attempt at colonization more than \$100,000, he at length resolved to abandon it. He then turned his attention to Virginia, where he met with little encouragement to engage in a settlement, the oath of allegiance, framed so as that no Roman Catholic could conscientiously subscribe it, being expressly tendered for his adoption. He thus became desirous of obtaining a settlement to which those of like faith with himself might repair unmolested; and on his return to England he had little difficulty in obtaining from Charles I. a grant of a considerable tract on the river Potomac, which, in compliment to the queen, Henrietta Maria, he denominated MARYLAND.

Lord Baltimore was a man of clear and comprehensive mind, and of high and generous character; he appreciated the necessity of a **1632.** popular government, as well as of its independence of the despotism of the

crown; and thus the charter which gave to him, and to his heirs, the absolute proprietorship in the soil, together with the power of making necessary laws, was coupled with the condition that nothing should be enacted without the advice, consent, and approbation of the freemen of the province, or their representatives convoked in general assembly, and nothing enacted but what was in spirit, if not in letter, consonant with the laws of England. Maryland, too, furnishes the first instance in which the local proprietary was exempted from the control of the crown, and from the power of parliamentary taxation. The Potomac, with a line due east from its mouth, across the Chesapeake Bay, and the peninsula called the eastern shore, formed the southern boundary of the new province; on the east it had the ocean and Delaware Bay; on the north the fortieth degree of latitude, the southern boundary of the great New England patent; and on the west, a line due north from the westernmost head of the Potomac.

Before the patent had passed through all the necessary formalities, Lord Baltimore died; but the charter was issued and confirmed to his son, Cecilius Calvert, whose zealous energies were devoted to the carrying out his father's purposes. Considerable opposition was excited against the charter and its privileges, by William Clay- **1633.** borne, secretary, and one of the Council of Virginia. An acute and enterprising man, he had entered into speculations and trade with the Indians under a royal license. Consequently,

having established a post on the Isle of Kent, and another at the mouth of the Susquehanna, he and his associates were little disposed to look with favor upon any grant or charter likely to interfere with their license. Clayborne's appeal to the Privy Council was set aside, and orders were sent to Virginia, insisting upon a good understanding being maintained, and forbidding that either should entertain fugitives from the other.

Leonard Calvert, a natural son of the first Lord Baltimore, was appointed by his brother Cecil, to the command of the company destined to found the colony of Maryland. They embarked in the Ark and Dove, in November, 1633, proceeded by way of the West

Indies, and early the next year **1634.** arrived in the Chesapeake. The number of the new settlers was about two hundred, mostly of the Roman Catholic persuasion, and many of them ranking amongst gentry. They were courteously received by Governor Harvey, and had no difficulty in fixing upon a site for a settlement. Calvert entered the Potomac, and upon a spot partly occupied, which was about to be abandoned by the Indians, and was ceded by them the next year in full to the emigrants, he built the little village of St. Mary's. The liberal provisions of the charter, and the unusual readiness with which the Indians were willing to give them a peaceful footing upon the soil, were all in favor of the establishment and rapid progress of the colony; and had it not been for the unfriendly acts and vindictive spirit of Clayborne, hardly a difficulty or trial worth men-

tion would have disturbed the steady growth and prosperity of Maryland.

In August of the present year (1634) Calvert sent the Dove to Massachusetts with a cargo of corn, to exchange for fish. But notwithstanding the friendly advances of Calvert, backed by Harvey of Virginia, the suspiciousness of the Puritans was too strong to admit of any thing like cordiality; some sharp words passed between the ship's people and the inhabitants; and when the Dove was allowed to depart, the master was charged "to bring no more such disordered persons."

Clayborne's hostility did not sleep. Beside endeavoring to injure the colonists with the Indians, he even ventured to fit out a small vessel, under color of his exclusive right to trade, and gave orders to capture all the water craft of the colonists. Two armed boats from St. Mary's pursued the vessel; an engagement took place; several lives were lost, and the officers made prisoners. Clayborne escaped to Virginia, and was demanded by Calvert as a fugitive from justice; **1635.** but Harvey declined giving him up, and he was sent to England.

Colonization proceeded steadily, though not rapidly. The proprietary offered very liberal terms to settlers, in the expectation that his own heavy outlays might to some extent at least, be reimbursed: during the first **1636** two years he expended nearly \$200,000 on the colony. But in no respect, probably, was the wisdom of Lord Baltimore more evident than in his yielding to the wishes of the colo-

nists on a point where they were very sensitive. The first colonial Assembly, in 1635, had passed a body of laws, which the proprietary rejected on the ground, that the initiative of legislation belonged to him. Soon after, he sent over a collection of statutes which

1638. he had drawn up, to be laid before a second Assembly; that body, however, refused to admit the proprietary's claim to the initiative, or to adopt the laws proposed by him. Lord Baltimore, with great good sense,

1639. yielded the point, and a third Assembly was held, at which the first statutes of Maryland were enacted.

This Assembly was composed of deputies from the several hundreds into which the colony had been divided; an act was passed, "establishing the House of Assembly;" and a number of bills on the subject of municipal law were proposed for the approval of the House, but for some unexplained cause were not finally adopted. Trial by jury, conformity to the laws of England, provisions for the probate of wills, obligation not to neglect the cultivation of corn, and the like, were established; and it was declared, in the words of Magna Charta, that "Holy Church within this province shall have all her rights and liberties." Though it is tolerably certain, that by this term the Roman Catholic Church was meant, yet the proprietary does not seem ever to have contemplated the establishment of a colony solely for those of like faith with himself; on the contrary, he endeavored by proclamation, to repress disputations on the sub-

ject of religion, because thereby the public peace and quiet were likely to be disturbed; and practically, whether necessity or policy, or more honorable reasons, led to this result, toleration was established in Maryland. The Assemblies of the three following years maintained this principle of toleration firmly and steadily, and in 1649, "an act of toleration" was enacted by both the upper and lower House. Liberty of opinion was not indeed, nor could it well have been, as absolute as in our own times. A profession of belief in the doctrine of the Trinity was required, and blasphemy was severely punished; but with this limitation the terms of the statute forbade any interference in, or even reproachful censure of, the private opinions or modes of worship, already sufficiently numerous and eccentric, established among the citizens. "Whereas," it states, "the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof; nor any way compelled to the belief or exercise of any religion against his or her consent, so that they be not unfaithful to the lord proprietary, or molest or conspire against the civil government established."

During the civil war in England, Clayborne, urged by a desire for revenge, stirred up rebellion in the province. Repossessing himself of the Isle of Kent, while Calvert was in England, and Giles Bent in charge of the administration, Clayborne, in conjunction with one Ingle, endeavored to profit by their present success. Early in 1645 the rebels were triumphant; but Calvert obtaining assistance from Virginia, suppressed the rebellion, though not without bloodshed. Clayborne and Ingle managed to destroy or carry off a large part of the records, and were guilty of other acts of disorder and misrule; yet it was judged wise to pass a general amnesty for all offences, and rightful authority resumed its sway. Calvert died in 1647, and Thomas Greene succeeded him. But the proprietary deemed it expedient to displace him, in 1648, and appoint William Stone, a zealous Protestant and parliamentarian, as governor of Maryland.

On receipt of the news of Charles First's execution, quite a burst of loyalty was stirred up by Greene, at the time temporarily in charge of the government, Stone being absent in Virginia; Lord Baltimore, who wished to avoid collision with the dominant party, does not seem to have approved this step, by which he gave offence to Charles II., who appointed Sir William Davenant governor, without regard to the chartered rights of the proprietary. Maryland was now claimed by four separate aspirants; Virginia, who had never looked upon

the colony with favor, Charles II., because of his displeasure against the time-serving policy of Lord Baltimore, Stone, who was the active deputy of the proprietary, and the victorious Parliament, who, as before related, were not disposed to allow disaffection or rebellion in the colonies.

A noisy and vexatious contest ensued, into the details of which we need not enter. Stone was deposed by the Commissioners, but reinstated on submission. On the dissolution of the Long Parliament, Stone re-established Lord Baltimore's authority in full, which brought Clayborne again into the field: the government was taken away from Stone, and retaliatory ordinances passed against the "papists;" Stone, next year, finding himself blamed by Lord Baltimore, engaged in an attempt to put down his opponents, but without any success, himself being taken prisoner, and narrowly escaping the death to which his principal adherents were condemned. Cromwell was appealed to, but he was too busy with other and weightier things, to give much heed to this matter. In 1656, Josias Fendal was appointed by Lord Baltimore as governor, and for a time the colony was divided between two ruling authorities, the Romanist at St. Mary's, and the Puritan at St. Leonard's. In March, 1658, a compromise was effected, and Fendal acknowledged. Just before the restoration of Charles II., the Assembly of Maryland, as in the case of Virginia, took occasion to assert its legitimate and paramount authority; and Philip

Calvert was established firmly in the position of governor.

The population of Maryland at this date, is estimated at about ten thou-

sand; and despite the various trials and troubles which marked its earlier history, the colony gradually increased in wealth and strength.

CHAPTER X.

1638—1685.

NEW NETHERLAND: NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY.

Kieft, governor of New Netherland — His administration — Encroachments of Connecticut people — Attempts on the Delaware — Indian war — Bitter fruits — Reduced state of the colony — Petrus Stuyvesant governor — Kieft's death by shipwreck — Stuyvesant's efforts to settle difficulties — Convention of delegates — Dissolved by the governor — Reduction of the Swedes — Dispute with Maryland — New England restiveness — Expedition against New Amsterdam — Its surrender to the English — New York — Albany — Banks of the Delaware — **NEW JERSEY** — Its origin — Carteret governor — Disputes — Measures adopted in New York — Dutch attack — Andros governor — Attempt on Connecticut — East and West Jersey — The Quakers — The Presbyterians from Scotland — Arbitrary measures — Chartered liberties granted to New York — Accession of James II.

WILLIAM KIEFT, who is described by Winthrop as "a sober and discreet man," was the very opposite of Van Twiller in most respects; yet his appointment does not seem to have been a judicious step. Active, zealous, rapacious, quick-tempered, he entered upon the duties of his post with energy and spirit, and endeavored in many ways to remedy the difficulties

into which New Netherland had **1638.** fallen under the administration of Van Twiller. His protest against Swedish colonization on the Delaware was unsuccessful; nor was he able better to make headway in opposition to the encroachments of the New England people on the Connecticut. Valuable privileges were offered to settlers, the patroonships were limited, the monopoly of the Indian trade was relinquished, the Dutch Reformed Church

was declared to be the established religion, which was publicly to be taught, etc. By these and similar efforts, the Director hoped to promote the prosperity of the colony. In addition to the settlements at Wallabout and Flatlands on Long Island, another **1639.** at Breukelen was commenced.

New boweries were established in every direction, annual fairs were set up at New Amsterdam, a new stone church was erected, and various like measures adopted to advance the welfare of the community.

The English settlement at Red Hill, or New Haven, was considered by the Dutch an alarming encroachment on their territorial rights. The traders at the House of Good Hope on the Connecticut were subjected to various annoyances, and it seemed evident that there was a settled purpose to drive

the Dutch away altogether. Long Island was claimed by Lord Sterling's agent, and under that claim insult was offered by a party from Lynn, **1640.** Massachusetts, who attempted to settle on the western end of the island. They pulled down the Dutch arms, and put up in its place an indecent caricature. The Dutch made prisoners of them, and on their apologizing allowed them to retire to the eastern barren end of the island, **1641.** where they founded Southampton, and put themselves under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Various other active efforts were made by the New England colonists, which resulted in the founding of Stratford, Stamford, and Greenwich. Indeed the English inhabitants had increased so rapidly, even in the territory acknowledging the jurisdiction of the Dutch, that an English Secretary was found necessary, and George Baxter was appointed to that office.

The people of New Haven were desirous of founding a settlement on Delaware Bay, and some fifty families set out for this purpose. On touching at New Amsterdam, Kieft protested warmly against these encroachments; but they did not heed his words. Accordingly, in May, 1641, Kieft sent two sloops to break up the settlement, an enterprise into which the commander of the Swedish fort heartily entered; Lambertson, the leader of the party, was obliged to pay a ransom; the rest were compelled to swear allegiance to Sweden; and the Director insisted upon duties being paid at New Amsterdam, on the fur-trade in the Delaware. Natu-

rally enough, the New Haven people took offence at all this, and the quarrel proceeded to that length, that Kieft proclaimed a non-intercourse with the colony on the Connecticut.

About the same date, serious difficulties began to arise with the Indians. Several murders had been committed, and it was judged necessary to take steps to meet the emergency. A board of "Twelve Men" was appointed; and eighty men were sent **1642.** against the hostile Indians; but without result, the guide having missed the way. Soon after, a Dutchman was murdered out of revenge, by a Hackensack Indian, who had been made drunk and robbed. Kieft would have no redress but that of blood, although full reparation was offered, according to the Indian idea of justice in such cases. While this dispute was yet unsettled, the Tappan Indians fled **1643.** to the Dutch on being attacked by the Mohawks; and it was while they were thus trusting to the hospitality of white men that the detestable plan was hastily and wickedly formed to cut them off. In spite of the remonstrances of the best men in the colony, the cry for blood prevailed; and in February, 1643, the shrieks of the victims were heard even across the icy river. Warriors, old men, women, and children were slain without mercy, to the number of eighty or more. Infants with their mothers perished in the river, the wounded were killed the next morning in cold blood, and about thirty prisoners were taken to New Amsterdam.

Retaliation followed as a matter of

course. Eleven of the smaller tribes in the vicinity joined together to make war on the Dutch. The scattered boweries, extending twenty and thirty miles to the north and east, were furiously attacked; houses were burned; men, women, and children killed and carried into captivity. The colonists fled in terror to New Amsterdam; Kieft was bitterly reproached and assailed for what had happened; and a fast was proclaimed. The Indians, their revenge satiated for the time, soon after made advances for peace, and a treaty was arranged early in the spring of the same year (1643); but war broke out again in the autumn. Great distress was the result; and in an appeal from the board of "Eight Men," sent to Holland in October, there is an affecting account of the wretched condition of the colony. It was at this date that "a good solid fence," or palisade, was erected as a protection to New Amsterdam, where the far-famed *Wall Street* now stands.

In July of this year, Kieft wrote a letter of congratulation to the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England. At the same time, he took occasion to complain of the "insufferable wrongs" which the people of Connecticut had been guilty of towards the Dutch residents at the fort of Good Hope. The Commissioners, at their meeting in September, were not a whit behind the Director in making complaints, which led, as was natural, to a rejoinder on the part of Kieft.

Various expeditions against the Indians were undertaken during 1643, and 1644; and with ultimate success.

The horrors of the Pequod massacre were to some extent acted over again. Kieft's conduct was warmly **1644.** complained of by the "Eight Men," in an appeal to Holland respecting the war; and it was not till August, 1645, that a treaty of peace was agreed upon, and a day of thanksgiving appointed.

The settlements about New Amsterdam were almost ruined by the late war, and hardly a hundred men could be mustered. Only five or six remained out of some thirty flourishing boweries; and it appeared, on examination, that New Netherland, up to this time (1638), had cost the West India Company more than \$200,000 over and above all receipts.

Kieft became more and more unpopular, and the people complained of his tyranny, exaction, and arbitrary exercise of lawful authority. He fell into several violent disputes with ministers of churches, as well as individuals in the community; and altogether, matters came to such a pass, that it was evidently high time to supersede him and appoint a new Director. Accordingly, Petrus Stuyvesant, **1646.** governor of Curaçoa, a staunch old soldier, but very haughty and imperious in his bearing, was appointed Director General of New Netherland, with a nominal jurisdiction over his former field of service. Some remaining restrictions on imports and exports were removed; but New Amsterdam still continued the sole port of entry.

Poor Kieft, having freighted a vessel with a valuable cargo of furs, worth, it was said, \$100,000, and set sail for home, was wrecked on the coast of

Wales, and himself, with some eighty others, were lost. The general **1647.** opinion was, if we may credit Winthrop, that this calamity was a mark of divine displeasure against such as had opposed or injured God's "poor people of New England,"—so prone are men to pronounce harsh and uncharitable judgments respecting calamities which it pleases God to send upon individuals.

On Stuyvesant's assuming the government, in May, 1647, the colony was far from being in a prosperous condition, as compared with Virginia and Maryland on the south, and New England on the north. The former numbered some twenty thousand inhabitants, and New England about as many; while New Netherland had hardly three thousand, including the Swedes on the Delaware. Beverwyck—the site of the present city of Albany—was a hamlet of ten houses; New Amsterdam was a village of wooden huts, with roofs of straw, and chimneys of mud and sticks, and a large proportion of rum-shops, and shops for the sale of tobacco and beer. On the western end of Long Island there were several plantations, but a considerable part of the inhabitants were English.

The United Colonies of New England sent to Stuyvesant a congratulatory letter on his arrival, but **1647.** wound up with numerous complaints. The old soldier had been charged with the settling these disputes and differences, if possible, and he accordingly undertook with vigor to accomplish the difficult task. Matters did not advance rapidly or easily;

and it was not till September, 1650, that any award was effected by the arbitrators appointed by the respective litigants in the case. "By their award, all the eastern part of Long **1650.** Island, composing the present county of Suffolk, was assigned to New England. The boundary between New Haven and New Netherland was to begin at Greenwich Bay, to run northerly twenty miles into the country, and beyond 'as it shall be agreed,' but nowhere to approach the Hudson nearer than ten miles. The Dutch retained their fort of Good Hope, with the lands appertaining to it; but all the rest of the territory on the river was assigned to Connecticut. Fugitives were to be mutually given up."*

Adventurers from New Haven undertook a fresh expedition to the Delaware, the question respecting which had unfortunately been left unsettled. Stuyvesant resisted this attempt **1651.** instantly, seized upon the ship, detained the emigrants, and proceeded to build a fort—Fort Casimir—on the present site of Newcastle. This energetic conduct was denounced at New Haven as a violation of the late treaty, and fresh troubles sprang up in consequence. It was even contemplated to attempt the conquest of New Netherland, especially as at the time war had broken out between Cromwell and the Dutch, and inasmuch as it was alleged that there was a plot between the Dutch and the Narragansetts to murder the entire body of English colonists. Massachusetts refusing to join

* Hildreth's "*History of the United States*," vol. i., p. 438

in any such scheme, it came to nought.

The inhabitants of New Amsterdam, having obtained by petition to the authorities at home, certain municipal privileges, were desirous

of proceeding still further in the path of popular liberty. A convention of two delegates from each village assembled, and were disposed to demand for the people a share in legislation and the appointment of magistrates. Sturdy old Stuyvesant dissolved the

convention, rejected their demand as absurd and presumptuous, and gave them to understand that he needed no help from the ignoble crowd to sustain his authority, or aid him in the discharge of his duties. His conduct and bearing were highly approved by the Company in Holland.

The Swedes by a stratagem, got possession of Fort Casimir; but as Sweden

no longer held the rank of a formidable power, the Company directed Stuyvesant to subdue the Swedes and take possession of the South Bay and River. The year following, the

Director embarked for the Delaware with a force of six hundred men, and without difficulty accomplished his object, so that New Sweden became again a part of New Netherland.

The affairs of New Netherland seemed to be now decidedly on the

improvement. Amicable relations were kept up with Virginia, and a mutually profitable trade was carried on. With Maryland, however, there was a dispute as to the occupancy of the western bank of the Delaware, the governor of Maryland

claiming the territory as within the limits of that colony, and the Dutch stoutly denying the Maryland claim, and insisting upon their right of prior occupancy. Further difficulties, too, occurred this year (1659) with the Indians, whose thirst for blood was stimulated by selling or giving to them the poisonous "fire-water." Murders on their part were followed by retaliatory steps on the part of the Dutch, and many lives were lost in consequence. A peace was made the next year; but in 1663, the savages, who had been waiting an opportunity to revenge the sending away some Indians by Stuyvesant to the West Indies, attacked the settlers at Esopus with un pitying fury. Late in that year the Indians were nearly all subdued, and tranquillity was restored for the time.

The dispute with Maryland was vexatious and troublesome, but, comparatively, was of small moment: it was the restless New England spirit which seemed destined to be the plague of Stuyvesant's life. Connecticut was eager in the pursuit of territory, and on obtaining a royal charter, began to press a claim to Long Island, Westchester, and in fact, all the land east of the Hudson. Stuyvesant went to Boston, and sent agents to Hartford: the New Englanders spoke fairly, but their actions still excited the suspicions of the old soldier; and despite his contempt for popular assemblies, he was fain to ask the advice of the people in the emergency. Unfortunately the Assembly could not yield him any assistance: the

days of New Netherland were numbered.

The English claim, such as it was, to the territory occupied by the Dutch, it will be remembered, had never been given up; it was now determined to enforce that claim by something more cogent than words.* The Duke of York had bought up the claims of

1664. Lord Stirling, under grants which he had received from the extinct Council of New England; and in March, 1664, he had received from his brother, Charles II., a charter for a large and valuable tract between the Connecticut and the Delaware principally, and swallowing up entirely New Netherland. New York was the name bestowed upon this new province.

Prompt measures were adopted. Three ships, with six hundred soldiers, having on board Colonel Richard Nichols, Colonel George Cartwright, Sir Robert Carr, and Samuel Maverick as commissioners, were dispatched in August, 1664, to seize upon New Netherland for the Duke of York. Rumors of their design had indeed reached that city, but no effectual defence had been, or indeed could be, attempted by the Dutch. Stuyvesant endeavored to awaken the spirit of the inhabitants to a gallant defence, by recalling to them the recent heroic struggle of the fatherland against the Spaniards, but he met but with a feeble response. Determined at least to put a bold front upon the matter,

he sent, in concert with the deputies, to request of the English commander the reason of his hostile appearance. Nichols replied by asserting the claims of England, and demanding an immediate surrender of New Amsterdam on condition that the lives, liberties, and property of the inhabitants should be respected. Stuyvesant retorted by a spirited protest, detailing the manner in which the Dutch had obtained a lawful possession of the country, affecting to doubt whether, "if his Majesty of Great Britain were well informed of such passages, he would not be too judicious to grant such an order" as that by which he was summoned, especially in a time of profound peace; and reminding the commissioners, that it was "a very considerable thing to affront so mighty a state as Holland, although it were not against an ally and confederate." Neither argument nor threats produced, however, any effect upon the English commander, who refused to protract the negotiation, and threatened an immediate attack upon the city. Mortifying as it was to an old soldier to surrender without a struggle, Stuyvesant was compelled to submit to circumstances; the majority of the inhabitants were unwilling to run the risk of an assault to which they could not hope to offer any effectual opposition, in defence of a government with which they were discontented, and against another which many among them were secretly disposed to welcome. A liberal capitulation was arranged; the rights and privileges of the inhabitants were guaranteed; and New Amsterdam quietly passed into

* Chalmers, who writes with strong English feeling and prejudices, goes so far as to state that the settlement of New Netherland was in violation of the law of nations! See his "*Introduction to the Revolt of the American Colonies*," vol. i., p. 116.





the possession of the bold invaders.

A few days after, Fort Orange, on the Hudson, capitulated, and the name

Albany was bestowed upon it.

1664. A treaty was here concluded with the chiefs of the Five Nations, whose hostilities had occasioned so much distress to the Dutch. Sir Robert Carr meanwhile entered the Delaware, and plundering and ill using the Dutch, soon reduced them to submission. Thus it was that, by a claim firmly persisted in, and enforced without the shedding of a single drop of blood, New Netherland became an integral part of the growing and important colonial empire of England. The Dutch inhabitants readily acquiesced in the change of rulers, and even the sturdy Governor Stuyvesant, attached to the country, spent the remainder of his life in New York.

It seems but fair, at this point in the history of New York, to quote the words of Mr. Brodhead, who claims that the Dutch have hardly received justice at the hands of American historians. "The reduction of NEW NETHERLAND was now accomplished. All that could be further done was to change its name; and, to glorify one of the most bigotted princes in English history, the royal province was ordered to be called NEW YORK. . . . The flag of England was at length triumphantly displayed, where, for half a century, that of Holland had rightfully waved; and, from Virginia to Canada the King of Great Britain was acknowledged as sovereign. . . . This treacherous and violent seizure of the territory and possessions of an unsus-

pecting ally was no less a breach of private justice than of public faith. It may, indeed, be affirmed, that among all the acts of selfish perfidy which royal ingratitude conceived and executed, there have been few more characteristic, and none more base. . . .

. . . . The emigrants who first explored the coasts and reclaimed the soil of New Netherland, and bore the flag of Holland to the wigwams of the Iroquois, were generally bluff, plain-spoken, earnest, yet unpretentious men, who spontaneously left their native land to better their condition, and bind another province to the United Netherlands. They brought over with them the liberal ideas, and honest maxims, and homely virtues of their country. . . . They came with no loud-sounding pretensions to grandeur in purpose, eminence in holiness, or superiority in character. They were more accustomed to do than to boast; nor have their descendants been ambitious to invite and appropriate excessive praise for the services their ancestors rendered in extending the limits of Christendom, and in stamping upon America its distinguishing features of freedom in religion, and liberality in political faith. . . .

Much of what has been written of American history has been written by those who, from habit or prejudice, have been inclined to magnify the influence, and extol the merit of the Anglo-Saxon race, at the expense of every other element which has assisted to form the national greatness. In no particular has this been more remarkable than in the unjust view which has

so often been taken of the founders of New York. Holland has long been a theme for the ridicule of British writers; and even in this country, the character and manners of the Dutch have been made the subjects of an unworthy depreciation, caused, perhaps, in some instances, by too ready an imitation of those provincial chroniclers who could see little good in their 'noxious neighbors' of New Netherland.*

New Jersey was established at this date. The country between the Hudson and the Delaware had been conveyed by the Duke of York to **1664.** Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. This latter had been governor of the Island of Jersey during the civil war, and thus the name of the new province was derived. As this extensive tract was thinly inhabited, the policy of the proprietaries led them to offer the most favorable terms to settlers. Absolute freedom of worship, and a colonial Assembly, having the sole power of taxation, and a share in the legislation of the province, were among the principal inducements. Many were attracted to New Jersey, and it was thought to be almost a paradise, on account of the liberality of its institutions and the beauty of the climate.

Philip Carteret had been appointed governor, much to the discontent of Nichols, who protested in vain against this encroachment upon his jurisdiction.

1670. Carteret's attempt to collect the quit-rents for the proprietaries in 1670, caused much discontent,

which finally broke out into open insurrection. The Assembly convened at Elizabethtown, deposed Philip Carteret, who was compelled to fly, and elected James Carteret in his place. The latter had been active in encouraging the agitation and insurrection.

One of the earliest measures adopted by the Duke of York, in behalf of the new State called by his name, was the passing a code embodying many valuable privileges and customs derived from local experience, and adapted to the wants of the colonists, trial by jury being among them. That democratic spirit, however, which had led the inhabitants of the colony to rebel against the severe government of Stuyvesant, and to welcome the English rule as promising a more liberal policy, dissatisfied and disappointed with these concessions alone, vented itself in angry and bitter remonstrances against a system no less despotic than the former. The merchants felt themselves oppressed by fresh duties, which, to swell the coffers of the Duke of York, were levied upon their imports and exports. Thus at the moment when, war having been declared between England and Holland, in 1673, through the artifices of Louis XIV., a Dutch fleet suddenly appeared before the city, a general disaffection prevailed amongst the citizens, and Colonel Manning, who, in the absence of the governor, Lovelace, held possession of the fort with a small body of English soldiers, surrendered without resistance. He was afterwards adjudged guilty by a court martial of cowardice and treachery. For awhile New York again became a Dutch city, and was

* Brodhead's "*History of the State of New York*," First Period, p. 745—750.

under a Dutch governor; but by the treaty of Westminster, concluded the following year, it was agreed that all conquests were to be mutually restored: New York consequently again passed into the hands of the English.

The Duke of York obtained a new grant, which both increased his territorial pretensions and gave him authority "to govern the inhabitants by such ordinances as he and his assigns should establish." Accordingly he sent over Major Edmund Andros, to assume the office of governor, to assert his proprietary rights, and consolidate his scattered territories under one uniform system of administration. With this view, one of the first proceedings of Andros was an expedition to Fort Saybrook, with a small force, in order to enforce the claim of the Duke to all such territory between the Hudson and the Connecticut, as had been settled by the citizens of the latter State. He was astonished at the sturdy resolution of the Connecticut men, who refused even to listen to the reading of his commission, and without violence, but by a display of power which he was unable to resist, compelled him to return disconcerted to New York. There, too, he soon found that there was quite as little disposition quietly to submit to the levying taxes by irresponsible authority, and a clear determination to obtain, if possible, the advantages possessed by the other English colonies under their chartered privileges.

The dissension that had taken place in New Jersey on the subject of the quit-rents, has been spoken of above. Carteret, the governor, who had been

compelled to leave the province, had gone to England, whence he shortly returned, invested with fresh powers. Soon after the taking of the province from the Dutch, Berkeley, **1672.** one of the proprietors, disposed of his share of New Jersey to John Fenwick, in trust for Edward Byllinge, of whom William Penn became one of the assignees. A dispute between the proprietors was settled by the arbitration of Penn, whose name now first appears in connection with American history, and Carteret soon after consented to a formal partition of the province into two parts, called East and West Jersey. The latter became a colony of Quakers, and together with liberty of conscience, democratic equality **1676.** was established. Lovers of peace themselves, they readily obtained the friendly regard of the Delaware Indians; large numbers of the Quakers emigrated; and the colony soon gave evidence of growth and prosperity. In 1682, East Jersey was purchased from the heirs of Carteret, by twelve Quakers, under the auspices of **1682.** Penn; and in 1683, the proprietors having increased their number to twenty-four, obtained a new patent from the Duke of York. During the two following years, East Jersey afforded refuge to numbers of Scotch Presbyterian, **1683.** who had escaped for their lives from the fierce onslaught and proscription to which they had been subjected at home.

Freedom of trade had been established in New Jersey: this was, however, quite obnoxious to Andros, the governor of New York, and he at

tempted to put a stop to it. He demanded payment of customs, asserted jurisdiction over New Jersey, seized and tried Carteret, and kept him in confinement until the matter could be referred to England. These high-handed measures roused even the pacific Quakers to remonstrance. Penn drew up a document, mild in tone, yet firm in asserting constitutional rights. By mutual consent, the disputed question was referred to the decision of Sir William Jones, one of the most eminent lawyers of the time. His opinion was unfavorable to the pretensions of the Duke of York, who thereupon, by a fresh instrument, resigned all claim to both West and East Jersey, which, left to develop the resources of the province freely, continued steadily to increase, and gave promise of its future rank in the colonial family.

Andros, on his first visit to England, had endeavored to convince the Duke of York that it would be necessary to concede a system of self-government to the discontented colonists. On a subsequent occasion his request was powerfully seconded by symptoms of determined opposition to the arbitrary levy of taxes under the sole authority of the Duke. A jury in New York had by their verdict, declared that they deemed this measure illegal, and the same opinion was expressed by the lawyers in England. Overwhelmed with fresh petitions from the council, court of assize, and corporation, praying that they might participate in the government, a request reinforced by Penn, whose influence with him was considerable, the Duke of York was at length com-

pelled to yield, and Dongan, a Roman Catholic, was sent out as governor, empowered to accede to the wishes of the colonists, and to summon the freeholders to choose their representatives.

Accordingly, on the 17th of October, 1683, a meeting was held of the first popular assembly in the State of New York—consisting of the governor and ten counsellors, with seventeen deputies elected by the freeholders. A declaration of rights was passed; trial by jury was confirmed; and taxes henceforth were to be levied only with the consent of the Assembly. Every freeholder was entitled to a vote for the representatives; and religious liberty was declared.

Such was the spirit in which the Assembly proceeded to exercise their newly acquired powers. One of their acts was entitled "The Charter of Liberties and Privileges granted by his Royal Highness to the Inhabitants of New York and its Dependencies." The following year (1684) another session was held, to the great **1684.** satisfaction of the colonists; but soon afterwards the flattering prospect thus opened to them of redressing their own grievances, and of managing their own affairs, was interrupted by the accession of the Duke of York to the throne of England, under the title of James II. Dongan had a new commission granted him, by which he was authorized, **1685.** with his council, to enact laws, to continue the taxes already imposed, and if he saw fit, to impose additional taxes. As in the case of Effingham in Virginia, he was specially charged to

allow no printing, the press being regarded as rather a dangerous element among a people situated as the colonists mostly were. Dongan also gave a char-

ter to the city of Albany, and bestowed upon Robert Livingston a sort of feudal principality on the Hudson River, known as Livingston Manor.

CHAPTER XI.

1640—1660.

NEW ENGLAND DURING THE COMMONWEALTH.

Condition of the New England colonies in 1640 — Fundamentals, or Body of Liberties — Its provisions — Annexation of New Hampshire — Articles of Confederation of United Colonies of New England — Religious troubles in Massachusetts — Anabaptist sect — Gorton's heresy — Death of Miantonimoh — Sympathy with the Parliament party — Resistance to interference — Roger Williams's voyage to England — Obtains a charter — Providence Plantations — Intolerant spirit of the theocratic party — First execution for witchcraft — Death of Winthrop — Rise of Quakers — Persecution — Execution of Quakers — The magistrates' defence — End of the troubles — Eliot and his labors — Prosperity of the colonies — Progress in morals, social life, education, etc.

THE political changes in England, consequent upon the success of the

1640. Parliament in its contest with Charles I., put a sudden stop to emigration, and for a time had a serious effect upon the fortunes of the New England colonies.* There was a great

fall in the prices of the main articles on which the colonists depended, especially in the articles of cattle and corn; and the difficulty of settling accounts and defraying debts was correspondingly great. Several provisions were made by the authorities to meet the emergency, and beavers' skins, wampum,* etc., were used as currency in place of coin. New kinds of industry were also attempted under the pressure of this state of affairs, such as fisheries, ship-building, cultivation of hemp and flax, manufactures of linen, cotton and woolen cloths, etc.

A call on the part of the freemen, jealous of the arbitrary, undefined powers and prerogatives of the magi-

* "Now that fountain began to be dried, and the stream turned another way, and many that intended to have followed their neighbors and friends into a land not sown, hoping by the turn of the times, and the great changes that were then afoot, to enjoy that at their own doors and homes, which the other had travelled so far to seek abroad, there happened a total cessation of any passengers coming over; yea, rather, as at the turn of a tide, many came back with the help of the same stream, or sea, that carried them thither; insomuch, that now the country of New England was to seek of a way to provide themselves of clothing, which they could not attain by selling of their cattle as before; which now were fallen from that huge price forementioned, £25, first to £14, and £10, an head, and presently after (at least within a year) to £5 a piece; nor was there at that rate ready vent for them neither."—*Hubbard*, p. 238.

* *Wampum*: the wampum, or peage, consisted of cylindrical beads half an inch long, of two colors, white and bluish black, made by the Indians from parts of certain sea shells.

strates, resulted in the preparation of a collection of laws, known as **1641.** "Fundamentals," or "Body of Liberties." Of these, the rough draft, having been prepared by the council, was sent round and submitted, first to the local magistrates and elders, then to the freemen at large, for due consideration and improvement; and having been thus decided upon, they were at length formally adopted. After three years' trial they were to be revised, and finally established. These laws, about a hundred in number, are characteristic and curious. The supreme power was still to reside in the hands of the church members alone; universal suffrage was not conceded, but every citizen was allowed to take a certain share in the business of any public meeting. Some degree of liberty was granted to private churches, and assemblies of different Christians, but the power of veto was still vested in the supreme council, who might arbitrarily put down any proceedings which they deemed heterodox and dangerous, and punish or expel their authors. Strangers and refugees professing the *true* Christian religion were to be received and sheltered. Bondslavery, villanage, or captivity, *except* in the case of *lawful* captives taken in war, or any who should either sell themselves or *be sold by others*, were to be abolished. Injurious monopolies were not to be allowed. Idolatry, witchcraft, and blasphemy, or wilful disturbing of the established order of the state, were punishable with death. All torture was prohibited, unless whipping, ear-cropping, and the pillory, which were retained as wholesome and

necessary punishments, might be so considered. The liberties of women, children, and servants, are defined in a more benevolent spirit, in harmony with the milder provisions of the Mosaic code, so constantly referred to by those who framed the body of Fundamentals.

New Hampshire, still in its infancy, sought and obtained annexation, on favorable terms, to its powerful neighbor Massachusetts. Not long after, in 1643, the various settlements and colonies in New England, feeling the need of mutual aid and support, determined to enter into arrangements by which this end could be effectually attained. Accordingly a confederation was formed, under the name of "The **1643.** United Colonies of New England." It consisted of the colonies of Massachusetts, New Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. By the articles of confederation, these colonies entered into a firm and perpetual bond of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, as they interpreted it, and for their own mutual safety and welfare. Each colony was to retain its own jurisdiction and government; and no other plantation or colony was to be received as a confederate, nor any of the two confederates to be united into one jurisdiction, without the consent of the rest. The affairs of the United Colonies were to be managed by a legislature, to consist of two persons, styled commissioners, chosen from each colony. The commissioners were to meet annually in the colonies, in succession, and when

met, to choose a president, and the determination of any six was to be binding on all.* This confederacy, which was declared to be perpetual, continued essentially the same until the time when James II. deprived the New England colonies of their charters.

* "These commissioners had power to hear, examine, weigh, and determine, all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and number of men for war, divisions of spoils, and whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates for plantations into combination with any of the confederates, and all things of a like nature, which are the proper concomitants and consequences of such a confederation for amity, offence and defence, not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which, by the third article, is preserved entirely to themselves. The expenses of all just wars to be borne by each colony, in proportion to its number of male inhabitants, of whatever quality or condition, between the ages of sixteen and sixty. In case any colony should be suddenly invaded, on motion and request of three magistrates of such colony, the other confederates were immediately to send aid to the colony invaded, in men, Massachusetts one hundred, and the other colonies forty-five each, or for a less number, in the same proportion. The commissioners, however, were very properly directed, afterwards, to take into consideration the cause of such war or invasion, and if it should appear that the fault was in the colony invaded, such colony was not only to make satisfaction to the invaders, but to bear all the expenses of the war. The commissioners were also authorized to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations were interested, for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing, as much as may be, all occasions of war, or difference with others, as about the free and speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all the confederates equally as to their own, receiving those that remove from one plantation to another, without due certificates. It was also very wisely provided in the articles, that runaway servants, and fugitives from justice, should be returned to the colonies where they belonged, or from which they had fled. If any of the confederates should violate any of the articles, or in any way injure any one of the other colonies, such breach of agreement, or injury, was to be considered and ordered by the commissioners of the other colonies."—Pitkin's "*Political History*," vol. i., p. 51.

In this connection, the language of Chalmers deserves to be quoted: "The principles upon which this famous association was formed were altogether those of independency, and it cannot easily be supported upon any other. The colonies of Connecticut and New Haven had at that time enjoyed no charter, and derived their title to their soil from mere occupancy, and their powers of government from voluntary agreement. New Plymouth had acquired a right to their lands from a grant of a company in England, which conferred, however, no jurisdiction. And no other authority, with regard to the making of peace, or war, or leagues, did the charter of Massachusetts convey, than that of defending itself, by force of arms, against all invaders. But, if no patent legalized the confederacy, neither was it confirmed by the approbation of the governing powers in England. Their consent was never applied for, and was never given. The various colonies, of which that celebrated league was composed, being perfectly independent of one another, and having no other connection than as subjects of the same crown, and as territories of the same state, might, with equal propriety and consistency, have entered into a similar compact with alien colonies or a foreign nation. They did make treaties with the neighboring plantations of the French and Dutch; and in this light was their conduct seen in England, and at a subsequent period did not fail to attract the attention of Charles II.)*"

* Chalmers's "*Political Annals*," book i., chap. viii., p. 178. See also the same writer's "*Introduction to*

Massachusetts was not destined to remain long at any one time undisturbed by religious dissensions. Clark and Holmes, two leaders of the Anabaptist sectaries, were very active in their efforts to propagate their favorite tenets; and Clark, on one occasion, when in a church, having put on his hat to insult the minister as well as the people, was subjected to a severe flagellation. Quite a number of his followers were expelled from the colony. At this time, too, one Samuel Gorton, a religionist of rather an unusual stamp, afforded the authorities additional work in their endeavors to repress heterodoxy. Gorton entertained, it appears, certain mystical views of the doctrines of Scripture peculiar to himself; to him there was "no heaven but in the heart of a good man, no hell but in the conscience of the wicked;" he looked upon the doctrinal formulas and church ordinances of the orthodox Puritans as human inventions, alike unauthorized and mischievous, and regarded their assumed authority as an intolerable yoke of bondage, which he was daring enough to defy or ridicule. The "soul-tyranny" of the Massachusetts' theocracy seems indeed, as a natural result, invariably to have stimulated to opposition and defiance. Gorton, expelled from Plymouth, **1637.** retired to the neighborhood of Providence, where he became involved in further dispute with some of the inhabitants, who invited the interference of Massachusetts. He was cited to appear before the magistrates of Boston,

but he preferred to retire still farther from their reach, and having purchased some land at Shawomet, of Miantonimoh, the Narragansett chief, and the ally of the colonists in the Pequod war, commenced an independent settlement. The rightfulness of this grant of Miantonimoh's was denied by two inferior sachems; their appeal was confirmed by the Boston magistrates, to whom they now made over the disputed territory. Gorton was summoned to appear before the court at Boston; he replied with a denial of the jurisdiction of the "men of Massachusetts"—in which he was clearly in the right—and offered to submit the case to the arbitration of the other colonists. A strong party was sent out to seize him and his adherents, and being taken and conveyed to Boston, he was shortly after brought before the court on the charge of being a blasphemous subverter of "true religion and civil government." He vainly endeavored to explain away the obnoxious imputations, but was convicted, and together with many of his adherents, sentenced to death. This sentence was commuted, in **1644,** and Gorton and his followers, subjected to imprisonment and hard labor during the winter, and mercilessly deprived of their cattle and stores, were finally released and expelled. Gorton returned to England, but though he tried hard for many years, he was never able to obtain redress.

Miantonimoh, the Narragansett chief, was deadly hostile to Uncas, the sachem of the Mohegans. Having fallen into the hands of Uncas, he was, by advice of the Colonial Commis- **1643.**

stoners, put to death with circumstances of savage barbarity. The war, protracted for some time between the Indians, was finally brought to a close by the vigorous interposition of the colonists.

Although the Massachusetts people fully sympathized with the "Godly Parliament," yet they were very wary not to commit themselves too far in any measures from which it might not be easy to draw back. The Board of Control, appointed by Parliament, was possessed of very extensive powers; there was, however, no attempt for awhile at interference with Massachusetts and her privileges; and her exports and imports were exempted from taxation. Some two years later, when Parliament endeavored to assert its jurisdiction over the colonies, Massachusetts made a spirited protest and remonstrance, which, being warmly supported by Sir Henry Vane and others, prevented matters proceeding further in the way of interfering with the privileges of the colonists.

It was in March of this year (1643), that the venerated Roger Williams, alarmed at the evident purpose of Massachusetts to interfere with his lawful rights, resolved to proceed to England and solicit a charter. As he was not allowed to visit Boston, he went to Manhattan, and proceeded to his destination by way of Holland. While in
1644. England, he published his "Key to the Language of America," which contained interesting notices of Indian manners. He also attacked the principle of religious despotism in his "Bloody Tenet of Persecution for the

Cause of Conscience;" to which Cotton replied in a tract, the "Bloody Tenet washed and made white in the Blood of the Lamb." Williams was entirely successful in the object for which he had visited England. Vane favored his wishes and added his influence. The charter obtained included the shores and islands of Narragansett Bay, west of Plymouth and south of Massachusetts, as far as the Pequod river and country. The name of PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS was adopted, and the inhabitants were empowered to rule themselves as they might choose.*

* "The first legislator who fully recognized the rights of conscience, was ROGER WILLIAMS, a name less illustrious than it deserves to be; for, although his eccentricities of conduct and opinion may sometimes provoke a smile, he was a man of genius and of virtue, of admirable firmness, courage, and disinterestedness, and of unbounded benevolence. After some wanderings, he pitched his tent at a place, to which he gave the name of Providence, and there became the founder and legislator of the colony of Rhode Island. There he continued to rule, sometimes as the governor, and always as the guide and father of the settlement, for forty-eight years, employing himself in acts of kindness to his former enemies, affording relief to the distressed, and offering an asylum to the persecuted. The government of his colony was formed on his favorite principle, that in matters of faith and worship, every citizen should walk according to the light of his own conscience, without restraint or interference from the civil magistrate. During a visit which Williams made to England, in 1643, for the purpose of procuring a colonial charter, he published a formal and labored vindication of this doctrine, under the title of *The Bloody Tenet*, or a Dialogue between Truth and Peace. In this work, which was written with his usual boldness and decision, he anticipated most of the arguments, which, fifty years after, attracted so much attention, when they were brought forward by Locke. His own conduct in power was in perfect accordance with his speculative opinions; and when, in his old age, the order of his little community was disturbed by an irruption of Quaker preachers, he combated them only in pamphlets and public disputations, and contented himself with overwhelming

After many difficulties, arising out of claims on the part of Massachusetts and Plymouth to portions of territory within the limits of Williams's charter, the government of the new State was firmly and peacefully established in 1647.

Constant efforts were made by the opponents of the rigid theocracy of Massachusetts to obtain a relaxation of its severity. The authorities consequently had to choose between yielding, or proceeding to even greater lengths in support of their claims to virtual infallibility. Toleration was not once to be thought of; antinomian and anabaptist notions were to be crushed unrelentingly; and latitudinarianism was to meet with instant punishment. Some verses which that stern old governor, Dudley, who died in 1650, left behind him, express very fairly his own and the usual Puritan principles:—

“Let men of God, in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's—'I died no libertine!'”

As will be seen, it was not long before an occasion offered to test how far the authorities were willing to proceed in maintaining their supremacy.

It deserves to be put on record, that, in 1648, Massachusetts set the first example of an execution for

their doctrines with a torrent of learning, invective, syllogisms, and puns. It should also be remembered, to the honor of Roger Williams, that no one of the early colonists, without excepting William Penn himself, equalled him in justice and benevolence towards the Indians.”—Mr. G. C. Verplanck's “*Anniversary Discourse before the New York Historical Society, 1818,*” p. 23.

witchcraft. The unhappy victim was a woman, named Margaret Jones, who was charged with having “a malignant touch.”

In March, 1649, in his tenth term of office, Winthrop died, widely and justly lamented. His best efforts were ever put forth in behalf of the colony, which he served with a faithfulness and zeal rarely equalled. He died poor, and the General Court, as a testimony to worth, unanimously voted £200 to his surviving family. The journal which he left behind is an invaluable document for our early history.

The increasing trade with the West Indies brought into New England a considerable quantity of bullion; in order to put a stop to its exportation to England in payment for goods, Massachusetts undertook to erect a mint for the coinage of money, an act which has been denounced by some writers as an express assumption of sovereignty. The mint was set up at Boston, and in it were “coined shillings, sixpences, and threepences, with a pine tree on one side, and ‘NEW ENGLAND’ on the other. These pieces were alloyed one-fourth below the British standard—an experiment often tried elsewhere, under the fallacious idea that, thus debased, they would not be exported. Thus it happened that the pound currency of New England came to be one-fourth less valuable than the pound sterling of the mother country—a standard afterwards adopted by the English Parliament for all the North American colonies.

Hildreth's “*History of the United States,*” vol i., p. 385.

War having been declared between Holland and England in 1651, fresh attempts were made upon New Netherland, as noted in a previous chapter. Peace was proclaimed in 1654, and the troops were disbanded. The fleet, however, having no chance to invade the Dutch, turned their attention to Acadie, of which they took forcible possession, although France and England were at peace. Another execution for witchcraft took place in 1655: the sufferer was a widow named Anne Hibbins, sister of Bellingham; soured by losses and disappointments, she became offensive and troublesome to the neighbors. Notwithstanding her influential connections, she was easily disposed of as guilty of witchcraft.

The remonstrances of men like Sir Richard Saltonstall in England, and the complaints of many in the colony, as was said above, had no effect upon the views and principles of the magistrates. They were now called upon to carry them out to an extent which probably they had not contemplated.

The Quakers were a sect which took its rise in England about 1644, under the preaching of George Fox. Their tenets and practices were peculiar and novel to an extreme. As their fundamental principle was that of an inward revelation of God to man, an indwelling of the Divine Spirit in the human soul, and as by this unerring voice, and not by the creeds and formularies of man, the Holy Scriptures were to be interpreted to every individual believer, so any interference with the consciences of men was expressly denounced as anti-

Christian and intolerable. While Cromwell had declared that "he that prays best, and preaches best, will fight best," a doctrine religiously carried out in Massachusetts, the Quakers denied the lawfulness of even defensive warfare, and refused to bear arms when commanded by the civil magistrate. Their "yea was yea, and their nay was nay," and believing that "whatsoever was more than this cometh of evil," they insisted upon observing the letter of Scripture, which commands the believer to "swear not at all," and refused to take oaths when required by authority. They abhorred titles; declined to use the ordinary civilities and courtesies of life; believed every man and woman at liberty to preach if he or she thought herself moved thereto; and regarded a settled ministry as hirelings and wolves amid the flock. Beside all this they denounced the most simple and innocent pleasures, and especially the tyranny of rulers in high places, whether temporal or spiritual. Filled to the full and running over with zeal, they sought the propagation of their peculiar tenets every where, and seemed to delight in nothing more than courting persecution and outrage. A contest with the New England theocracy was a thing rather to be coveted by zealots of this sort.

Accordingly, in July, 1656, two women came from Barbadoes, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. Looked upon as possessed by the devil, they were speedily arrested, imprisoned for five weeks, and their trunks having been rifled, and their books burnt, they were sent out of the colony. Heavy

finer were imposed upon any who should introduce Quakers into Massachusetts or spread abroad Quaker tracts and books. No one was to harbor a Quaker under any pretence, and if one were found, whipping was the mildest punishment inflicted; and this, too, upon females equally with males. On the first conviction they were to lose one ear, on the second the other one, and, although the law proscribed torture, on the third were to have their tongues

bored through with a hot iron. **1657.** But the zeal of this sect amounted almost to insanity; they insulted and defied the magistrates—disturbed the public worship with contemptuous clamor—nay, instances afterwards occurred in which women, to testify after prophetic fashion against the spiritual nakedness of the land, and regarding the violence thus done to their natural modesty as “a cross” which it behooved them to bear, displayed themselves, without a particle of clothing, in the public streets.

Many of them had repaired to Rhode Island, where the free toleration afforded to all sects indiscriminately, allowed them to propagate their tenets undisturbed. But they were not content with this; they preferred persecution to every thing else; so Boston became the centre of attraction. It was war to the knife between ecclesiastical bigotry and insane fanaticism. The Puritans, as we may well believe, did not desire to take the lives of the Quakers, but they were determined to put them down. Hitherto all had been in vain; fines, whippings, croppings, and imprisonments; and now, by a decree

of the council, as a last resource, though not without the strenuous resistance of a portion of the deputies, **1658.**

banishment was enforced on pain of death. But the indomitable Quakers gloried in the opportunity of suffering martyrdom. Robinson, Stephenson, and Mary Dyer, persisting in braving the penalty denounced against them, were tried and condemned. The younger Winthrop earnestly sought to prevent their execution, and Colonel Temple offered to carry them away, and, if they returned, fetch them off a second time. There was a struggle among the council, many regarding them as mere lunatics, against whom it would be as foolish as cruel to proceed to extremities; but the majority prevailed, and Stephenson and Robinson were brought to the scaffold. “I die for Christ,” said Robinson. “We suffer not as evil-doers, but for conscience’ sake,” said Stephenson. Mary Dyer, with the rope round her neck, after witnessing the execution of her two companions, exclaimed, “Let me suffer as my

brethren, unless you will annul **1659.** your wicked law.”

At the intercession of her son, she was almost forced from the scaffold, on condition of leaving the colony in eight and forty hours, but the spirit of the wretched woman was excited almost to insanity by inward enthusiasm and the horrible scenes she had witnessed, and after the trial she addressed from her prison an energetic remonstrance against the cruelty of the council. “Woe is me for you! ye are disobedient and deceived,” she urged to the magistrates who had condemned her. “You will not repent that you

were kept from shedding blood, though it was by a woman." With a courage that would be sublime were it not tainted with insanity, she returned to defy the tyrants of "the bloody town," and to seal her testimony against them with her life. She was taken and hanged on Boston Common in June, 1660.

The discontent caused by such shocking scenes compelled the magistrates to enter upon a formal defence of their action. The language **1659.** of it is worth noticing. "Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, and Mary Dyer supported by the authority of this Court, the laws of the country, and the law of God, may rather persuade us to expect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men than convince us of any necessity to apologize for the same; yet, forasmuch as men of weaker parts, out of pity and commiseration—a commendable and Christian virtue, yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions—for want of full information, may be less satisfied, and men of perverser principles may take occasion hereby to calumniate us and render us bloody persecutors—to satisfy the one and stop the mouths of the other, we thought it requisite to declare, That about three years since, divers persons, professing themselves Quakers—of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands, both from Barbadoes and England—arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away by the

first opportunity, without censure or punishment. Although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion, yet the prudence of this Court was exercised only to make provision to secure the peace and order here established, against their attempts, whose design—we were well assured of by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster—was to undermine and ruin the same. And accordingly a law was made and published, prohibiting all masters of ships to bring any Quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in, on penalty of the house of correction until they should be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a back door, they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted upon themselves, proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent intrusions, was increased by the loss of the ears of those that offended the second time; which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous fanatic fury, necessitated us to endeavor our security; and upon serious consideration, after the former experiment, by their incessant assaults, a law was made, that such persons should be banished on pain of death, according to the example of England in their provision against Jesuits, which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last Court of assistants against the parties above-named, and they either returning or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced

by the Court to death, according to the law aforesaid, which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyer, upon the petition of her son, and the mercy and clemency of this Court, had liberty to depart within two days, which she hath accepted of. The consideration of our gradual proceedings will vindicate us from the clamorous accusations of severity; our own just and necessary defence calling upon us—other means failing—to offer the point which these persons have violently and wilfully rushed upon, and thereby become *felones de se*, which might have been prevented, and the sovereign law, *salus populi*, been preserved. Our former proceedings, as well as the sparing of Mary Dyer upon an inconsiderable intercession, will manifestly evince we desire their lives, absent, rather than their deaths, present.”

Matters, however, had now gone too far for the magistrates to draw back.

1661. William Leddra was put to trial and sentenced, but was offered pardon on condition of leaving the colony. He refused, and was consequently put to death; but he was the last victim. Another Quaker, Wenlock Christison, who had been banished, returned, and courted death. “What do you gain,” he cried boldly to them, “by taking Quakers’ lives? For the last man that ye put to death, here are five come in his room. If ye have power to take my life, God can raise up ten of his servants in my stead.” It was true, that persecution only increased the number who would become martyrs. The magistrates were not able to withstand the tide of popular sympathy,

and the conviction that they were scandalizing themselves before the world. They gave up all attempts to carry out their former plans; the prisoners were discharged; they were ordered to be whipped beyond the colony’s bounds, if ever they returned; and so, treating them in this wise, the mania, in due time, died out a natural death.

The labors of John Eliot, the Indian missionary, deserve a passing notice. He was born in England in 1604, was educated at Cambridge, and emigrated to New England in 1631. Earnestly desiring the spiritual improvement of the Indians, Eliot, though discharging the duties of a minister over a church at Roxbury, added to his regular charge the toil of learning the dialect spoken in New England, so as to translate the Bible for the benefit of the natives. He began his efforts as far back as 1645—preaching his first sermon to the Indians on the 28th of October, 1646—and by his zeal, tempered with prudence, his never failing kindness and gentleness, and his perseverance in his labor of love, he really wrought wonders; a considerable sum of money was remitted from England to carry on the work; converts were made; churches were founded, and a sort of Indian college was established. No permanent impression, however, seems to have been made upon the great body of the natives. Most of the sterner Puritans looked coldly upon the project, and the Indian sachems and priests were very difficult persons to be in any wise changed from savage life and its enjoyments. All this, however, ought not



J.A. Coetzel

to, and does not, detract from the merits of Eliot. "It is a remarkable feature," to use the words of Grahame, "in Eliot's long and arduous career, that the energy by which he was actuated never sustained the slightest abatement, but, on the contrary, evinced a steady and vigorous increase. As his bodily strength decayed, the energy of his being seemed to retreat into his soul, and at length, all his faculties, he said, seemed absorbed in holy love. Being asked, shortly before his departure, how he did, he replied, 'I have lost every thing; my understanding leaves me, my memory fails me, my utterance fails me—but I thank God, my charity holds out still: I find that rather grows than fails.'" Eliot died in 1690, full of years and honors.*

During the time that Cromwell was at the head of affairs in England, the affairs of Massachusetts and her immediate neighbors were on the whole very prosperous. Cromwell favored them all he could, and, freed from outside interference, the New Englanders advanced steadily in their progress towards wealth and power. Every thing tended to the rearing of hardy, upright, self-reliant men. The fisheries nurtured a race of expert, daring fishermen; ship building became active; commerce increased; and trades of various sorts were in active operation. The Puritan legislators frowned upon every thing that tended to laxity of manners; they

sternly watched over the morals of the community; wisely considering prevention as better than cure, they countenanced early unions; and although courtship carried on without permission of the girl's parents, or of "the next magistrate," was punishable with imprisonment, the magistrates might redress "wilful and unreasonable denial of timely marriage" on the part of parents. Adultery was a capital offence, and incontinence was punished with a severe discipline. Underhill, who, uniting, as he did, the gallantry of the soldier with his proverbial love of license, and of "bravery of apparel," having been accused of a backsliding of this nature, was summoned into the presence of the magistrates; and then, "after sermon, in presence of the congregation, standing on a form, and in his worst clothes, without his band, and in a dirty night cap, confessed the sin with which he had been charged;" and "while his blubberings interrupted him," says Winthrop, he dolefully lamented the loss of his "assurance," which, as he said, had been vouchsafed while enjoying a pipe of tobacco. The whole population were trained as militia, and a martial spirit was readily kept up. Several forts, and a good supply of artillery and ammunition, showed the determination of the people to maintain their rights at the price of blood if need be. Material prosperity was very much increased, and there was no lack of comforts and enjoyments of the good things of this life.

The founders of New England, to their credit be it observed, were sincerely anxious for the promotion of

* The learned Dr. Cotton Mather, in his "Life of the Renowned John Eliot," enters largely, and with a profoundly admiring spirit, into the history of Eliot's labors among the Indians. See Mather's "*Magnalia*," vol. i., pp. 520—583.

sound learning. Several of them had enjoyed a university education in England, and were men of considerable acquirements. Their literary taste was of course in accordance with their religious views. We find Josselyn carrying with him from England to "Mr. Cotton, the teacher of Boston Church," the same who defended the cause of Massachusetts intolerance against the attacks of Roger Williams, "the translation of several Psalms in English metre for his approbation, as a present from Mr. Francis Quarles, the poet." Controversial divinity was extensively cultivated. Free schools and grammar schools were provided. A sort of training college had been established at

Newtown, a suburb of Boston, which Mr. John Harvard, at his death in 1638, endowed with his library and half his estate. It was now styled by the name of the generous benefactor, and the place was called Cambridge after the famous University in England. By annual grants, donations of individuals, etc., the new college was enabled to lay the foundation of its future strength and influence. It was at Cambridge—about 1640—that the first printing press in America, was set up. Who could then have dreamed what less than two hundred years has brought forth, or have predicted the mighty power of the press in the nineteenth century?

CHAPTER XII.

1660—1688.

NEW ENGLAND UNDER CHARLES II. AND JAMES II.

Restoration of Charles II. — Course adopted by the colonists — Declaration of Rights — Internal difficulties and trials — Majority in favor of resisting royal supremacy — Consequences of the Restoration in England — Massachusetts' commission — The king's reply — Winthrop's and Clarke's mission for Connecticut and Rhode Island — Charter of Connecticut — Its principles — Charter of Rhode Island — Toleration according to Rhode Island laws — Massachusetts' reply to king's requisitions — Commissioners sent out — Their course and ill success — The king's summons — His probable designs — King Philip's war — Its fearful details — Philip's death — Results — Peace — New Hampshire — Randolph collector of royal customs — Charter declared to be forfeited — Andros appointed governor — Connecticut — Saving of her charter — Revolution in England of 1688.

It was with no little anxiety that the New England colonists watched the rapid progress of that revolution in the mother country which led to the restoration of Charles II. to the throne of England; and it seemed a curious coincidence that the same vessel which brought the news to Boston, in July,

1660, brought also two of the regicide judges, Whalley and Goffe, who had fled to the New World to 1660. escape the vengeance of the son of Charles I. These were well received by Endicott the governor, and for a time they lived without disguise or concealment. The news having been con-

firmed by later arrivals, the General Court, in December, adopted an apologetical address to the king, petitioning for the preservation of their civil and religious liberties, making excuse for the capital punishments inflicted on the Quakers, etc. The king's answer was prompt and favorable. Soon after,

1661. however, early in 1661, an order arrived for the arrest of Whalley and Goffe; but they had retired to New Haven, and though various efforts were made they were never apprehended, most probably because the authorities at no time seriously purposed bringing them to punishment. Further to make show of their loyalty, the authorities condemned Eliot's "Christian Commonwealth," which had been drawn up for the converted Indians, and incautiously published in England. Eliot also himself recanted the anti-monarchical principles contained in his book.

In the struggle which it was evident was approaching, the leaders in New England felt that they must trust, under Providence, mainly to their own determined energies. Their first measure was to draw up and publish a declaration of what they held to be their rights. These were defined to be "the power to choose their own governor, deputy governor, magistrates, and representatives; to prescribe terms for the admission of additional freemen; to set up all sorts of officers, superior and inferior, with such powers and duties as they might appoint; to exercise, by their annually-elected magistrates and deputies, all authority, legislative, executive, and judicial; to defend themselves

by force of arms against every aggression; and to reject any and every interposition which they might judge prejudicial to the colony."

At length, after more than a year's delay, Charles II. was formally proclaimed, but all demonstrations usual on such occasions were strictly forbidden, under the ingenious but rather queer pretence that rejoicing was contrary to the orders issued by the king himself!

Beside the enemies of the colonists in England, there were many active opponents of the ruling party at home. Those in favor of liberal measures, as Episcopalians, Baptists, and others, who were excluded from a share in the government, had largely increased, and, encouraged by the posture of affairs, urgently called for a relaxation of the unjust restrictions under which they labored. Even among the theocratic freemen themselves there was a division of opinion. The greater part adhered to their original principles, but many finding them too rigorous, a "half-way covenant" had been adopted, by which those who strictly conformed to the established worship, but without professing themselves regenerate and elect, were admitted to the civil prerogatives of church membership. There were also many who deemed it the wisest policy to bend to necessity, and not to risk the loss of every thing by refusing to make reasonable and timely concessions. But the majority sternly resolved to maintain their independence of English supremacy, whatever might be the issue. To avert, however, if possible, the necessity of a recourse to armed resistance, Norton and Brad-

street, two confidential envoys, were sent over to attempt, if possible, to amuse the English ministry, but **1662.** they were at the same time instructed to deprecate its interference, or, if it came to the worst, openly to disclaim its authority. It was a mission by no means without hazard, under all the circumstances; for when Norton and his colleague arrived in England they found various and important changes had already taken place, changes, too, which were well calculated to alarm the New England colonists.

Weary of the unsettled state of things in the last days of the Commonwealth, all classes had welcomed the Restoration. Charles promised every thing, but his promises were very soon forgotten. There was besides a general reaction against all parties concerned in overturning the monarchy, which tended to fortify the prerogative of the king, and to abet the arbitrary proceedings of his advisers. The Church of England was again in the ascendant, the Act of Uniformity had been passed, and Presbyterians and Independents were compelled to submit. The royalist party had to the utmost gratified their thirst for revenge. Such of the regicides as could be taken were hung, drawn, and quartered—among them Hugh Peters, father-in-law of the younger Winthrop, and formerly minister of Salem. A more illustrious victim, Sir Henry Vane, was soon after conducted to the block. Though opposed to the intolerance of the Massachusetts theocracy, he had ever been a firm friend to New England, and his

influence had procured a charter for Rhode Island from the Long Parliament. When charged with treason he was “not afraid to bear witness to the glorious cause” of popular liberty, nor to “seal it with his blood,” and his conduct on the scaffold won the admiration of even his enemies.

The Massachusetts commission were only partially successful in their object. The confirmation of the charter was conceded, together with a conditional amnesty for all recent offences; but the king, firmly insisting upon the maintenance of his prerogative, demanded the repeal of all laws derogatory to his authority, the imposition of an oath of allegiance, and the administration of justice in his own name. He also required complete toleration for the Church of England, and the repeal of the law confining the privilege of voting to church members alone, with the concession of the franchise to every inhabitant possessing a certain amount of property. In one respect, indeed, he responded cordially to the wishes of the Massachusetts council: they were freely allowed to punish the pertinacious Quakers in any way they might see fit.

Connecticut and Rhode Island were more prompt than Massachusetts to acknowledge the authority of Charles II. The younger Winthrop for Connecticut, and Clarke for Rhode Island, went to England in quest of charters. Their arrival was timely. Winthrop, a scholar and a man of high standing, easily secured to himself influential friends at court. He was also possessed of a valuable ring, which had been given by

Charles I. to his grandfather; this, on his audience with the king, he presented to his majesty, which is said to have materially influenced the king in his favor. On the 23d of April, 1662, he obtained a patent under the great seal, granting the most ample privileges, and confirming to the freemen of the Connecticut colony, and such as should be admitted freemen, all the lands which had been formerly granted to the Earl of Warwick, and by him transferred to Lord Saye and Sele, and his associates. This charter established over the colony a form of government of the most popular kind, and continued the fundamental law of Connecticut for the space of one hundred and fifty-eight years. "It is remarkable," says an able writer in the *North American Review*, "that, although it was granted at a period of the world when the rights of the people were little understood and little regarded, and by a sovereign who governed England with a more arbitrary sway than any of his successors, the form of government established by this charter was of a more popular description, and placed all power within the more immediate reach of the people, than the constitution for which it has been deliberately exchanged, in these modern days of popular jealousy and republican freedom." The colony of New Haven was included in the new charter of Connecticut; but the inhabitants for several years refused to consent to the union, till the apprehension of the appointment of a general governor, and of their being united with some other colony, with a charter less

favorable to liberty, induced them to yield a reluctant assent.

Clarke, the agent for Rhode Island, having secured the favor of Lord Clarendon, the prime minister, was successful in obtaining the ratification of the charter for Rhode Island. How this little State was originated and increased by refugees from the intolerance of Massachusetts has been already described. Freedom of conscience, and liberty of discussion, had only, upon further experiment, become more dear to its citizens; they had been exempted from the theological disputes and bloody persecutions that had disgraced Massachusetts, and in their petition to Charles II. they declare "how much it is in their hearts to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand, and best be maintained with a full liberty of religious concerns." The general terms of the charter differed but little from that of Connecticut, but it contained the especial provision, that "no person within the said colony shall be molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences of opinion in matters of religion, who does not actually disturb the civil peace; but that all persons may, at all times, freely enjoy their own consciences in matters of religious concernment, they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury and outward disturbance of others." A very considerable part of Providence Plantation having been included in the charter of Connecticut, Clarke and Winthrop entered into an agreement

by which the Pawcatuck was fixed upon for the limit between the two colonies. This agreement, as Mr. **1663.** Hildreth says, was specially set forth in the charter of RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS.

The founder and people of Rhode Island were, beyond doubt, sincerely desirous of entire freedom and toleration in religious matters. "Yet how difficult it is to act up to a principle in the face of prevailing prejudice and opposing example! The Rhode Island laws, as first printed, many years posterior to the charter, contain an express exclusion from the privileges of freedom of Roman Catholics, and of all persons not professing Christianity. These laws had undergone repeated revisals, and it is now impossible to tell when these restrictions were first introduced, though probably not till after the English revolution of 1688.

While Connecticut and Rhode Island were rejoicing in the privileges just conferred upon them by their new charters, Massachusetts remained uneasy and unwilling to make any submission. Their answer to the king's requisitions, spoken of above, was couched in respectful but evasive language. "For the repealing of all laws here established since the late changes contrary and derogatory to his majesty's authority, we, having considered thereof, are not conscious to any of that tendency; concerning the oath of allegiance, we are ready to attend to it as formerly, according to the charter; concerning liberty to use the Common

Prayer Book, none as yet among us have appeared to desire it; touching administration of the sacraments, this matter hath been under consideration of a synod, orderly called, the result whereof our last General Court commended to the several congregations, and we hope will have a tendency to general satisfaction." Such a reply, it may be well conceived, gave but little satisfaction; and as fresh com- **1664.** plaints against the government of Massachusetts continued to pour in, the king declared his intention of presently sending out commissioners, armed with authority to inquire into and decide upon the matters in dispute.

The commissioners, Nichols, Carr, Cartwright, and Maverick, arrived in Boston about the end of July, prepared to enter upon their work; but they were met with icy coldness and most steadfast and determined opposition. The leaders of Massachusetts were well aware of the vast importance of the contest, and while they never for a moment failed in profuse professions of loyalty, they on the other hand never at any time yielded to the demands of the commissioners. The demands which these made, and the measures they purposed to adopt, were considered by the colonists as a violation of their charters.

The first session of the commissioners was held at Plymouth, where but little business was transacted; the next in Rhode Island, where they heard complaints from the Indians, and all who were discontented, and made several decisions respecting titles to land, which were but little regarded. In Massachusetts, the General Court complied

Hildreth's "*History of the United States*," vol. i., p. 459.

with such of their requisitions as they thought proper; but, professing sincere loyalty to his majesty, declined acknowledging their authority, and protested against the exercise of it within their limits. In consequence of this assertion of their rights, an angry correspondence took place between them, at the close of which the commissioners informed the General Court, that they would lose no more of their labors upon them, but would represent their conduct to his majesty. From Boston, the commissioners proceeded to New Hampshire, where they exercised several acts of government, and offered to release the inhabitants from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. This offer was almost unanimously declined. In Maine, they excited more disturbance. They encouraged the people to declare themselves independent, and found many disposed to listen to their suggestions; but Massachusetts, by a prompt and vigorous exertion of power, constrained the disaffected to submission to her authority.

Connecticut appears to have been the favorite of the commissioners. She treated them with respect, and complied with their requisitions. In return they made such a representation of her merits to the king, as to draw from him a letter of thanks: "Although," says he, "your carriage doth of itself most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with more lustre by the contrary behavior of the colony of Massachusetts."

The commissioners were recalled in 1666. Under the influence of mortified feelings, they had made such a

report, that the king issued an order that Bellingham, the governor, and some others, should proceed to England to answer for their defiance of his majesty's authority. The summons created no little excitement, and it was earnestly debated whether to obey or not. They who advocated seeming obedience without really giving up the points at issue, prevailed; and, fortunately, just at this juncture, by sending a timely supply of provisions for the fleet in the West Indies, and also a present of masts for the English navy, they were able to put off the immediate danger. The king's designs upon the liberty of the colonies were suspended, if not abandoned; the great plague and the fire in London intervened, and for several years after this New England remained undisturbed in the enjoyment of her ancient rights and privileges.

At the end of fifty years from the arrival of the emigrants at Plymouth, the New England colonies were supposed to contain one hundred and twenty towns, and probably some sixty or seventy thousand inhabitants. The acts of Parliament not being rigidly enforced, their trade had become extensive and profitable. The habits of industry and economy, which had been formed in less happy times, continued to prevail, and gave a competency to those who had nothing, and wealth to those who had a competency. The wilderness receded before adventurous and hardy laborers, and its savage inhabitants found their game dispersed, and their favorite haunts invaded. This was the natural conse-

quence of the sales of land which were at all times readily made to the whites. But this consequence the Indians did not foresee; and when they felt it in all its force, the strongest passions of the savage nature were aroused to seek revenge. A leader only was wanting to concentrate and direct their exertions, and Philip, of Pokanoket, sachem of the Wampanoags, a tribe living within the boundaries of Plymouth and Rhode Island, assumed that honorable but dangerous station. His father, Massasoit, was the friend, but he had ever been the enemy, of the whites; and this enmity, arising from causes of national concern, had been embittered to vindictive hatred by their conduct towards his elder brother. This brother, being suspected of plotting against them, was seized by a detachment of soldiers and confined; and the indignity so wrought upon his proud spirit as to produce a fever that put an end to his life. Philip inherited the authority and proud spirit of his brother. He exerted all the arts of intrigue and powers of persuasion of which he was master, to induce the Indians, in all parts of New England, to unite their efforts for the destruction of the whites. He succeeded in forming a confederacy able to send into action between three and four thousand warriors.

The bloody struggle commenced sooner than was intended by Philip.

1675. A hasty act of revenge placed him in open defiance of the colonists, and he had no alternative but to yield in absolute submission, or to persist and endeavor bravely to carry out his plans. Philip plundered the

houses nearest Mount Hope, his residence. Soon after, he attacked Swanzev, and killed a number of the inhabitants. This was in the latter part of June, 1675.

The troops of the colony marched immediately to Swanzev, and were soon joined by a detachment from Massachusetts. The Indians fled, and marked the course of their flight by burning the buildings, and fixing on poles, by the way side, the hands, scalps, and heads of the whites whom they had killed. The troops pursued, but unable to overtake them, returned to Swanzev. The whole country was alarmed, and the number of troops augmented. By this array of force, Philip was induced to quit his residence at Mount Hope, and take post near a swamp at Pocasset. At that place the English attacked him, but were repulsed. Sixteen were killed, and the Indians by this success were made bolder.

Panic prevailed throughout the colony. Dismal portents of still heavier calamities were fancied in the air and sky; shadowy troops of careering horses, Indian scalps, and bows imprinted upon the sun and moon, even the sigh of the wind through the forest, and the dismal howling of wolves, terrified the excited imagination of the colonists. The out-settlers fled for security to the towns, where they spread abroad fearful accounts of the cruel atrocities of the Indians.

Meanwhile, the war spread along the whole exposed frontier of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and even of New Hampshire. The villages were isola-

ted, large uncultivated tracts lying between. The Indians lived intermixed with the whites, and as every brake and lurking place was well known to them, they were able to fall suddenly upon any village or settlement they might mark for destruction. Many were shot dead as they opened their doors in the morning—for the Indians had both learned the use and acquired possession of firearms; many were killed in the same way while in the fields, or while travelling, or while going to the places of the public worship of God. Unable also to cultivate the fields, the settlers were exposed to famine, while the convoys of provisions sent to their assistance were waylaid and seized, and their escort cut off in ambush. Such was the fate of the brave Lathrop, at the spot which still retains the name of "Bloody Brook." On one occasion, at Hadley, while the people were engaged in divine service, the Indians burst in upon the village; panic and confusion were at their height, when suddenly there appeared a man of very venerable aspect, who rallied the terrified inhabitants, formed them into military order, led them to the attack, routed the Indians, saved the village, and then disappeared as marvellously as he had come upon the scene. The excited and grateful inhabitants, unable to discover any trace of their preserver, supposed him to be an angel sent from God. It was no angel, but one of Cromwell's generals, old Goffe the regicide, who, compelled by the vigilant search made after him by order of the English government, to fly from place to place, had espied from an elevated

cavern in the neighborhood the murderous approach of the savages, and hurried down to aid the affrighted colonists in this extremity.

During the summer, the Indians, having the advantage of concealment in the woods and forests, were able to carry on this very harassing and destructive warfare; but when winter came, and the forests were more open, the colonists, by a vigorous effort, succeeded in raising a force of a thousand men, and determined to strike a decisive blow. Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth, was appointed commander-in-chief. On the 18th of December, the troops formed a junction in the territory of the Narragansetts, who had given shelter to the enemy, and after a long march through the snow, and a night spent in the woods, they approached the stronghold of the tribe. This was about one o'clock. The Indians had entrenched themselves on a rising ground, in the midst of a swamp surrounded by a palisade. The leaders were all shot down as they advanced to the charge; but this only excited to the highest pitch the desperate determination of the colonists, who, after having once forced an entrance, and being again repulsed, after a fierce struggle protracted for two hours, burst infuriated into the Indian fort. Revenge for the blood of their murdered brethren was alone thought of; mercy was implored in vain; the fort was fired, and hundreds of Indian wives and children perished in the midst of the conflagration; while their provisions gathered together for the long winter, being consumed, and their wigwams

burned, those who escaped from fire and sword wandered miserably through the forests to perish with cold and hunger. This was the most desperate battle recorded in the early annals of the country. But the victory was decisive. One thousand Indian warriors were killed; three hundred more, and as many women and children, were made prisoners. Yet the price of victory was dear, indeed. Six captains and eighty men were killed, and one hundred and fifty men were wounded.

The Indians, rendered desperate, vented their fury upon all who came within their reach. But their power was broken, and ere long they began to fade away out of sight. The leaders alone, Philip, and Canonchet, sachem of the Narragansetts, refused to yield. The latter died rather than attempt to make a peace with the whites. The unhappy Philip, the author of the war, wandered from tribe to tribe, assailed by recriminations and reproaches for the misery he had brought upon his brethren, and with a heart full of the bitterest anguish. Compelled at length to return to his old haunts, where he was yet sustained by Witamo, a female chief and relative, he was presently attacked by the English, who carried off his wife and child as captives; shortly after, he was treacherously shot by one of his own adherents who deserted to the English. Thus perished Philip of Pokanoket, who, in many respects, was worthy of a better fate. His child was sent to Bermuda, and sold into slavery.

Peace was welcome indeed, for nearly

a thousand houses had been burned, and goods and cattle of great value had been plundered or destroyed. The colonies had also contracted a heavy debt, which, with characteristic pride of independence, they forbore to apply to the mother country to lighten.

In 1680, New Hampshire, at the solicitation of John Mason, to whose ancestor a part of the territory had been granted, was constituted a separate colony. Massachusetts, apprehending the loss of Maine also, purchased of the heirs of Gorges their claim to the soil and jurisdiction, for about \$6,000.

The colonists continuing to evade the acts of trade, on the ground that they were violations of their rights, Edward Randolph was sent over in July, 1680, as collector of the royal customs, and inspector for enforcing the acts of trade. The magistrates ignored his commission, and refused to allow him to act, so that he was compelled to go back to England. He speedily returned, however, in February, 1682, with a royal letter, peremptorily demanding that agents be sent at once fully empowered to act for the colonies.

Resistance became useless, although there was no flinching on the part of the leaders. Every effort was made, even to bribery, to propitiate the king without yielding the point of their rights; but to no purpose. A *scire facias* was issued in England, and, in 1684, the charter was declared to be forfeited; thus the rights and liberties of Massachusetts, so long and so dearly cherished, lay at the mercy of Charles II., who was known to meditate the

most serious and fundamental innovations, but who died before any of them could be carried into effect.

A temporary government was established by the appointment of Joseph Dudley, son of the former gov-
1686.

ernor. Soon after, however, in 1686, James II. placed Sir Edmund Andros over the colonies. He came out fully prepared to forward the arbitrary and tyrannical designs of the last of the Stuarts, and brought with him, in the royal frigate in which he came, two companies of troops to enforce his authority, if need be. He was empowered to remove and appoint the members of the council at his pleasure, and, with the consent of a body thus under his control, to levy taxes, make laws, and call out the militia. His subordinates were entirely devoted to him. Dudley was made chief justice, and Randolph, that old antagonist of the theocracy, who had spent years of persevering hostility, and had done every thing he could to humble the pride of his enemies, was appointed as colonial secretary. The press, previously placed under his control, had already been thoroughly gagged; it was now entirely suppressed.

Connecticut and Rhode Island suffered from the same spirit of arbitrary exercise of power. A writ of *quo warranto* had been issued, and Andros repaired to Hartford and demanded the charter of the Assembly then in session. That body, says Trumbull, was
1687. "extremely reluctant and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or with respect to any motion to bring it forth. The tra-

dition is, that Governor Treat strongly represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges so dearly bought, and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table where the Assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprize whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of the Honorable Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously relighted, but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who had conveyed it away."* Andros, however, declared the charter forfeited, and at the end of the records inscribed the expressive word—FINIS.

The arbitrary proceedings of Andros were not permitted to continue for any great length of time. The infatuated James II. was rapidly bringing on that crisis in England which resulted in his

* "History of Connecticut," pp. 371, 372.

dethronement, and the Revolution of 1688—unlike other revolutions, without bloodshed—effected a complete change in affairs, not only at home, but also in the colonial dependencies

of England. The fate of Andros was wrapped up in that of the weak tyrant his master, and his fall, so far as Massachusetts was concerned, was sudden and complete.

CHAPTER XIII.

1660—1688.

VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND.

Changes in Virginia in the course of years — Causes of these changes — Classes of settlers — Aristocracy predominant — Navigation Act — Intolerance of the ruling party — Popular discontent — Culpepper and Arlington — Charter solicited — Causes which led to Bacon's Rebellion — Course pursued by Berkeley — Progress of the contest — Success of Bacon — His sudden death — Sanguinary revenge of the governor — "Bacon's Laws" — Subsequent suffering of the colony under Culpepper and Lord Howard of Effingham — Affairs in Maryland — General prosperity — Efforts in favor of church establishment — Insurrection stirred up by Fendal — James II. no favorer of the proprietary — Writ issued against the charter — James's downfall — English Revolution of 1688.

IN resuming the history of Virginia from Chapter VIII., (p. 78,) it will be borne in mind that Sir William **1660.** Berkeley, a staunch royalist, had been elected governor by the burgesses, in 1660. At that date, popular liberty and privileges were, to all appearance, well established, as before noted: during the twenty-five years or so following, important changes took place, by which the powers of the governor and counsellors were increased in the exact proportion that those of the Assembly and freemen were curtailed. Several causes helped to bring about this result. A brief glance at them is all that our space admits.

Originally settled by offshoots or adherents of the English nobility, Virginia had received a more decidedly aristocratic cast from the influx of Cavaliers

during the civil war in England, who carried with them to the New World their hereditary prejudices in favor of the privileges conferred by birth and rank, and a contemptuous disregard of popular rights and pretensions. Underlying this class was another, consisting of free descendants of the first settlers of inferior rank, and also of indented servants who had been brought over by the planters, and who, bound to labor for a certain number of years, were, during that period, virtually in a state of serfdom. Negro slaves, as we have previously stated, had also been introduced into the colony; and partly from the supposed necessity of the case in the cultivation of tobacco and the general work on plantations, negroes had largely increased in Virginia: these were destitute of all the privileges and op-

opportunities for improvement which the freemen enjoyed.

The aristocratic class very naturally obtained a controlling ascendancy in the management of public affairs. Sir William Berkeley had been put forward by them as especially devoted to their interests. Warmly attached to the soil of Virginia, Berkeley's views accorded well with those of the Assembly by whom he had been chosen, and their influence was united to perpetuate the tenure of that power already in their hands. The term for which they were authorized to hold office was two years, when a fresh election, according to previous usage, ought to have taken place. They continued, nevertheless, quietly to retain possession of their seats, to obtain the reappointment of Berkeley, and to legislate in a spirit entirely favorable to their own interests. Furthermore, in order to insure the continuance of aristocratic influence, they disfranchised, by their own act, a large proportion of the people who had chosen them, confining in future the exercise of the elective privilege to freeholders and householders—a principle maintained in Virginia to this day. The taxes became exorbitant, the governor and Assembly were overpaid, while all power of checking these disorders was taken out of the hands of the people.

The navigation act, which was warmly opposed by Massachusetts, met with equally earnest and strong opposition in Virginia. It bore very severely upon their trade by restricting the market to England and English vessels alone. Berkeley was sent to England to en-

deavor to obtain relief, but without success; though he did succeed in getting for himself a share **1661.** in the newly-erected province of North Carolina. Meanwhile the proceedings of the Virginia Assembly were very much like those of the government in England. Intolerance obtained the ascendancy, old edicts were revived and sharpened, and fresh ones enacted against Puritans, Baptists, and Quakers, who were visited with fines and banishment;—although it is but fair to say, that Virginia did not, like Massachusetts, hang and put to death the unfortunate followers of George Fox. With the remembrance of what had happened during the civil war, even the pulpit itself was feared, Berkeley expressing a wish that the established ministry "should pray oftener and preach less." Education, too, was studiously discouraged. "I thank God," are the words of the governor, some years later, **1671.** "that there are no free schools, nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government: God keep us from both!" he piously concludes. Such was the aim of the party in power, to maintain the domination of a body of wealthy aristocratic planters, over a submissive and ignorant commonalty, and a still lower class of indented white servants and negro slaves.

The popular discontent was certainly not allayed by the news that the prodigal Charles II. had granted away the

whole colony to Lord Culpepper and Lord Arlington, two rapacious courtiers whom it was necessary to satisfy. Fresh taxes and levies were the consequence of measures taken to see if these new claimants could not be bought off. Colonel Moryson, Secretary Ludwell, and General Smith were dispatched to England on this business, and the governor and Assembly took the opportunity to solicit a royal charter. Their petition was granted, but delays having occurred in the charter passing the seals, its progress was finally cut short by news of a rebellion which had broken out in Virginia.

The immediate occasion of this popular outbreak was an Indian war: the man who presented himself as a leader was Nathaniel Bacon. Virginia, it will be remembered, had suffered too deeply from the treacherous outbreaks of the Indians, not to be predisposed, even after an interval of thirty years' peace, to take the worst view of their character and intentions, which the war with Philip of Pokanoket, then raging in Massachusetts, could not fail to strengthen. The Senecas had attacked and driven the Susquehannahs upon the frontiers of Maryland, with which State a war had arisen, in which the neighboring Virginians became involved. Certain outrages of the Indians had been resented by the planters, among others by one named John Washington, who had emigrated some years back from the north of England, and became the founder of that family from which, a century later, sprung the illustrious father of his country. He

had collected a body of his neighbors, besieged an Indian fort, and unhappily put to death six envoys sent forth to treat of a reconciliation; an outrage met on the part of the savages by the usual retaliation of murder, pillage, and incendiarism. The Assembly undertook to provide for the present emergency by a very elaborate but ruinously expensive system of forts and levies of troops to protect the country. Additional dissatisfaction was the consequence; the whole arrangement was stigmatized as absurd and oppressive; and active and energetic operations were loudly demanded. Bacon was among the most earnest complainants. In the vigor of early manhood, educated in the Temple, of good address, and influential connections, he declared his determination to act on his own authority should a commission, which he had requested, be denied him.

The people generally were in a high state of excitement, when the news arrived that the Indians had broken in upon Bacon's plantation and murdered some of his servants. He instantly flew to arms; and, being joined by some five or six hundred men, set off in pursuit of the enemy. The governor looking upon this proceeding as an insult to his authority, proclaimed Bacon as a rebel, deprived him of his seat in the council, and called upon all those who respected his own authority to disperse immediately. Some of the less zealous of the insurgents obeyed the summons and returned to their homes; but this defection did not restrain their leader, who pushed forward in hot pursuit of the Indians. Some bodies of these were

still on a friendly footing, although suspected; and when nearly out of provisions, Bacon and his company approached one of their forts and requested a supply. Having been kept waiting for three days, until their necessity became extreme, the English waded the stream in order to compel their acquiescence: a shot was discharged from the shore they had just left, which induced Bacon to attack the fort, and put a hundred and fifty Indians to the sword. This, at least, is said to be his own account.

Governor Berkeley, having gathered a body of troops, proceeded to march after Bacon and his men, but his progress was arrested by disturbances in the lower counties. His own authority in the capital passed out of his hands; the old Assembly was dissolved; and Bacon was one among the newly elected burgesses; but, having ventured to approach Jamestown in a sloop with armed followers, he was apprehended and compelled very humbly to beg pardon for his mutinous conduct. The Assembly proceeded directly, so soon as possible, to restore the franchise to the freemen, and to endeavor to effect needed reforms in almost every department.

Bacon, though pardoned and restored to his seat in the council, soon after secretly left Jamestown, and in a few days, having got together some four hundred of his adherents from the upper counties, suddenly made his appearance in the town. His demands had to be listened to, although the fiery old governor, it is said, tore open his dress, and exposing his naked breast,

exclaimed, "Here, shoot me! 'Fore God! fair mark! shoot!" But Bacon, not giving way to excitement, replied, "No, may it please your honor, we will not hurt a hair of your head, nor of any other man's—we are come for a commission to save our lives from the Indians, which you have so often promised, and now we'll have it before we go." The insurgents also made the same demand, accompanied by menaces in case of refusal, against the Assembly itself, who, thus threatened, and with many among them the warm partisans of Bacon, were content enough to give way before the popular movement, and to compel the governor, though sorely against his will, to yield, and also to appoint Bacon to the command of the forces sent against the Indians. This point being settled, the Assembly proceeded to enact many salutary reforms, popularly known as "Bacon's Laws," all tending to abate the exorbitant pretensions of the aristocratic party, and to restore to the mass of the people the privileges of which they had been deprived. These laws, though afterwards abrogated in a mass by the government at home, were, the most important of them, reënacted, in nearly the same words, by succeeding Assemblies.

But there was yet a further struggle between the contending parties. Hardly had Bacon set out on his work of subduing the Indians, before Berkeley issued a proclamation denouncing Bacon as a rebel, setting a price on his head, and commanding his followers to disperse. Indignant at this treatment, Bacon immediately retraced his steps,

and the governor fled in dismay from the capital. Steps were taken directly to reorganize the government. The people were called together; a public declaration was issued; and writs issued for a new election of burgesses in October. Bacon set out again to carry on the war against the Indians, which led Berkeley to contrive by promises of pay and plunder to recover his lost authority. Quite unexpectedly he succeeded; but it was only a passing triumph. Bacon made a rapid descent from the upper country, with an army that had just gained the victory at the Bloody Run. Jamestown was invested and speedily retaken, and further, to prevent its again being occupied by Berkeley, it was, by Bacon's orders, burned to the ground. A large body of troops under Colonel Brent were marching to attack Bacon, but, terrified by his promptitude and success, they dispersed without venturing a battle.

Bacon was now completely victorious, and at liberty to carry out his designs to their fullest extent. Precisely what he purposed, however, can never be known; for just at this juncture he was suddenly stricken down by **1677.** the hand of death. This was in January, 1677; and as he was the master spirit of the whole popular movement, with him died also all systematic effort to obtain redress of grievances.*

* Mr. Ware, in his discriminating "*Memoir of Nathaniel Bacon*," says that "there seems no good reason to doubt the purity of his motives, and the singleness and simplicity of his character." Mr. Ware also doubts the correctness of the opinion advanced by Hening that Bacon was taken off by poison. See Sparks' "*American Biography*," vol. xiii., pp. 239—306.

Bacon's supporters were mostly taken, and Berkeley, again restored to power, pursued a course of malignant revenge utterly disgraceful to his name and position. No less than twenty-five persons were executed during the few succeeding months. Horsford was hanged, and Drummond, formerly a governor of the colony of South Carolina, shared the same fate. So furious had Berkeley become, that the Assembly strongly protested, and the king's commissioners, who had arrived to inquire into the rebellion, were shocked, and endeavored to put a stop to this wholesale slaughter. His conduct excited great indignation in England, and Charles is reported to have exclaimed, on hearing of his doings, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I did here in England for the murder of my father." Berkeley, not long after, returned to the mother country, and in a brief space ended his days there.

The issue of Bacon's rebellion was injurious to the interests of the colonists. Some trifling concessions were indeed made to their complaints, but the majority of those abuses by which they had been provoked into a rising, remained in full force. The whole of "Bacon's Laws" enacted by the popular Assembly were annulled, the franchise, as just before, and not as originally, was restricted to freeholders alone, and the Assembly chosen by it was only to meet once in two years, nor, except on special occasions, to remain in session for more than a fortnight. Oppressed with the still stricter enforcement of the navigation laws, which ruinously

reduced the price of their staple, tobacco, saddled with the additional burden of supporting a body of English soldiers, forbidden even to set up a printing press, the Virginians had to bear their trials as best they might, in hope that a day of redress would sooner or later arrive.

For a number of years subsequent the government of Virginia resembled much that of the mother country in the reckless profligacy and rapacity of those in authority. The grant of the colony to Arlington and Culpepper has been already mentioned. The latter noble-

1680. man had obtained the cession of his partner's share in 1680, and had been invested besides with the office of governor for life, as the successor of Berkeley. The spirit of sordid avarice which had infected the English court had alone dictated the request of these privileges, and in the same spirit was the administration of Culpepper conducted. Compelled to repair with reluctance from the delights of the court to the government of a distant province, his only indemnification was to make the best use of the period of his banishment. He carried out with him a general amnesty for the recent political offences, and an act for increasing the royal revenue by additional duties. He obtained a salary of \$8,000, double that of Berkeley's, and still further contrived to swell his emoluments, and to satisfy his greediness, by means of perquisites and peculations. The pinch began to be severely felt even by the most ardent loyalists, and symptoms of opposition arose in the Assembly itself. The misery of the planters had

led them to solicit the enforcement of a year's cessation from the planting of tobacco: the Assembly could but refer it to "the pleasure of the king," and in the mean time the exasperated sufferers proceeded to cut up the tobacco plants. These outrages, dictated by despair, led to several executions, and laws were passed for their future suppression. After thus conducting his administration for three years, he was glad to surrender his patent and take in its place a pension of about \$2,400.

In 1684, Lord Howard, of Effingham, succeeded Culpepper as governor. He quite surpassed his predecessor 1684. in extorting money. New fees were multiplied, and, in 1687, a court of chancery was established, of which the governor declared himself the sole judge. Despotism was rapidly attaining its climax. A frigate was stationed to enforce the stricter observation of the navigation laws, and an additional excise duty in England on the import of tobacco still further discouraged trade. The conduct of the governor towards the Assembly became more and more arbitrary, until scarcely the shadow of popular liberty was left. Such was the condition of affairs in Virginia at the accession of the last of the Stuarts. Alarming symptoms of insubordination having appeared, not only among the body of the people, but even in the Assembly itself, who presumed to question the veto of the governor, that body, by order of the arbitrary monarch, was summarily dissolved. But the same spirit that was about to hurl James II. from the English throne was now fully awakened

also in the breast of the Virginians, once so loyal, but whose loyalty had been too cruelly abused by an infatuated race of kings, and the next Assem-

bly, in 1688, was imbued with **1688.** such a determination to maintain its privileges, that the governor, counting upon the royal support, determined, after a brief experience of its temper, to dissolve it upon his own authority; upon which they deputed Ludwell, formerly conspicuous among the most influential loyalists, to proceed to England and complain of his conduct.

Philip Calvert, as before stated, (p. 83), had become firmly established in the government of Maryland in 1660. For some years subsequent to this everything went on prosperously and harmoniously. The settlements gradually extended, and the prospect of increase in wealth and population was bright and cheering. Lord Balti-

more endeavored to establish **1664.** his claim to jurisdiction even to the banks of the Delaware; but he found the officers of the Duke of York quite as unwilling to yield to him in this, as the Dutch had been when they were in possession of New Netherland. As in Virginia, the cultivation of tobacco was the principal staple; a great impulse was given to its increase by the introduction of slave labor, and a proportionable discouragement was the result of the navigation act, which cut

off a valuable revenue to the **1671.** colony from the impost on tobacco exported in Dutch vessels. Following the example of Virginia, a tax of two shillings per hogshead was laid

upon all tobacco exported, one half of which went to defray colonial expenses, the other half was a personal revenue to the proprietary.

Lord Baltimore's wise and prudent measures had rendered Maryland more successful to the proprietary, than any other of the American colonies. In his old age he obtained a handsome return for his heavy outlays.

At his death the province had **1676.** ten counties, with about 16,000 inhabitants, the largest part of whom were Protestants. This fact led to the addressing of a letter, by the Rev. Mr. Yeo of Patuxent, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, complaining as well of the low state of morals in the colony, as of the fact that the clergy of the Church of England had no settled incomes like their Virginia brethren; consequently their position was neither so respectable, nor so well calculated to effect good, as it ought to be. When, after Lord Baltimore's death, his successor repaired to England, earnest attempts were made by the Bishop of London—under whose jurisdiction the colonies were placed— **1678.**

to induce Lord Baltimore to provide maintenance for the Church of England clergy, a claim which he was enabled with some difficulty to resist. The popular feeling of the time was, however, so unfavorable to Roman Catholics, both in England and in the colony itself, that an order was sent out by Charles II. to confine the possession of office to Protestants alone, a stretch of authority evidently unauthorized by the terms of the charter granted to his father, which exempted the proprietary

from any control on the part of the crown. This requisition of the king met with little attention in Maryland.

It was while Lord Baltimore was in England that a Protestant excitement was raised in the colony against the proprietary on the ground of his being a Papist. Fendal, the former governor, took the lead in this matter, he being experienced in managing in times of civil commotion. The proprietary, however, hastened his return, and soon **1681.** succeeded in putting an end to the insurrection. Fendal was arrested, tried, found guilty of sedition, and banished.

Although James II. was an avowed, as Charles II. was a secret, Romanist, yet his accession was by no means favorable to the Roman Catholic pro-

prietary of Maryland. On the contrary, he was disposed to favor the Quaker William Penn, far more, **1685.** and in the disputes about the boundaries, Lord Baltimore was compelled to yield to his neighbor's claims. Even the charter of Maryland, like other charters at the time, was not safe; and despite Lord Baltimore's remonstrances and appeals, a writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued against it. **1688.** He hastened to England to defend his rights, but before the question was settled, the abandonment of the throne by James II. placed this and all other matters of the kind on an entirely new footing. We shall see, as we proceed, the effect of the political changes in England upon the American colonies.

CHAPTER XIV.

1630—1690.

ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE CAROLINAS.

Heath's patent in 1630—Settlements about 1660—The proprietaries—Provisions of the charter—Measures adopted towards the settlers—Albemarle—Clarendon—Second charter—George Fox's preaching—The "Grand Model" of John Locke—Outline of its plan—Emigrants under Sayle—Spanish intrigues—Discontents—Emigration under Yeamans's governorship—Proprietaries dissatisfied—Increase in population—North Carolina affairs—Disturbances for some years—Seth Sothel's career—The buccaneers—Favored by the Carolinians—James II. and the *Quo Warranto*—Further troubles in South Carolina—Sothel again—Progress of North and South Carolina.

THE disastrous results of the attempts on the part of the French to found a colony on the shores of Florida have already been narrated. Spain had never relinquished her title to that region, yet she had made no progress in colonization beyond here and there

a settlement on the coast. The efforts made by Raleigh and Gilbert had been productive of no permanent result; and even the patent granted by **1630.** Charles I. to Sir Robert Heath, his Attorney General, in 1630, for a tract to the southward of Virginia, to be

called *Carolana*, does not appear to have led to any settlement. Heath's patent was subsequently declared void, the conditions on which it was granted not having been fulfilled. Different points, however, in this fertile region, were, during the following fifteen or twenty years, occupied by bands of emigrants. Certain persons, suffering from religious difficulties in Virginia, fled beyond her limits and occupied a portion of the country on the banks of the Chowan, north of Albemarle Sound. A small party of adventurers from New England settled near the mouth of

1660. Cape Fear River, about 1660;

but as the land was not found to be productive, and the neighboring Indians were not well disposed, the greater part of the emigrants

1665. soon after returned home; to the honor of Massachusetts it must be stated, that contributions were forwarded, in 1667, to the relief of those who remained, and who had fallen into great distress.

Soon after the Restoration, a body of noblemen of the highest rank, the Earl of Clarendon, Monk, Duke of Albemarle, Lords Berkeley, Craven, and Ashley, Sir George Cartaret, Sir John Colleton, and Sir William Berkeley, governor of Virginia, "excited," as they declared, "by a laudable and

1663. pious zeal for the propagation of the Gospel, begged a certain country in the parts of America not yet cultivated and planted, and only inhabited by some barbarous people, who have no knowledge of God." Charles II. readily granted their petition, and erected out of the territory

south of the Chesapeake the new province of CAROLINA, embracing the region from Albemarle Sound, southward to the River St. John's, and westward to the Pacific. The charter empowered the eight joint proprietaries, named above, to enact and publish any laws which they should judge necessary, with the assent, advice, and approbation of the freemen of the colony; to erect courts of judicature, and appoint civil judges, magistrates, and officers; to erect forts, castles, cities, and towns; to make war, and, in cases of necessity, to exercise martial law; to build harbors, make ports, and enjoy customs and subsidies, imposed with the consent of the freemen, on goods loaded and unloaded. One of the provisions of this charter deserves particular notice. The king authorized the proprietaries to allow the inhabitants of the province such indulgences and dispensations in religious affairs, as they, in their discretion, should think proper and reasonable: and no person, to whom such liberty should be granted, was to be molested, punished, or called in question, for any differences in speculative opinions with respect to religion, provided he disturbed not the civil order and peace of the community.

The first object of the proprietaries naturally was to conciliate the settlers from New England and Virginia, who were already on the ground. Very liberal terms were offered to the former of these, such as a hundred acres of land to each free settler, liberty of conscience, a distinct and recognized share in the government, etc.; but for reasons just now stated, the colony at

Cape Fear did not prove successful, and fresh emigrants from New England were not attracted to the new province.

Towards the Virginia settlers on the Sound, which, with the surrounding district, now received the name of *Albemarle*, and who were supposed by the proprietaries to be "a more facile people" than the New Englanders,

1664. Berkeley, upon whom the jurisdiction had been conferred, was instructed to be somewhat less liberal in his concessions. But to a body, many of whom had fled discontent from Virginia, and with whose temper he was well acquainted, he judged it expedient to behave with caution. Making therefore the tenure of land as easy as possible, and appointing as governor the popular William Drummond, the same who afterwards shared and suffered death in Bacon's rebellion, he made no attempt at further interference in the concerns of the settlers. We are sorry to say that the noble proprietaries made no provision for the spiritual interests of the colonists, or for the conversion of the Indians, although the spread of the Gospel had been one of their professed objects in asking a grant of the territory.

Some planters from Barbadoes, having examined the coast of Carolina, entered into an agreement with the proprietaries to remove to the neighborhood of Cape Fear River, near the neglected settlement of the New Englanders. Sir John Yeamans, one of **1665.** their number, was appointed governor of the new district, which received the name of *Clarendon*. He was especially directed to "make

things easy to the people of New England, from which the greatest emigrations were expected;" an instruction which he carried out so wisely, as soon to incorporate the remains of the old settlement. He also opened a profitable trade in boards and shingles with the island whence he had emigrated, and arranged the general affairs of the little colony with great prudence and a fair measure of success.

The proprietaries of Carolina, on further acquaintance with the geography of that region, were desirous of making still larger additions to their territory. Accordingly, in June, 1665, they obtained a second charter which extended the limits of Carolina both northwardly and southwardly; and by an additional grant in 1667, the **1667.** Bahama Islands were also conveyed to the same proprietaries. Accessions from Virginia and New England continued to be made to the settlement at Albemarle; and under Stevens, who succeeded Drummond as governor, the first laws were **1669.** enacted by an Assembly composed of the governor and council, with twelve delegates chosen by the settlers.

A few years afterwards, the proprietaries, by a solemn grant, confirmed the settlers in the possession of their lands, and gave them the right to nominate six councillors in addition to the six named by the proprietaries. About the same date, the famous George Fox, the founder of the Quaker sect, visited the settlement at Albemarle, and by his preaching and efforts, he gave a strong impulse to Quakerism in that vicinity.

A settled form of government for the vast extent of territory put in charge of the proprietaries, was every way desirable. They entrusted the drawing up of the scheme to Shaftesbury, who called to his aid the well

known John Locke. This eminent metaphysician elaborated a "Grand Model," which affords a singular proof of how little practical value are theoretical attempts to arrange and regulate satisfactorily the position and claims respectively of the governors and governed. It was never carried into effect, and indeed could not be in an infant colony. For the sake of the estimable author, however, we subjoin a brief outline of its provisions:

"The eldest of the eight proprietors was always to be palatine, and at his decease was to be succeeded by the eldest of the seven survivors. This palatine was to sit as president of the palatine's court, of which he and three more of the proprietors made a quorum, and had the management and execution of all the powers in their charter. This palatine's court was to stand in room of the king, and give their assent or dissent to all laws made by the legislature of the colony. The palatine was to have power to nominate and appoint the governor, who, after obtaining the royal approbation, became his representative in Carolina. Each of the seven proprietors was to have the privilege of appointing a deputy, to sit as his representative in parliament, and to act agreeably to his instructions. Besides a governor, two other branches, somewhat similar to the old Saxon constitution, were to be established—an

upper and lower House of Assembly; which three branches were to be called a parliament, and to constitute the legislature of the country. The parliament was to be chosen every two years. No act of the legislature was to have any force unless ratified in open parliament during the same session, and even then to continue no longer in force than the next biennial parliament, unless in the mean time it be ratified by the hands and seal of the palatine and three proprietors. The upper House was to consist of the seven deputies, seven of the oldest landgraves and caciques and seven chosen by the Assembly. As in the other provinces, the lower House was to be composed of the representatives from the different counties and towns. Several officers were also to be appointed, such as an admiral, a secretary, a chief justice, a surveyor, a treasurer, a marshal, and register; and besides these each county was to have a sheriff, and four justices of the peace. Three classes of nobility were to be established, called barons, caciques and landgraves; the first to possess twelve, the second twenty-four, and the third forty-eight thousand acres of land, and their possessions were to be unalienable. Military officers were also to be nominated, and all inhabitants from sixteen to sixty years of age, as in the times of feudal government, when summoned by the governor and grand council, were to appear under arms, and, in time of war, to take the field. With respect to religion, three terms of communion were fixed; first, to believe that there is a God; secondly, that he

is to be worshipped; and thirdly, that it is lawful, and the duty of every man, when called upon by those in authority, to bear witness to the truth, without acknowledging which no man was to be permitted to be a freeman, or to have any estate or habitation in Carolina. But persecution for observing different modes and ways of worship was expressly forbidden, and every man was to be left full liberty of conscience, and might worship God in that manner which he in his private judgment thought most conformable to the Divine will and revealed Word. Every freeman of Carolina was declared to possess absolute power and authority over his negro slaves, of what opinion or religion soever."

Such, in brief, was the complicated scheme of government proposed by John Locke, a scheme which, as Mr. Hildreth justly remarks, "included and even exaggerated some of the worst features of the feudal system," and which, when attempted to be carried out, was found to be wholly impracticable. The colonists, meanwhile, were doing for themselves all that their necessities required in the way of legislation, and were little disposed to favor any action which they could dispense with on the part of the proprietaries. After long delay three vessels were sent out with a body of emigrants, under the command of Captain William Sayle, who had some years previously been employed in a preliminary exploration. An expense of £12,000 was incurred in providing necessaries for the plantation of the colony. Touching at Port Royal, where they found traces

of the fort erected by the Huguenots, they finally settled at a spot between two rivers, which they called the Ashley and the Cooper, the family names of Lord Shaftesbury, and where they laid the original foundations of Charleston, whence they removed, however, some years afterwards, to the more commodious situation occupied by the present city. Before this removal took place, Sayle died, and was succeeded by Sir John Yeamans, **1672.** governor of Clarendon, who introduced a body of negroes from Barbadoes, afterwards recruited so largely that they were twice as numerous as the whites. Slave labor soon became thus established in Carolina, to the soil and climate of which it was peculiarly adapted. In consequence of the considerable distance at which the new settlement was from Albemarle, the proprietaries established a separate government over it; and in this way arose the distinctive appellations of North and South Carolina.

The trials and distress which attended the first efforts of the colonists were aggravated by the intrigues and assaults of the Spaniards at Fort Augustine. They sent emissaries among the settlers at Ashley River, in the hope of moving them to revolt; they encouraged indentured servants to abandon their masters, and fly to the Spanish territory; and they labored so successfully to instil into the savage tribes the most unfavorable notions of the English, whom they hated as heretics, that these deluded Indians took up arms to endeavor to extirpate a race who neither wished nor had ever done them any

injury. Discontent and insubordination, as was but natural, were produced by the trials and hardships to which the colonists were exposed; and as might be expected, it led to various insurrectionary movements soon after; but these were easily suppressed by the governor. The Spanish garrison at Augustine receiving intelligence of their **1672.** dissensions, a party advanced from that fortress under arms, as far as the island of St. Helena, to dislodge or destroy the settlers; but fifty volunteers, under the command of Colonel Godfrey, marching against them, they evacuated the island, and retreated to their fort. During the governorship of Sir John Yeamans, two ship loads of Dutch emigrants from New York arrived, and many other Dutch colonists soon after determined to remove. The proprietaries encouraged them in this determination, and made them liberal offers of land and other privileges.

The colonists in Carolina were for several years dependent on the proprietaries in England for considerable supplies of provisions and stores, and were by them liberally assisted to the extent of several thousand pounds; but the proprietaries finding, instead of any indications of repayment with a corresponding profit, only demands for further supplies, became discouraged with a result so contrary to their sanguine expectations. Mutual dissatisfaction **1677.** commenced, which embittered all future intercourse between the parties, although it afforded instruction to the colonists which was very beneficial, as it led them to de-

pend solely on their own resources. The proprietaries ascribed their disappointment, in a great measure to the mismanagement of Sir John Yeamans, who, early in this year, was compelled by the state of his health to lay aside the duties of governor, a relief that was ineffectual for the desired purpose, as he did not long survive. The factions and confusion in which the colony was shortly after involved, have rendered the annals of this period extremely perplexing, and have very considerably obscured the order and connection of events. Yeamans abdicated his office, and the council appointed Joseph West as his successor; several changes occurred within a few years, in the office of governor. Between 1680 and 1685, it had changed hands five times. There was, however, a steady increase in the population. Quite a number of emigrants from England came to Carolina, and in 1679, a ship load of **1679.** foreign Protestants was sent out by Charles II. to introduce the culture of the grape and olive, and the breeding of silk worms. Some Scotchmen also emigrated, and many of the Huguenots, who migrated to America after the Edict of Nantes, settled along the banks of the Santee.

After the death of Stevens, the governor of Albemarle, or North Carolina, the Assembly, in 1674, elected their speaker, Cartwright, to the vacant office, the limits of which being doubtful under the "grand model," he sailed for England, accompanied by the new speaker, Eastchurch, to submit **1676.** the case to the proprietaries. Millar, a person of eminence in the col-

ony, had been accused of sedition, but being acquitted, had also repaired to London with complaints, and his treatment being disapproved of, he was rewarded for his troubles with the office of secretary to the colony. Eastchurch being appointed governor, was, on his return, delayed in the West Indies by a wealthy marriage; while Millar proceeded to execute his functions, and to enforce the obnoxious provisions of the navigation act, which pressed heavily upon the rising commerce of the planters. The public discontent broke out into an insurrection, headed by John Culpepper; Millar was imprisoned; a popular assembly established; and when Eastchurch appeared to assume his government, the people refused their submission. Confident in the justice of their cause, they sent Culpepper, who had been appointed by them collector of customs, to England, to obtain the consent of the proprietaries to the

recent changes; but Millar, having
1680. ing in the mean time made his escape, charged Culpepper as he, having effected his object, was about to embark, with "treason," for collecting the revenue without the authority of the king. It may seem strange, but he was defended from this charge by no other than Shaftesbury himself—then aiming at popularity—on the ground that the offence was not towards the crown, but the planters; a plea so successfully urged that Culpepper was acquitted by the jury. The proprietaries finding it

useless to attempt to carry out
1683. the "model" by force, agreed to a compromise with the settlers, promised an amnesty, and appointed a

new governor, Seth Sothel, a man of sordid character, who, during an administration of five years, pillaged both the proprietaries and the colonists, until the Assembly deposed **1688.** him, banished him for a twelvemonth, and compelled him finally to abjure the government for ever.

During the period when the changes in the office of governor were so frequent in South Carolina (1680–85), the far-famed buccaneers appeared at Charleston to purchase provisions, and whether from fear or interest, the people, and even the governor himself, seemed to have connived at and even encouraged their visits. This dreaded body of freebooters had sprung up in the West India seas, where the Spaniards had once destroyed their haunts, but during the war with Spain they appeared anew, and obtained privateering commissions to harass the commerce and attack the cities of that country in America; armed with which power they so increased their numbers by desperadoes from every clime, and entered upon such daring and successful enterprises, that their exploits inspired an admiration, with which, however, a feeling of terror was largely mingled. One **1684.** of their leaders had even been knighted by Charles II., and another created governor of Jamaica. But the horrible abuses of such a system of licensed outrage and plunder had survived the occasion which led to its permission, and the peace with Spain had withdrawn from them the countenance of the English government, who now desired their suppression. But connivance at piracy was not the

only indication of a loose code of morality among the settlers. They persisted in carrying on a border warfare with the Indians, and selling the captives in the West Indies, in spite of the remonstrances of the proprietaries, who found the breach between themselves and the colonists becoming every year wider.

The proprietaries of Carolina were naturally anxious to conciliate James II. in regard to their charter; but inasmuch as the colonists manifested quite as little willingness as the New Englanders to submit to the collection of revenue and the enforcing the acts of trade, the king ordered a *Quo Warranto* to issue against the proprietaries.

Amid the contending parties, the one in favor of the absolute control of the proprietaries, the other contending for a local and independent legislation,

1686. Governor Morton, unable to satisfy either, was shortly superseded by Colleton, under whose ad-

ministration the dispute broke out into an open quarrel. In vain did he produce a copy of the "grand model," with its numerous titles and elaborate provisions, for the acceptance of the Assembly; they insisted that they had only accepted that modification of it originally proposed to them, and drew up another body of laws in substitution. In vain did he attempt to enforce the payment of the quit-rents due to the proprietaries, and issue, as a last expedient, a proclamation of martial law. In the midst of these disturbances, the noted Sothel, lately banished from Al-bemarle, appeared on the field. He put himself at the head of the opposition; a new Assembly was called; 1690. Colleton was deposed and banished; and Sothel was installed in his place. Notwithstanding these difficulties, the progress of the Carolinas was steady and effective, and both the Northern and Southern settlements were securely planted, with the reasonable prospect of a prosperous future.

CHAPTER XV.

1661—1688.

PENN AND PENNSYLVANIA.

William Penn — His education and early career — Points in his character — PENNSYLVANIA — Terms of the charter — Settlers on the ground — Proposals to emigrants — Course pursued towards the Indians — Frame of government — Provisions — Quit-claim from the Duke of York — Penn's voyage to New York — Freemen called together — Regulations agreed upon — Code of laws — Boundary question — Interview with the Indians — Penn's intercourse with the natives — Philadelphia founded — Meeting of the legislative body — Its acts — Revenue voted the proprietary — Prosperity of the colony — Penn returns to England — Enjoys favor of James II. — Vexatious trials and difficulties with the colonists — The result — Printing press — High school — The lower counties on the Delaware — Penn deprived of his administration.

THE NAME OF WILLIAM PENN is one of the most eminent in American colonial history, and well deserves the esteem and respect with which it has been, and is, regarded by philanthropists and patriots. This remarkable man was the only son of Admiral Penn, distinguished during the protectorate of Cromwell by the conquest of the Island of Jamaica, and afterwards by his conduct and courage during the war with Holland, in the reign of Charles II., with whom and his brother, the

1661. Duke of York, he was a great favorite. Young Penn was entered as a gentleman commoner at Oxford at the period when the Quakers, in the midst of dislike and opposition from all sects and parties, persisted in the propagation of their offensive tenets. Through the earnestness of one of their itinerant preachers, the son of the admiral became converted to the doctrines of the new sect, and entering upon an enthusiastic advocacy of his new views, he was fined and expelled from the University. The exasperated old ad-

miral, his father, at first beat him and turned him out of doors, but afterwards sent him to make the tour of Europe, in the hope that mingling more freely with the great world might effect the cure of his eccentric enthusiasm. His travels undoubtedly tended both to enlarge his mind and to give additional suavity to his manners.

On his return to London for the purpose of studying the law at Lincoln's Inn, he was considered quite "a modish fine gentleman." "The glory of the world," he says, "overtook me, and I was even ready to give up myself unto it;" but his deep sense of the vanity of the world, and the "irreligiousness of its religions," which the preaching of the itinerant Quaker had produced, was aroused from temporary slumber by his providential encounter with the same individual, on the occasion of a journey to Ireland, and he determined to cast in his lot with these advocates of brotherly love and impartial toleration. "God in his everlasting kindness," thus he declares,

"guided my feet into this path in the flower of my youth, when about two and twenty years of age." At once he entered upon that career of preaching his beloved doctrines, which, in the face of many trials, he long continued to follow both at home and abroad. Imprisoned in Ireland, he was enlarged only to be received on his return to England with animosity and derision, and a fresh ebullition of rage from his indignant father, who, for the second time, expelled him from his home. But the spirit of Penn was too high and calm to be intimidated or exasperated. Menaces and promises were alike employed in vain. "Tell my father," he said, after having been sent to the Tower, "that my prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot, for I owe my conscience to no mortal man. I have no need to fear. God will make amends for all." He remained many months in confinement, from which he was at length released through the influence of the Duke of York, the friend of his father as well as himself. The high spirited old admiral was, on his death bed, fully reconciled to his son, and committed him and his claims on the government to the good offices of the Duke of York, with whom Penn was quite a favorite, and on terms of the closest intimacy.

Some years before Penn entered directly upon the great work with which his name is indissolubly united, he had been called upon to take an active interest in the affairs of his fellow Quakers in New Jersey. He had done this with so much prudence, and had on various occasions

shown so much wisdom and discretion that it is not surprising that he was looked up to with unusual deference and respect both at home and in America. His father had bequeathed to him a claim against the government for £16,000. As it was almost hopeless to expect the liquidation of this debt from a king like Charles II., Penn became desirous of obtaining in lieu of it a grant of American territory; a wish that his influence with the Duke of York and the leading courtiers at length enabled him to realize. "This day," he observes, in a letter dated January 5th, 1681, "after many waitings, watchings, solicitings, and disputes, my country was confirmed to me under the great seal of England, with large powers and privileges, by the name of PENNSYLVANIA, a name the king gave it in honor of my father. I chose New Wales, being a hilly country, and when the secretary, a Welshman, refused to call it New Wales, I proposed Sylvania, and they added Penn to it, though I much opposed him, and went to the king to have it struck out. He said 'twas past, and he would take it upon him; nor could twenty guineas move the under secretary to alter the name, for I feared it should be looked on as a vanity in me, and not as a respect in the king to my father, as it really was. Thou mayst communicate my grant," he adds, "to my friends, and expect shortly my proposals. 'Tis a dear and just thing, and my God, that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the seed of a nation. I shall have a tender care to the government, that it be well laid at first."

The charter differed but little from that of Maryland: it created Penn "true and absolute lord" of Pennsylvania, with ample powers of government; but "the advice and consent of the freemen of the province" were necessary to the enactment of laws. A veto was reserved to the crown, and to Parliament the right of levying duties and taxes.

There were already within the limits of Pennsylvania a considerable number of Dutch and Swedish settlers. Penn accordingly, in April of this year (1681,) sent out the royal proclamation, constituting him lord proprietor, by the hands of his kinsman, William Markham; and to engage the good will of these, he tells them "that they are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great; that they shall be governed by laws of their own making, and live free, and, if they will, a sober and industrious people." "I shall not usurp the right of any," he continues, "nor oppress his person. God has furnished me with a better resolution, and has given me His grace to keep it." Markham was also authorized to arrange the question of boundaries with the proprietary of Maryland.

In England, meanwhile, (May, 1681), there were proposals issued for the sale of the lands, at the rate of forty shillings, or about \$10 the hundred acres, subject, however, to a perpetual quit-rent of one shilling for every hundred acres. A company was formed, and three vessels set sail in July, with a body of emigrants for the shores of the Delaware—carrying out

instructions for building the new city, which Penn desired might resemble a green and open country town. For the first time, probably, the Indians found themselves addressed in the language of genuine philanthropy and good will, as brethren of the great family of man, not as heathen. "The great God," thus he wrote to their sachems, "had been pleased to make him concerned in their part of the world, and the king of the country where he lived had given him a great province therein; but he did not desire to enjoy it without their consent; he was a man of peace, and the people whom he sent were of the same disposition, and if any difference should happen between them, it might be adjusted by an equal number of men chosen on both sides."

Early in 1682, Penn issued his "Frame of Government," wherein he purposed to leave to himself and his successors "no power of doing mischief—that the will of one man may not hinder the good of the whole country; for liberty without obedience is confusion, obedience without liberty is slavery." The Assembly, which was to consist, first, of all the freemen, afterwards, of delegates, never more than five hundred nor less than two hundred freemen, were to elect a council of seventy-two members, one third to go out and be replaced annually, over whom the proprietary or his deputy was to preside and enjoy a triple vote. This council was not only invested with the executive power, but was also authorized to prepare bills for presentation to the Assembly. In addition, a body of forty "fundamental laws," was agreed

upon by Penn and the emigrants, who proposed to settle in Pennsylvania.

In order to prevent all future pretence of claim on the part of the Duke of York, or his heirs, Penn obtained of the Duke his deed of release for it; and, as an additional territory, he procured of him also his right and interest in that tract of land, which was at first called the territories of Pennsylvania, afterwards "the three lower counties on the Delaware."

Every preliminary arrangement having been completed, Penn set sail, accompanied by a hundred emigrants, and during the year was followed by more than twenty ships, all of which arrived in safety. His own voyage was long and disastrous; the small pox broke out on board, and cut off thirty of the passengers. At length, toward the end of October, the ship entered the broad and majestic Delaware, and came to an anchor at Newcastle. As soon as the news of Penn's arrival was spread abroad, the magistrates and settlers flocked together, to greet him at the court-house; his title-deeds were produced; and he conciliated the assembled multitude with promises of civil and religious freedom. Continuing his ascent of the river, he landed at Upland, or Chester, where he found a plain, simple, industrious population, composed of Swedish Lutherans and Quakers, who had established themselves in a country which, from the purity of the air and water, the freshness and beauty of the landscape, and the rich abundance of all sorts of provisions, he declared, in his enthusiasm, that "an Abraham,

Isaac, and Jacob would be well contented with." Markham had already commenced the erection of a mansion house for Penn some distance further up the river, nearly opposite the present city of Burlington.

Early in the month of December, 1682, having paid a visit to his friends in New Jersey, and on Long Island, Penn returned to Chester to give his earnest attention to the settling the government, arranging the question of boundaries, and propitiating the good will of the natives. Instead of all the freemen, as Penn's writ of summons had requested, only twelve delegates from each of the six counties appeared: eighteen of these were constituted a council and the remainder an Assembly. In future, too, the Assembly was to consist of thirty-six members only, six from each county, to be chosen annually, with a council composed of three members for each county, to hold their seats for three years, one being chosen each year. The restriction of the governor to three votes was dropped, and the governor and council were to possess jointly the right of proposing laws. This enlargement of the proprietary's power, according to Penn's account of the matter, was the spontaneous movement of the freemen themselves; hence he was not guilty, as some twenty years later it was charged upon him, of using undue influence and violating his original promise. A code of laws was enacted nearly resembling those already agreed upon in England between the emigrants and Penn. Its broad outlines were on the whole worthy of his phi

lanthropic professions. Universal toleration was proclaimed; each sect was to support itself. Every freeman had the right of voting and holding office—the only reservation being the necessity of a belief in God and abstinence from labor on the Lord's Day. Trial by jury was established. Murder alone was punishable with death. Primogeniture, with a trifling reservation, was abrogated. Marriage was regarded as a civil contract. Two wise and important provisions, must not be overlooked—every child was to be taught some useful trade, thus tending to prevent future vagabondage and crime—while the prisons were to be also workhouses, where the offender might be not only punished, but if possible, reclaimed again to the community.

Penn having proceeded to Newcastle, found the question of boundaries to be a very difficult and perplexing subject. Many of the charters had been granted in ignorance of the precise geography of the country, an ambiguity which occasioned, naturally enough, serious disputes. Such was partly the case with that of Penn's, who earnestly contended for his desired line of boundary, as being of the last importance to the future welfare of his colonists. "It was not the love or need of the land, but the water," and the facility of access and harboring, that induced him to press his claims, and, as Lord Baltimore affirmed, to encroach within the limits of his own grant. Of the merits of this dispute, which is in truth somewhat obscure, different views have been taken by different historians. Very possibly

both parties believed themselves to be in the right, and after a warm and unsatisfactory debate, the negotiation was for the present broken off; it was afterwards, in the following year, resumed in England with considerable acrimony, and terminated in the assignment to Penn of half the territory between the banks of the Delaware and the Chesapeake.

The famous traditionary interview with the Indians under the great elm of Shakamaxon, commemorated by the pencil of West, was held probably not long after Penn and Lord Baltimore had met with reference to the boundary question. It was a scene of deep and touching interest; and though it is true that Penn enjoyed advantages over the older States in that the Delawares were a feeble tribe, yet his sincerity and good will cannot be doubted, and we know that no Quaker blood was ever shed in contests with the aborigines of that region.

The good understanding produced by this interview was carefully kept up. During his stay in the country Penn often met the Indians in friendly intercourse. He partook of their simple fare, and mingled in their athletic games. On one occasion, as he himself informed Oldmixon, he was involved in an awkward dilemma, from which he escaped by the exercise of his usual prudence. Having visited an Indian sachem, he had retired for the night, when he was startled by the entry of the daughter of his host, who, thus instructed by her father, came and placed herself by his side, in compliance with certain ideas of hospital-

ity, found also among other uncivilized tribes. Shocked and embarrassed though he was, Penn wisely refrained from rebuke, but quietly taking no notice of his visitor, she after a while returned to her own place of rest.

The tract at the confluence of the Schuylkill and the Delaware having appeared to Penn very desirable for the location of his capital city, that locality was fixed upon early in **1682**. **1683**. It was entitled Philadelphia, to show forth to men the brotherly love which the Quakers advocated and endeavored to practice. Its buildings rapidly increased, and by the end of the year eighty houses were erected.

In the midst of active preparation for the future growth of the new city, in March of this year (1683), Penn summoned his newly constituted legislature to meet him in Philadelphia. This Assembly accepted a frame of government modelled after the late act of settlement, with a proviso that no changes should be made except by the joint consent of the proprietary and six parts in seven of the freemen of the province. By this frame it was ordained, beside the provisions on these points before named, that to prevent lawsuits, three arbitrators, to be called peace-makers, should be chosen by the county courts, to hear and determine small differences between man and man; that factors wronging their employers should make satisfaction, and one third over; that every thing which excites the people to rudeness, cruelty, and irreligion should be discouraged, and severely punished; that no one, acknowledging

one God, and living peaceably in society, should be molested for his opinions or his practice, or compelled to frequent or maintain any ministry whatever. A revenue was also voted to the proprietary, to be raised by a duty on imports and exports; unfortunately, however, Penn having consented to suspend the receipt of it for a year or two, it was presently lost altogether. The Assembly of the next year **1684**. (1684) voted £2,000 towards the expenses of the government, to be raised by a tax on spirits.

At his mansion on Pennsbury manor, about twenty miles above Philadelphia, Penn enjoyed for a season, the soothing tranquillity and beauty of nature, and had the gratification of beholding the unexampled increase of his colony. The news of its prosperity had been carried to Europe, and many settlers from Germany and Holland, of whom he and Barclay had made converts during his tour in those countries, came to seek an asylum from the storms of Europe, while numerous Quakers continued to arrive from England. He might well boast that he "had led the greatest colony into America that ever any man did upon a private credit, and the most prosperous beginnings that ever were in it, are to be found among us."

But the active spirit of Penn prompted him to return, for a while at least, to England. Accordingly, in August, 1684, he set sail for home, having firmly planted and organized his province; and leaving judicial affairs in the hands of five judges chosen from the council, with Nicholas Moore for

chief justice. The executive administration was committed to the council, Lloyd being president, and Markham secretary. So rapid had been the increase of Pennsylvania that when Penn returned to England, it contained already twenty settlements and seven thousand inhabitants.

James II. ascended the throne soon after Penn's arrival, and he continued to enjoy the same favor at the hands of the king which he had received from the Duke of York. It may be **1685.** worth noting, that the charter of Pennsylvania was the only one in America against which a *Quo Warranto* was not issued.

While Penn was in England, he was subjected to a great deal of vexation and disappointment. The same scene of contention was renewed in Pennsylvania that had often before taken place between distant proprietaries and popular bodies dissatisfied with the limited authority that they were constantly aiming to enlarge. Disputed questions arose between the governor and council on the one hand, and the Assembly on the other, in

which Penn necessarily became **1686.** involved. Besides being subject to continual encroachments upon his authority, he complained with reason, that the quit-rents to which he looked as a return for his heavy outlays in founding the colony, were appropriated in part to the public service, for which

the Assembly refused to vote a **1688.** suitable provision. He was also dissatisfied with the conduct of

the council, which he superseded by five commissioners, charged with executive functions, but soon after appointed Blackwell, an old officer of Cromwell, and at the time resident in New England, who sternly insisted upon the maintenance of proprietary rights; yet to so little purpose, that after another period of dissension, Penn, anxious, to use his own words, "to settle the government so as to please the generality," determined "to throw all into their hands, that they might see the confidence he had in them, and his desire to give them all possible contentment." Thus did the council, at that time entirely popular in its constitution, become, early in 1690, invested with the chief authority, subject to the sole proviso of a veto on the part of the proprietary. Meanwhile, a printing press, the third in America, was, about 1687, set up at Philadelphia. Penn also in 1689 gave a charter to a public high school.

The downfall of James was fatal to Penn's favor at court, and subjected him to severe trials. The old settlers on the Delaware became jealous of the newly-created colony; dissensions and quarrels arose; and ended in the establishment of the three lower counties, by Penn's consent, under a separate government of their own, of which Markham became the head. Penn himself, however, was very soon deprived, by an order of the Privy Council, of the administration of colonial affairs in both the Delaware counties and also in Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER XVI.

1626—1689.

FRENCH COLONIAL ENTERPRISE.

New France — Missionary labors of Franciscans and Jesuits — Extent of their explorations in the west and east — Charlevoix's account — No success with the Iroquois — War with the Five Nations — A truce — Labors of the Jesuits — War again — Company of New France given up — Marquette and the Mississippi — La Salle — Enterprise and activity — Proceeds to the Mississippi — Various fortune — Descends the Mississippi to its mouth — LOUISIANA — La Salle goes to France — Expedition — Fatal termination — Affairs in Canada — De la Barre — Denonville — War with the Five Nations — French attempts at colonization on the whole unsuccessful — Contrast with English colonies — Accession of William III. — War in consequence.

TOWARDS the close of our first chapter, we gave a brief account of the progress of navigation and settlement by the French in Canada and its contiguous waters. Resuming the narrative from that point, we call the attention of the reader to some interesting facts in connection with the efforts of those enterprising Frenchmen by whose energy and perseverance their country was enabled to lay claim to that vast region of interior America known in general terms as NEW FRANCE.

The determined hostility of the Mohawks having prevented the French from occupying the upper waters of the Hudson, and cut off all progress towards the south, the Franciscan missionaries who had accompanied Champlain to Canada were led to penetrate along the northern shore of Lake Ontario till they reached the rivers flowing into Lake Huron. When Canada was restored to the French in 1632, the Jesuits obtained the privilege of occupying the vast missionary ground which New France laid open to their efforts; and

it must be confessed by even the sternest Protestant that their labors for the cause which they had in hand have rarely been surpassed by missionaries in any age or in any part of the world.

Two Jesuit missionaries, Brebeuf and Daniel, guided by a party of Huron Indians, set out for the far-distant wigwams of their tribe. Paddling up the St. Lawrence, they ascended its great tributary, the Ottawa, surmounting its numerous falls and rapids, and by carrying their canoes through tangled pathways in the forest, as do the "voyageurs" of the present day, and enduring every species of hardship, they reached, after a journey of three hundred miles, the eastern projection of Lake Huron, converted one of the leading chiefs, and succeeded in establishing six missions among the rude but impressible savages on its borders. "Now and then," says Mr. Hildreth, "one of these fathers would make a voyage to Quebec in a canoe, with two or three savages, paddle in hand, exhausted with rowing, his feet naked, his breviary hanging about his neck,

his shirt unwashed, his cassock half-torn from his lean body, but with a face full of content, charmed with the life he led, and inspiring by his air and his words a strong desire to join him in the mission." The news of these remarkable successes being transmitted to France created great excitement, and

1635. led to many efforts in behalf of the Roman Catholic religion in Canada. A Jesuit college was established at Quebec, as was soon after a hospital for the benefit of both French and Indians, and a convent of Ursuline nuns.

Montreal, which was in the highway to the newly established missions, was solemnly consecrated to the Virgin Mary, grew up into a religious station, and became the nucleus of a future city. Fresh bodies of Jesuit missionaries continued to arrive, and emulate the zeal of their predecessors. Among

1641. these Raymbault, and his companion Jogues, coasting the shore of Lake Huron, reached the distant country of the Chippewas, at the foot of the falls of St. Mary. Worn out with hardships, Raymbault again reached Quebec, but only to die; while his companion, descending the St. Lawrence with his Huron converts, was beset by a party of the hostile Mohawks, and forced to run the gauntlet three successive times, between rows of tormentors,

1643. his Indian companions perishing in his sight by the tomahawk or the flames. Jogues, having escaped, made his way to the Mohawk valley, where he was hospitably received by the Dutch commandant at Rensselaerwyck. Similar sufferings were inflicted upon

such of the missionaries as fell into the power of this savage tribe. A like success attended the missionary efforts toward the east, where, at a very early period, before the landing of the pilgrim fathers, the French had labored to convert the natives to Chris- **1646.** tianity. Dreuilletes, the missionary explorer, having reported favorably, measures were taken by the Jesuits to establish a permanent mission.

"It is certain," says Charlevoix—as quoted by Hildreth—in speaking on this subject, "as well from the annual relations of those happy times, as from the constant tradition of that country, that a peculiar unction attached to this savage mission, giving it a preference over many others far more brilliant and more fruitful. The reason no doubt was, that nature, finding nothing there to gratify the senses or to flatter vanity—stumbling blocks too common even to the holiest—grace worked without obstacle. The Lord, who never allows himself to be outdone, communicates himself without measure to those who sacrifice themselves without reserve; who, dead to all, detached entirely from themselves and the world, possess their souls in unalterable peace, perfectly established in that child-like spirituality which Jesus Christ has recommended to his disciples as that which ought to be the most marked trait of their character." "Such is the portrait," adds Charlevoix, "drawn of the missionaries of New France by those who knew them best. I myself knew some of them in my youth, and I found them such as I have painted them, bending under the labor of a long apostleship,

with bodies exhausted by fatigues and broken with age, but still preserving all the vigor of the apostolic spirit, and I have thought it but right to do them here the same justice universally done them in the country of their labors.”*

The French missionaries were not, however, favored with any success among the Iroquois or Five Nations, but met with unyielding and fierce opposition. These Five Nations or allied communities, comprising the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, the Oneidas, and the Mohawks, occupied the country between the banks of the St. Lawrence and the Hudson. Against these tribes, soon after his arrival in Canada, Champlain had joined the Algonquins and Hurons in a warlike expedition, an impolitic interference, which was punished by these implacable savages with an inveterate hostility to his country and their allies. They menaced the infant settlement of Quebec, and waylaid, as we have seen, the Jesuit missionaries, until the French were compelled to sue for peace. Nothing therefore was so much desired as their conversion. During a temporary pacification, Jogues set out again on this perilous mission, from which he never again returned, being put to death soon after his arrival among the Mohawks.

The Dutch having supplied the Iroquois with fire-arms, the war broke out with increased ferocity; the missionaries were cruelly tortured and
1649. put to death, and the terrified colonists lived in daily dread of mas-

sacre. Even Quebec itself was not safe. The Huron missions were entirely broken up, and the French became so dispirited as to ask aid from New England against the Indians; but we are sorry to say it was denied. After
1651. two or three years, the Iroquois consented to a peace (1654). The occasion was embraced for fresh efforts by the Jesuits to plant the cross among their vengeful adversaries, and this time, happily, with somewhat better success. Some Christian Hurons, who had become captives to the Mohawks, paved the way for the reception of Le Moyne, while Mesnard repaired to the Cayugas, and Chaumont and Dablon visited the other tribes. At first, their success seemed to be great, but they soon discovered that they had only lulled, not subdued, the passions of these ferocious warriors, and that
1656. their lives hung by a single thread. Some Frenchmen had ventured to establish a colony on the banks of the Oswego; collisions took place with Indians; and a third time
1659. war again burst forth. The distress was now so extreme, that the Company of New France, reduced to a mere handful, resigned in 1662, to the king, a colony which they were unable to defend, by whom it was transferred to the new West India Company, just then formed by Colbert. The protection implored by the Jesuits was immediately afforded, and a French regiment commanded by Tracy, who was appointed viceroy, repaired to
1665. Quebec, a measure which at length effectually restrained the persevering hostility of the Five Nations

*Hildreth's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii., p. 86.

Under this favorable change of affairs, missionary efforts were renewed. Allouez coasted Lake Superior, and two years afterward, in company with Dablon and Marquette, established the mission of St. Mary, the first settlement of white men within the limits of our north western States. Various missions were established and explorations made. Fired by the rumors of a great river in the west, Marquette was presently sent by the intendant Talon to search it out. Accompanied by Joliet, a merchant of Quebec, with five Frenchmen, and two Algonquin guides, they ascended on the 10th of June, 1673, to the head of Fox River, and carrying their canoes across the intervening ground which separates the eastern from the western streams, they launched them again upon the waters of the Wisconsin, where their Indian conductors, fearful of advancing any farther, left them to make their way alone. For seven days they floated down the stream, when at length, to their great joy, they emerged upon the mighty waters of the MISSISSIPPI, that "great river"—for so its name imports—rolling through vast verdant prairies dotted with herds of buffalo, and its banks overhung with primitive forests. With the feelings of men who have discovered a new world, they passed the mouths of the Des Moines, the Illinois, the Missouri, and the Ohio, keeping on as far as the Arkansas. They landed to visit the astonished Indians upon the shores, who received them with hospitality, and invited them to form a permanent settlement. As they floated on day after

day, they were greeted by richer scenery and by a different climate; they were fanned by the soft breezes and delighted by the luxuriant vegetation of the south; the sombre pines of the Canadian forests were exchanged for the cotton wood and palmetto of the tropics, and they began to suffer from the heat and the mosquitoes. Marquette, satisfied that the river must empty into the Gulf of Mexico, and fearful of falling into the hands of the Spaniards, reluctantly turned his steps back again towards Canada. Leaving Marquette at Green Bay, at his missionary work, Joliet carried the news to Quebec. Marquette's health soon after gave way, and while engaged in missionary efforts among the Illinois, he died, May 18th, 1675, at the early age of thirty-eight.*

Robert Cavalier De La Salle, an energetic young French adventurer, who had evinced unusual sagacity and met with great success in his explorations on Lakes Ontario and Erie, was roused by the news of the discovery of the "great river." Leaving his fur trade, his fields, and his many advantages in connection with Fort Frontenac—at the outlet of Ontario—La Salle hurried to France, and received from Colbert a commission to proceed with further discoveries on the Mississippi. Accompanied by the Chevalier Tonti, a veteran Italian, as his lieutenant, he returned to Frontenac, built a small bark, with which he ascended the Niagara River to the foot of

* See Mr. J. G. Shea's interesting and valuable work, "*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*," p. lxxi.

the rapids, below the great fall; and above them, near the shore of Lake Erie, began the construction of the first rigged vessel that ever sailed upon the western waters. In this little bark of sixty tons, called the "Griffin," accompanied by Tonti and a band of missionaries and fur traders, La Salle traversed Lake Erie, and passed through Detroit, or "the strait" which separates it from the limpid sheet to which he gave the appropriate name of St. Clair, and sailing across Lake Huron, **1679.** and by the straits of Mackinaw, into Lake Michigan, at length came to an anchor in Green Bay.

From this point, after sending back the vessel for fresh supplies, La Salle and his associates proceeded in canoes across Lake Michigan to the mouth of the St. Joseph's River, where Alouez had established a station, and to which was now added a trading post, called the Fort of the Miamis. Awaiting in vain the return of the "Griffin," which had been wrecked on her way back, La Salle and Tonti, with a body of their followers, crossed over to the Illinois River, where, some distance below Peoria, he erected another fort. There were still no tidings of the missing vessel, and to proceed without supplies was impossible; murmurs arose among his disheartened followers, and detaching Tonti and the Recollect Hennepin to continue their explorations, and having named his new fort "Crève-cœur," in memory of his deep and bitter **1680.** vexations, La Salle set out with only three followers, making his way back across the vast wilderness which spread between him and Fronte-

nac, where, though reported dead, he gathered fresh materials for the prosecution of his enterprise. His agents, meanwhile, were engaged in carrying out his instructions. Hennepin explored the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, and returning afterwards to France, published there an account of his travels.* Tonti, less fortunate, who had been directed to establish himself among the Illinois, was driven thence by the hostility of the Iroquois, and was obliged to take refuge at Green Bay. Their indefatigable leader at length returned with provisions and reinforcements, collected his scattered men, and constructed a capacious barge, in which he descended the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico. Formal possession of the mouth of the river was taken for France, April 9th, 1682, and the name LOUISIANA was conferred upon the newly acquired territory.

La Salle having returned to France speedily aroused an ardent desire to colonize the fertile region which he had discovered. Accordingly **1683.** he soon got together an expedition, consisting of a frigate and three other ships, on board of which were two hundred and eighty persons in all, ecclesiastics, soldiers, mechanics **1684** and emigrants, and as speedily as pos-

* Mr. Sparks has clearly shown that Hennepin is not to be relied on. After mentioning several things, he says:—"These facts added to others are perfectly conclusive, and must convict Father Hennepin of having palmed upon the world a pretended discovery and a fictitious narrative. . . . Notwithstanding this gross imposition, we must allow him justice on other points. There seems no good reason to doubt the general accuracy of his first book, nor of his second, previously to his departure from Fort Crève-cœur."—"Life of De La Salle," p. 91.

sible got under way to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi. But no success attended the enterprise. La Salle, falling into serious disputes and even quarrels with Beaujeu, who had command of the fleet under him, missed the entrance of the river, and in February, 1685, was compelled to land his dispirited and despairing company at some point on the coast of Texas. In the midst of disaffection and treachery and death, La Salle did not lose heart: with characteristic intrepidity, in April, 1686, he set out with twenty men to find the Illinois, where Tonti was awaiting him, but without avail: he was compelled to return to the fort in October. Yet as his only hope lay in extricating himself and his followers—less than forty—by an overland pas-

1687. sage, early in January he set out again with seventeen men on this forlorn enterprise. Three of the party conspired to commit murder; they slaughtered Moragnet, Nika and Saget, and when La Salle came to inquire after the missing men, Duhaut discharged his musket from ambush and shot the unhappy commander through the head. This was on the 19th of March, 1687. Good Father Anastase dug his grave, buried him, and erected a cross over his remains.* La Salle “died some where about the spot where now stands the town of Washington,” says Mr. Gayarré, “which town owes its foundation to some of that race to which belonged his avenger, and the star spangled banner now proudly waves where the first pioneer of civili-

zation consecrated with his blood the future land of liberty.”*

The murderers of La Salle, quarrelling over the spoils of their leader, met themselves with the same retributive fate at the hands of some of their associates, of whom Joutel, the narrator of these dismal events, with no more than five others, made their way to the banks of the Mississippi, where they fell in with two Frenchmen, left there by Tonti, on his return from a vain search after his old commander. The twenty men left behind at the fort which had been built by La Salle, also perished; and thus, after the most indefatigable efforts, and the most brilliant prospects of success, the colony of La Salle came to an untimely end—sad termination to the career of its energetic and gallant founder.†

Affairs in Canada, meanwhile, had become very much embroiled. Disputes having arisen between Frontenac the governor and the Intendant, De la Barre was sent out in 1682 to succeed Frontenac. Dongan, the governor of New York, although charged by **1683.** James II. to maintain a good understanding with the French, used his influence secretly to inflame the dissen-

* Gayarré's "*History of Louisiana*," vol i., p. 28.

† The Mississippi, however, "was soon constantly travelled by the adventurous trader, and still more adventurous missionary. A Spanish vessel, under Andrew de Pes, entered the mouth soon after; but, on the second of March, 1699, the Canadian Ierville, more fortunate than La Salle, entered it with Father Anastasius Douay, who had accompanied that unfortunate adventurer on his last voyage. Missionaries from Canada soon came to greet him, and La Sueur ascended the Mississippi to St. Peter's River, and built a log fort on its blue-earth tributary. Henceforward all was progress," etc.—Shea's "*Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*," p. xxxix.

* Sparks's "*Life of Robert Cavalier De La Salle*," p. 158.

sions between them and their enemies. De la Barre, after convoking an assembly to take into consideration the perilous condition of the province, and after making some abortive attempts at negotiation, marched to attack the Iroquois at the head of a considerable force; but on the way his troops were so reduced and weakened by sickness, arising from the miasma of the marshes and forests, that he was compelled to conclude a humiliating peace with the foes over whom he had anticipated a signal triumph. At his desire the chiefs of the Five Nations repaired to his camp, but his endeavor to overawe them met with no success whatever. On the contrary one of these fierce warriors is represented as having broken out in the following spirited speech, personifying De la Barre as Onondio, and the English governor as Corlear:—"Hear, Onondio, I am not asleep, my eyes are open, and the sun which enlightens me discloses to me a great captain who speaks as if he were dreaming. He says that he only came to smoke the pipe of peace with the Onondagas. But Garrangula says that he sees the contrary, that it was to knock them on the head, if sickness had not weakened the arms of the French. We carried the English to our lakes to trade with the Utawawas, as the Adirondacks brought the French to our forts to carry on a trade which the English say is theirs. We are born free; we neither depend on Onondio nor Corlear. We may go where we please, and buy and sell what we please. If your allies are your slaves, use them as such—command them to receive no

other than your people. Hear, Onondio!—what I say is the voice of all the Five Nations. When they buried the hatchet in the middle of the fort, they planted the tree of peace in the same place, that instead of a retreat for soldiers, it might be a meeting-place for merchants. Take care that your soldiers do not choke the tree of peace, and prevent it from covering your country and ours with its branches. I tell you that our warriors shall dance under its leaves, and never dig up the hatchet to cut it down, till their brother Onondio or Corlear shall invade the country which the Great Spirit has given to our ancestors."

The Marquis de Denonville succeeded De la Barre in 1684, and brought with him some five or six hundred **1684.** soldiers. A fort was built at Niagara to cover the route from Canada through Lake Erie, and also as a check upon the hostile Iroquois, a measure which helped to increase the jealousy and ill will of the English. An expedition was undertaken by Denonville against the Senecas; but **1687.** although they penetrated and ravaged the country, yet the Iroquois in turn threatening invasion, the French were glad to purchase peace by giving **1688.** up their fort and promising to return the captives they had treacherously got into their power. A short interval only of peace followed. The Iroquois advanced on Montreal, **1689.** killed many, and made prisoners of many more, and spread terror even as far as Quebec.

On the whole, Canada could not be said to have flourished. Although the

French had done wonders in the way of exploration, and in contending with Indian ferocity and valor, greatly beyond anything to which the English had been exposed, yet the climate and soil were unfavorable, the government was a military despotism, the people had no share in public affairs, and the population at most did not exceed twelve thousand. Acadie was even still more feeble, the total of its inhabitants being less probably than three thousand. Yet, seeing that the eastern Indians, both those of the peninsula and those of the main land, were wholly under French influence, it added materially to the strength of the French in that vicinity.

The contrast between New France and the English colonies was at this date quite striking; for the latter occupying territory more favorably situated along the coast, and every year developing new energies and stimulated to new enterprises, were steadily advancing in prosperity and ability to understand and maintain their just rights. The French, on the other hand, though ever brave and chivalrous, had not in their colonies the elements of strength and permanency which were character-

istic of their rivals in the New World.*

At this date, according to Mr. Bancroft, the twelve oldest States of our Union "contained not very many beyond two hundred thousand inhabitants, of whom Massachusetts, with Plymouth and Maine, may have had forty-four thousand; New Hampshire and Rhode Island, with Providence, each six thousand; Connecticut, from seventeen to twenty thousand; that is, in all New England, seventy-five thousand souls; New York, not less than twenty thousand; New Jersey, half as many; Pennsylvania and Delaware, perhaps twelve thousand; Maryland twenty-five thousand; Virginia, fifty thousand or more; and the two Carolinas, which then included the soil of Georgia, probably not less than eight thousand souls."†

Such was the condition and state of affairs when William III. mounted the English throne, and the American colonies were involved in the war that soon raged between France and England.

* This contrast is eloquently set forth by Mr. Parkman, "*History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac*," p. 41. etc.

† Bancroft's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii., p. 450.

Book Second.

FROM

THE ACCESSION OF WILLIAM III.

TO THE

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

1689—1776.

HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

1689—1697.

NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK: FIRST INTERCOLONIAL WAR.

Accession of William III. — Its important effects — War with France — Intercolonial war — Seizure of Andros at Boston — Course pursued by Massachusetts, Virginia, Maryland, and New York, on the occasion of William's accession — "Protestant Revolution" in Maryland — Jacob Leisler — His career and judicial murder — Opening of the war — Attack on Dover — Frontenac governor of Canada — Destruction of Schenectady — War party sent against Salmon Falls — Narrative of a sufferer — Attempt at conquest of Canada — Entirely unsuccessful — Effects — Paper money — Domestic tragedies in New York and Massachusetts — New Charter of Massachusetts — Witchcraft delusion — Development and Progress — Salem the principal scene — Strange history — Frontier warfare — Oyster River, Pemaquid fort, Haverhill disasters — Brave Mrs. Dustin — Last year of the war — Peace of Ryswick.

THE accession of William III. is a marked event in the history of England, and more or less directly
1689. had an important bearing upon the development and progress of the American colonies. There can be no doubt that there was then a crisis in the affairs of England which had to be met; a state of things which required all the combined wisdom and energy of the patriots and statesmen of that day, to save the country from the tremendous evils which threatened to crush and destroy every vestige of constitutional freedom. It was then to be de-

termined, whether despotism together with the dynasty of the ill-fated Stuarts, or the liberty of law and order in the supremacy of the legislature, was to prevail. The crisis was met, and the question was settled for all future time; and the dethronement of James II. and the election of the Prince of Orange to the throne declared to be vacant, both established the parliament as supreme and overturned for ever all pretence on the part of the sovereign to irresponsible exercise of royal prerogative and power. "By resolving that James II. had abdicated" says Mr.

Bancroft, "the representatives of the English people assumed to sit in judgment on its kings. By declaring the throne vacant, they annihilated the principle of legitimacy. By disfranchising a dynasty for professing the Roman faith, they not only exerted the power of interpreting the original contract, but of introducing into it new conditions. By electing a king, they made themselves his constituents; and the parliament of England became the fountain of sovereignty for the English world."

But although the accession of William was of so great importance to the mother country, the colonies did not share, to the extent which they hoped and expected, in the benefits of a change of rulers. "By strengthening the parliament"—to use Mr. Hildreth's language—"and increasing the influence of the manufacturing class, the English Revolution exposed the American plantations to increased danger of mercantile and parliamentary tyranny, of which, in the acts of trade, they already had a foretaste—a tyranny, far more energetic, persevering, grasping, and more to be dreaded than any probable exercise of merely regal authority." The policy of William and the parliament was not favorable to the best interests of the colonies; and it was not long before it was discovered that the being rid of the despotism of royal prerogative afforded no guarantee against the despotism of parliament. William with very high ideas of prerogative in his own case, does not seem ever to have abated any of the pretensions and claims of his predecessors on the throne; and although

it is true that the toleration of all Protestant sects became an established line of policy as well in the colonies as at home, it is equally true that the bitterness of party rancor against the Roman Catholics was greatly increased by the dethronement of James. The war with France, which broke out soon after William's accession, roused to their highest pitch both national and religious differences; and the colonies, as a matter of course, became involved in a ruinous conflict with their French neighbors in Canada, entailing upon themselves very heavy expenses and debts, and causing a fearful sacrifice of human life.

Both parties were at the first eager for the strife. New England, not less than the French colonists, entertained schemes of conquest and advancement. The latter purposed to monopolize the western fur trade, secure uninterrupted passage through Lake Erie to the Mississippi, and cut off the English from the cod fishery on the banks of Newfoundland; while the former hoped, and apparently not without reason, to be able to deprive the French of all the advantages which they possessed, and even expel them entirely from the country. Both parties, too, nationally and religiously enemies, were prepared to engage in the bloody strife with unpitying hearts and unmistakable ferocity.

Before entering, however, upon the details of the intercolonial wars, we ask the reader's attention to several matters which preceded these in the regular order of time.

Early in April of this year (1689), news of the landing of William of

Orange in England reached Boston by way of Virginia. Outraged by the high-handed measures of Andros, the news caused great excitement. Andros, affecting to disbelieve it, undertook to imprison those who brought the information. But the spirit of the people was fully roused. On the 18th of April, as the commander of the *Rose* frigate, which the governor had in the harbor, was stepping on shore he was seized by the crowd. The sheriff, endeavoring to disperse the mob, was similarly treated. The whole town was in commotion. The militia gathered together and formed under their old leaders; the ship's barge was intercepted, as it came off to rescue Andros, who had fled for safety to the fort, against which the guns of the battery were turned by the people. Andros, obliged to submit, was forthwith conducted to prison. Simon Bradstreet, now at the advanced age of eighty-seven, who had already honorably distinguished himself in office, happening to appear at this conjuncture, was pronounced governor by general acclamation. This sudden movement, by which the castle and frigate fell into the hands of the insurgents, was fully sustained by the population of the surrounding country, who rapidly flocked into Boston to the assistance of their brethren in the city. The news flew rapidly to Plymouth, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, where similar risings took place. Connecticut brought forth her Charter from its hiding place, and Robert Treat was chosen governor; and in Rhode Island, though some difficulty was experienced in finding the men willing to assume

the magistracy, Henry Bull, an energetic Quaker, was prevailed upon to accept the post of governor.

In Massachusetts there was some difference of opinion as to the wisdom of resuming the Charter. The majority of the people seemed to wish it, but the Council of Safety did not like to commit themselves to the measure. It was thought best therefore to wait a while, and send additional agents to England in behalf of the colony. Ashurt, Cooke, and Oates, were commissioned to act with Increase Mather in England for Massachusetts.

Although the news of William's accession had reached Virginia first of all, the Council were slow to act upon it; and, notwithstanding the wishes of the people, who were a good deal roused by apprehensions of a popish dynasty, the Council delayed till near the end of May before they proclaimed William and Mary "Lord and Lady of Virginia." 1689.

In Maryland, too, there was a rising, directed especially against the Roman Catholic rule. A rumor was put in circulation that those in authority had combined with the Indians—with whom a treaty had been renewed in March—to massacre all the Protestants.* John

* "The history of the Protestant revolution in 1689 has never yet been fully written. But there is evidence upon the records of the English government to show it was the result of a panic, produced by one of the most dishonorable falsehoods which has ever disgraced any religious or any political party—by the story, in a few words, that the Roman Catholics had formed a conspiracy with the Indians, to massacre the Protestants!"—See Mr. George Lynn-Laehian Davis's "*Day-Star of American Freedom*," p. 87. We regret that this eloquent and high-toned work, vindicating the claim of the Roman Catholic founder and freemen

Coode a confederate in Fendal's insurrection, took the lead, and an armed "Association for the Defence of the Protestant Religion" was formed. **1689.** The delays on the part of the Council, in proclaiming William and Mary, favored the designs of Coode, and caused general dissatisfaction. Coode and his confederates called a Convention, which met in August, and proceeded to depose Lord Baltimore and proclaim the new king and queen in Maryland. An address was also transmitted to convey their congratulations on the accession of William and Mary; and for some three years the people of Maryland, by the ill advised assent of William to the insurrection, were subjected to the tyrannous exaction of those who had seized upon the reins of government. Truly, it would seem, as Chalmers surmises, that William "did not reflect, because his mind was occupied only with schemes of influence and conquest; that, in order to gain present power, he gave his assent to transactions, which, while they deprived an individual of his rights contrary to law, engendered a spirit of revolt, that, in after times, would shake the throne on which he then sat." *

New York was also, at this date, the scene of great political excitement and commotion. The ardent spirit of Protestantism was aroused by the news that William of Orange was now king of

of Maryland to the having established toleration, in the noblest sense, in that province, was not published until after we had prepared the former pages of our history, wherein we should have been glad to have enjoyed Mr. Davis's assistance.

* "Introduction to the History of the Revolt of the American Colonies," vol. i., p. 205.

England, and the people enthusiastically rose to proclaim his authority. Jacob Leisler, a merchant of New York, and senior captain of the five free companies, under Bayard as colonel, was persuaded by the people, who tumultuously rushed to his house, to take the head of affairs, for it was rumored that there was a plot on foot, and a scheme to murder all who favored the new king's accession. A provisional government was fixed upon, and Leisler, charged with all authority till orders should come from the king, proceeded to proclaim their majesties by sound of trumpet. The "loyal and noble Captain Leisler" next addressed a letter to the king, giving an account of his proceedings and the reasons moving him thereto. Bayard, finding his authority gone, and Nicholson the lieutenant-governor being in the same predicament, retired to Albany, where they held out against Leisler and his party. The calamitous fall and ruin of Schenectady led to the submission of the malcontents to their hated opponent, and they called on him for aid and support. The king did not answer Leisler's letter; but appointed, in 1689, Colonel Henry Sloughter as governor of New York. Sloughter, however, did not arrive till March, 1691, when he was induced by Ingoldsby, captain of the troops which had reached New York before the **1691.** new governor, to arrest Leisler and put him upon trial before his bitter enemies. By an insolent mockery of justice, Leisler and Milbourne his son-in-law and principal associate, were condemned to death as rebels and traitors. Sloughter hesitated to order the execu-

tion of a man who had distinguished himself by his zeal in the cause of king William and the Protestant succession ; but they who were bent upon Leisler's death, sought and obtained the signature of the fatal warrant when Slaughter was in his cups after dinner. Leisler's enemies plied the licentious and needy Slaughter with wine. "The carouse went on ; a cold storm of sleet and rain, such as often makes a May day miserable in our climate, raged without. But, though those charged with the fatal missive had slipped away from the revel, and conveyed it, as quietly as possible to the sheriff, yet the soldiers of Ingoldsby, who were drawn up to overawe the populace, gave note to them of the dreadful act that was about to be consummated. They thronged around the place of execution, which, I may mention—for the benefit of New Yorkers—was at the lower end of what has been since called the Park, where the spray of the Fountain has succeeded the blood-stain of the martyr. Leisler and Milbourne stood there upon the scaffold together ; and there too, within hearing of their voices, stood more than one of those who had brought them to this pass. The high spirit of Milbourne could hardly brook the insulting presence of men to whom he owed this fate of ignominy ; and, turning to one gentleman, whom he deemed personally most hostile to himself ; he exclaimed, 'Robert Livingston, I will implead thee at the bar of heaven for this deed !' "* Leisler, deeply

affected by the untimely fate of his son-in-law, died protesting his loyalty and integrity. Some years later, the bill of attainder was reversed and the estates restored to the rightful heirs ; and it is now generally conceded, that whatever of error, haste, or ignorance Leisler displayed, he himself was judicially murdered.

The king of England presuming that the northern colonies were more than a match for their French neighbors, rejected at once a proposition on the part of Louis XIV. for a neutrality between their respective colonies. There was no alternative consequently, and the war broke out with fury on both sides.

Immediately upon the declaration of war between England and France becoming known in America, the Baron Castin found it an easy task to urge the eastern Indians to hostilities. At the close of the war with Philip of Pokanoket some thirteen years before, a body of three hundred Indians had been treacherously seized and sold into slavery, after they had agreed to peace. This transaction took place at the house of Major Waldron, at **1689**. Dover, and a deep scheme was now laid by the Indians to avenge it. Suspicions of some sinister proceeding on the part of the Indians had been thrown out to Waldron, which however he only derided, merely telling those who suggested them "to go and plant their pumpkins, for he would tell them when the Indians would break out." On the very eve of the attack, being told with uneasiness that the town was full of them, he replied, "that he knew the

* See C. F. Hoffman's "*Administration of Jacob Leisler*," Sparks's American Biography, vol. iii., p. 227.

Indians very well, and there was no danger whatever." According to the common practice, during times of peace, the Indians, who traded with the inhabitants, used to seek for and obtain a night's lodging. On this evening two squaws applied for leave to sleep by the hearth, which was readily granted at Waldron's and all the other houses save one. When the household was sunk in sleep, they arose, opened the doors, and giving an appointed signal, the Indians quietly stole in, set a guard at the door, and rushed into an inner room in which the major slept. The old man, now aged eighty, aroused by the noise, started up, and seizing his sword bravely drove his assailants back through one or two apartments, until stunned by a blow from a hatchet, he was secured and dragged out, and seated in an arm chair upon the hall table. "Judge Indians now!" insultingly exclaimed his captors; and then each man drawing his knife, and scoring deep gashes across his naked breast, exclaimed—"Thus I cross out my account." Cruelly mangled, and spent with loss of blood, he rolled heavily from the table, and one of his tormentors held his own sword under him as he fell which terminated his bitter agony. Twenty others were killed; twenty-nine were carried off prisoners; and the village was burned. This was in the latter part of June, 1689. In August and September, several attacks were made on different points, as Pemaquid and Casco, which latter was repulsed by Church, the famous partisan in King Philip's war. All the settlements further east were broken up.

About the middle of October, Count Frontenac arrived in Canada, having been reappointed governor, and bringing with him the Indians who had been carried to France as prisoners, and also abundant supplies of galleys and troops. Though a man now sixty-eight years old, Count Frontenac was full of vigor and energy, and he determined to invade New York by land and sea; and accordingly he fitted out three war parties to visit upon the English the same misery and suffering which Canada had recently experienced at the hands of the Iroquois, those firm allies of the Frenchman's enemies.

Schenectady was the point first devoted to destruction. An expedition, consisting of a hundred and ten men, set out in the bitter month of January, from Cagnawaga, 1690. nearly opposite Montreal on the St. Lawrence: they were mostly converted Mohawks, under the command of French officers. For twenty-two days they toiled through the heavy snows, enduring every species of hardship, intent only on blood, until, on the 8th of February, they reached the neighborhood of Schenectady. This was a small Dutch village on the Mohawk, consisting of some forty houses, and though protected by a palisade the gates were unguarded, and at midnight the people slept profoundly. Distance from the French frontier and the severity of the winter had rendered them, as they thought, secure from attack; but they were most fearfully roused to a sense of their fatal neglect. The savage war-whoop thrilled every heart. There was no time to think of

concerted resistance. The French and Indians had stolen into the town in several bodies, the door of every dwelling was instantly beset and burst open, and amidst the shrieks of women and children every atrocity was perpetrated that the vengeful cruelty of the Indian savage could suggest. Men, women, and children fell under the tomahawk in a promiscuous massacre; sixty were killed on the spot; twenty-seven were taken prisoners; the village was set on fire; and by the flames of their own homes, the remnant, a small body of miserable half-naked fugitives, hurried away, in the midst of a driving snow-storm, towards Albany, spreading terror and confusion among the people by their account of the savage fury which had fallen upon their ruined homes.

The second war party sent out by Frontenac consisted of only fifty-two persons. They set out from Three Rivers, a village about half way from Montreal to Quebec, and made their way by the St. Francis, and the valley of the upper Connecticut to Salmon Falls, a village on the main branch of the Piscataqua. Falling suddenly upon it (March 27th) they killed most of the male inhabitants, burned their houses, and carried off fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children. These they drove before them into the wilderness, intending to sell them as slaves in Canada. The reader will understand something of the horrors of early warfare by the following extract from the narrative of a captive sufferer:—

“The Indians, when they had flogged me away along with them, took my

oldest boy, a lad of about five years of age, along with them, for he was still at the door by my side. My middle little boy, who was about three years of age, had by this time obtained a situation by the fire in the house, and was crying bitterly to me not to go, and making bitter complaints of the depredations of the savages.

“But these monsters were not willing to let the child remain behind them; they took him by the hand to drag him along with them, but he was so very unwilling to go, and made such a noise by crying, that they took him up by the feet, and dashed his brains out against the threshold of the door. They then scalped and stabbed him, and left him for dead. When I witnessed this inhuman butchery of my own child, I gave a most indescribable and terrific scream, and felt a dimness come over my eyes next to blindness, and my senses were nearly gone. The savage then gave me a blow across my head and face, and brought me to my sight and recollection again. During the whole of this agonizing scene, I kept my infant in my arms.

“As soon as their murder was effected, they marched me along to the top of the bank. Here I beheld another hard scene, for as soon as we had landed, my little boy, who was still mourning and lamenting about his little brother, and who complained that he was injured by the fall in descending the bank, *was murdered*.

“One of the Indians ordered me along, probably that I should not see the horrid deed about to be perpetrated. The other then took his

tomahawk from his side, and with this instrument of death *killed and scalped him*. When I beheld this second scene of inhuman butchery, I fell to the ground senseless, with my infant in my arms, it being under, and its little hands in the hair of my head. How long I remained in this state of insensibility I know not.

"The first thing I remember was my raising my head from the ground, and my feeling myself exceedingly overcome with sleep. I cast my eyes around, and saw the scalp of my dear little boy, fresh bleeding from his head, in the hand of one of the savages, and sunk down to the earth again, upon my infant child. The first thing I remember, after witnessing this spectacle of woe, was the severe blows I was receiving from the hands of the savages, though at this time I was unconscious of the injury I was sustaining. After a severe castigation, they assisted me in getting up, and supported me when up.

"In the morning one of them left us, to watch the trail or path we had come, to see if any white people were pursuing us. During the absence of the Indian who was the one that claimed me, the other, who remained with me, and who was the murderer of my last boy, took from his bosom his scalp and prepared a hoop, and stretched the scalp upon it. Those mothers who have not seen the like done by one of the scalps of their own children—and few, if any, ever had so much misery to endure—will be able to form but faint ideas of the feelings which then harrowed up my soul!"

While returning from this expedition, they fell in with the third war party from Quebec, and joining forces an attack was made on Casco. A part of the garrison having been destroyed, the remainder surrendered as prisoners of war.

The terror produced by these attacks on the colonies not only helped to confirm the rumors and accounts of the implacable hatred of the French Roman Catholics against all whom they esteemed as heretics, but also roused up a determined spirit of vengeance. Accordingly delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, met in New York, in May, 1690; and, following Leisler's suggestion, a plan for the conquest of Canada was re-
solved upon. A fleet and army **1690.** were to sail from Boston to attack Quebec, and nine hundred men were to be raised in Connecticut and New York, to march by land against Montreal.

Sir William Phipps, a man of little competency but considerable previous success, having visited and plundered Acadie with a small fleet and some seven or eight hundred men, was placed in command of the expedition by sea. It consisted of thirty-two vessels and two thousand men, the larger part of which were pressed into the service. Three ships sent by Leisler from New York joined this enterprise. The land forces were commanded by Winthrop, son of the late governor of Connecticut, Milbourne acting as commissary.

The result of both expeditions was singularly mortifying. Schuyler and the Iroquois who had pressed forward to Montreal were repulsed by the ef-

forts of Frontenac, and the rest of the forces advanced but little beyond Lake George, where they were stopped by the breaking out of the small-pox and scarcity of provisions. Crimination and recrimination followed the bootless errand of the land part of the attempted invasion; and Leisler was so outraged by their failure that he even arrested Winthrop at Albany.

News having been brought to Frontenac by an Indian runner from Piscataqua of the meditated attack upon Quebec, the energetic old soldier reached that stronghold just three days before the fleet, under Phipps, made its appearance before the walls. Without pilots or charts, it had been nine weeks making its way up the St. Lawrence. Phipps had calculated on surprising the place, and found it, almost impregnable by nature, already placed in a posture of defence by the vigor and activity of the veteran Frenchman. Chagrined as he was, he determined to put a bold front upon the matter, and accordingly summoned Frontenac to surrender in the name of King William of England, demanding his positive answer within an hour. The British officer who bore the summons was ushered blindfold into the presence of Frontenac and his associates in the council-room of the castle of Quebec. "Read your message," said Frontenac. Having obeyed, the Englishman laid his watch on the table with these words—"It is now ten: I wait your answer for an hour." Enraged at his presumption, the old soldier answered, "I do not acknowledge King William, and I well know that the Prince of Orange is an

usurper, who has violated the most sacred rights of blood and religion." The British officer requested that this answer should be put in writing. "I will answer your master at the cannon's mouth," replied the exasperated Frenchman, "that he may learn that a man of my rank is not to be summoned in this manner." Phipps finding that nothing could be accomplished, and that winter was now approaching, abandoned the enterprise with shame and disappointment; after losing several of his ships among the dangerous shoals of the St. Lawrence, he arrived at Boston with his damaged fleet. On his arrival, in December, the treasury was empty, and as the troops threatened a riot, the colonial government found it necessary to meet the emergency by issuing the first paper money ever used in the English colonies. (The total amount issued was about \$130,000.) Frontenac wrote home to France in triumph, and to commemorate his brave defence of Canada, the king ordered a medal to be struck with this inscription: "*Francia in novo orbe victrix: Kebeca Liberata.*—A. D. M.D.C.X.C.," while a church was built in the lower town, and dedicated to "Notre Dame de la Victoire." Not long after a French fleet restored Acadie to its original possessors.

It would seem as if this desolating struggle were of itself calamity enough for New York and Massachusetts, and yet both these colonies were witnesses of tragic scenes and events, even more deplorable than the sanguinary ravages of combined French and Indian ferocity. The tragic end of Leisler's career we have already narrated, when there was

poured out the blood of the first political martyr on the soil of New York. Massachusetts, worn down by her previous military efforts, was exposed to frequent incursions. Sir William Phipps, in 1692, returned from England, where he had gone to solicit an expedition against Quebec, with the new charter of Massachusetts and his commission as governor. In some respects the charter was gratifying, and in others not at all so. The extent of the province was very considerably increased; the governor was to be appointed by the crown with a veto power on the acts of the General Court; to the king was reserved the power of annulling any law within three years after its passage: and toleration was secured to all except papists, thus giving a death-blow to the theocratic absolutism which had so long prevailed. Plymouth was joined to Massachusetts, and New Hampshire separated from it, in both cases contrary to their wishes. Phipps found on his arrival not only many and severe trials awaiting him, in consequence of the continued inroads from Canada and the heavy expenses of the war, but alas, other and more terrible trials, the very account of which appears to be almost incredible.

A belief in witchcraft was at this date very prevalent in England, and it was adjudged a capital offence, particularly by a statute of James I., who had himself written a treatise on the art of detecting witches. During the Long Parliament, a vast number of persons fell victims to the popular delusion. Shortly after the Restoration, Sir Mat-

thew Hale, revered no less in the colonies than the mother country for piety and wisdom, had adjudged to death two poor old women in Suffolk, for this supposed crime. Witch stories and printed narratives were widely current. It need not excite surprise, then, that a people like that of New England, whose temperament was naturally serious, to whom every incident of life was looked upon as a special providence, and who were filled with a large measure of faith in spiritual influences and manifestations, should have been ready to embrace a delusion of this kind.

Notwithstanding the general impression in favor of the reality of witchcraft, it had been many years now since any execution had taken place for this offence. In 1688, however, while Andros was still governor, four children of pious parents in Boston suddenly began to display every appearance of having been bewitched. The eldest, a girl of thirteen, had charged an Irish servant girl with stealing, a charge which was bitterly resented by the girl's mother. Soon after, to revenge herself, as it would seem, upon the old Irishwoman, the girl and three younger children took occasion to bark like dogs, or purr like cats, to scream and shout, or appear to be deaf, blind, or dumb. Cotton Mather, a man of multitudinous learning, but very vain, credulous, and fanatically inclined, in company with other ministers, kept a day of fasting and prayer, and succeeded in relieving the youngest child. The others persevered and accused the old woman of bewitching them. She

was apprehended and put on trial, and though it seems almost certain that she was more than half crazy or silly, yet the physicians having certified her sanity she was condemned and executed. Cotton Mather took the eldest girl home to his house, where she continued to act in the same extraordinary manner. The credulous divine set himself seriously to study this subject, and then put forth a sermon and narrative under the title of "Memorable Providences relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions." "There are multitudes of Sadducees, in our days," says the commendatory preface, signed by the other four ministers of Boston, "and we shall come, in the opinion of these mighty acute philosophers, to credit nothing but what we can see and feel. How much this fond opinion hath gotten ground in this debauched age is awfully observable. God is therefore pleased, besides his witness borne to this truth in sacred writ, to suffer devils to do such things in the world, as shall stop the mouths of gainsayers and extort a confession from them." The book was republished in England and Richard Baxter even was led to preface it and give in his adhesion to the truth of these wonderful stories. The girl who had given rise to all this does not seem to have attracted attention for any length of time, and, so far as appears, became soon after very much like other perverse and troublesome children of her age.

But the matter was by no means to end here. The seed had been sown and the fruit was not long in coming to maturity. Nearly four years after the

case noted above, three young girls in the family of Mr. Parris, minister of Salem—now Danvers—**1692.** began to act in a way which, the doctors declared, showed that they were bewitched. Tituba, an old Indian servant, who had used some superstitious rites to discover the witch, was herself accused by the children, and being well scourged by her master, confessed herself the guilty agent. A fast day was appointed by the neighboring ministers, among whom appeared Cotton Mather, glorying in the confirmation of his previous statements. The excitement rapidly spread—the girls accused others—the ministers implicitly received their statements. The divisions among the people of Parris's congregation, if indeed they did not prompt to accusations wilfully false, at least facilitated the belief of them. Parris selected for his Sunday's text the words, "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil?" At this a sister of one of the accused, being offended, rose up and left the place, and was herself immediately denounced and sent to prison as an accomplice.

Matters began to look very serious. So much importance was attached to what had taken place, that in April the deputy governor—this was before Phipps's arrival—proceeded to Salem, and with five other magistrates held a court in the meeting-house. Parris, acting as both clerk and accuser, was very diligent in hunting out witches and suggesting fresh accusations. The afflicted were placed on one hand, and the accused on the other, the latter being held by the arms lest they should

inflict torment on the former, who declared themselves haunted by their spectres, and solicited to subscribe a covenant with the devil, and on their refusal pricked and injured. The husband of Elizabeth Procter, one of the accused, having boldly accompanied her into court, the possessed cried out upon him also. "There is Goodman Procter going to take up Mrs. Pope's feet!" cries one of them, and "her feet are immediately taken up." "He is going to Mrs. Pope!" cries another, and "straightway Mrs. Pope falls into fits." One Bishop, a farmer, had brought round a possessed servant by the application of a horsewhip, and had rashly hinted that he could with the like remedy cure the whole company of the afflicted. For this scoffing, as it was denounced, he soon found himself in prison. Between fanaticism and terror the minds of the accused appear to have become unhinged; many, staggered by the results ascribed to their agency, for a while believed themselves, it would seem, to be what they were called; and others, finding no safety but in confession, gave fraudulent and circumstantial narratives of interviews with the devil, and of riding through the air on a broomstick; and these confessions, reacting upon minds already fully persuaded of the reality of the crime, tended to fortify them still further in their delusion, and to give birth to a still widening circle of accusations and confessions. By the time that Governor Phipps arrived, there were nearly a hundred persons already in prison, and the excitement was still rapidly on the increase.

The new governor, who was very considerably under the influence of Increase Mather and his son Cotton Mather, proceeded vigorously in the work which he found ready to his hands. He put the prisoners in irons, and organized a special court for the trial of cases, with Stoughton, the lieutenant governor as president. In the beginning of June, the court assembled, and in a few days ordered for hanging an old woman, convicted on evidence such as we have noted above, evidence—if the word be not prostituted by this use of it—which to people in the possession of their senses, seems to be the perfection of nonsense and absurdity. At a second session of the court, June 30th, five women were tried and convicted. One of these, Rebecca Nurse, a woman of excellent character, was acquitted at first, but at the outcry of the accuser, was condemned and hung with the rest. Some few dared to resist and hurl defiance at their accusers. "You are a witch, you know you are!" said minister Noyes to Sarah Good. "You are a liar!" was the indignant retort; "and if you take my life God will give you blood to drink!" But most of those accused made confession or set afloat new accusations.

At the third session of the court, early in August, six prisoners were tried and convicted, the husband of Elizabeth Procter and John Willard being of the number. The conduct of Willard and Procter, at the time of execution, was well calculated to arouse a maddened and deluded community to reflection. The case of Burroughs is very remarkable. He was himself a

minister, but had for some reason become unpopular both with his flock and his fellow-ministers, whose convictions and self-conceit he had wounded, by declaring his entire disbelief in the possibility of the crime for which they were putting so many to death. Among other things, he was accused of displaying preternatural strength—of course through the assistance of the devil. He staggered, however, the more reasonable portion of the crowd present at his execution, by solemnly and fervently repeating the Lord's Prayer, which it was supposed no wizard could do. The tears of the spectators began to flow, and they gave signs of rising to stop the execution, but the dangerous sympathy was arrested by Cotton Mather, who, riding to and fro, carefully reminded them that Burroughs was not an "ordained" minister, and that to deceive the unwary, Satan often put on the appearance of an angel of light.

At the next two sessions of the court, in September, fourteen women and one man were sentenced to death. One old man of eighty refused to plead, and by that horrible decree of the common law, was pressed to death. Although it was evident that confession was the only safety in most of cases, some few had courage to retract their confessions: some eight of these were sent to execution. Twenty persons had already been put to death; eight more were under sentence; the jails were full of prisoners; and new accusations were made every day. In such a state of things the court adjourned to the first Monday in November.

A reaction, however, ere long took

place. The accusations began to assume too serious and sweeping a shape to permit them much longer to be entertained, since even the ministers and those in highest place in state and church were marked out as guilty of this crime. Many who had confessed had courage to recant. Having been, as they said, suddenly seized as prisoners, and "by reason of the sudden surprisal amazed and affrighted out of their reason, and exhorted by their nearest relatives to confess, as the only means of saving their lives, they were thus persuaded into compliance. And indeed the confession was no other than what was suggested to them by some gentlemen, who, telling them that they were witches and that they knew they were so, *made them think it was so*; and their understandings, their reason, their faculties, almost gone, they were incapable of judging of their condition; and being moreover prevented by hard measures from making their defence, they confessed to any thing and every thing required of them." The scales began to fall from the eyes of a deluded people. Remonstrances now poured in against condemning persons of exemplary lives upon the idle accusations of children; the evident partiality of the judges, their cruel methods of compelling confessions, their total disregard of recantations however sincere, at length appeared in their true light. On the opening of the next court, in January, 1693, the grand jury dismissed the greater part of the cases, **1693.** and those who had already been sentenced to death were reprieved, and ultimately released. Mather was as-

tonished and confounded at this so unlooked-for result, and, although he admitted that "the most critical and exquisite caution" was required in discriminating on this subject, inasmuch as the devil might assume the appearance of an innocent person; yet he stoutly contended for the reality of the crime, and the justice which had been dealt both to those who were really guilty, and also those who, by confessing falsely, had only got what they deserved. He strove hard to discover fresh cases, but received a mortifying check from the efforts of one Robert Calef, a citizen of Boston, "a coal sent from hell to blacken him, a malignant, calumnious, and reproachful man," whose stubborn common sense persisted in denying the existence of the crime, and who especially provoked Cotton Mather's ire by exposing the imposture of a girl visited by the Mathers as an "afflicted" one, and readily imposing upon the learned but credulous ministers. Some two years after, a circular was sent out inviting reports of apparitions and the like; but, as Cotton Mather laments, there was hardly, in ten years, half that number of responses to his application.

Thus this fearful scourge was removed, and heresy and blasphemy, together with witchcraft, ceased to appear as capital crimes on the statute book of Massachusetts. No more lives were sacrificed, and although the Mathers, Stoughton, and others,* do not appear

* "The inexorable indignation of the people of Salem village, drove Parris from the place; Noyes regained favor only by a full confession, asking forgiveness always, and consecrating the remainder of

to have changed their views as to the work in which they had been engaged, and though some eminent European opinions helped to confirm them in their cherished sentiments on this subject, yet a number of the prominent actors did express deep contrition: no more blood was shed; no more horrible cruelty was practised on accusations of witchcraft. "Thus terminated," says Grahame, "a scene of fury and delusion that justly excited the astonishment of the civilized world, and exhibited a fearful picture of the weakness of human nature in the sudden transformation of a people renowned over all the earth for piety and virtue into the slaves or associates, the terrified dupes or helpless prey, of a band of ferocious lunatics and assassins."*

The frontier warfare, meanwhile, continued with unsparing severity on both sides. Indian cunning, treachery, and cruelty were all urged on and directed by French science and skill. "To these causes of suffering," says Dr. Dwight, in an interesting passage in his *Travels*, "were superadded the power of all such motives as the ingenuity of the French could invent, their wealth furnish, or

his life to deeds of mercy. Sewall, one of the judges, by the frankness and sincerity of his undisguised confession, recovered public esteem. Stoughton and Cotton Mather never repented. The former lived proud, unsatisfied, and unbeloved; the latter attempted to persuade others and himself, that he had not been specially active in the tragedy. But the public mind would not be deceived. His diary proves that he did not wholly escape the rising impeachment from the monitor within; and Cotton Mather, who had sought the foundation of faith in tales of wonders, himself 'had temptations to atheism, and to the abandonment of all religion as a mere delusion.'"—Bancroft's *History of the United States*, vol. iii., p. 98.

* *History of the Colonies*, vol. i., p. 281.

their bigotry adopt. Here all the implements of war and the means of sustenance were supplied; the expedition was planned; the price was bidden for scalps; the aid of European officers and soldiers was conjoined; the devastation and slaughter were sanctioned by the ministers of religion; and the blood-hounds, while their fangs were yet dropping blood, were caressed and cherished by men regarded by them as superior beings. The intervals between formal attacks were usually seasons of desultory mischief, plunder, and butchery; and always of suspense and dread. The solitary family was carried into captivity; the lonely house burnt to the ground; and the traveller waylaid and shot in the forest. It ought, however, to be observed, to the immortal honor of these people, distinguished as they are by so many traits of brutal ferocity, that history records no instance in which the purity of a female captive was violated by them, or even threatened." The veteran Colonel Church was engaged in retaliatory expeditions, in which indiscriminate slaughter was practised with as little compunction as by the French and Indians. In 1694, the settlement at Oyster River

1694. in New Hampshire—the present town of Durham—was attacked, and nearly a hundred persons killed or made captives of. Two years subsequently, in 1696, D'Iberville, a distinguished Canadian naval officer, arrived from France with two ships and some troops, and having been joined by the party under command of Villebon and the Baron St. Castin, in August, 1696, laid siege to and took the fort at

Pemaquid. The loss of the fort occasioned the breaking up of all the old settlements in the neighborhood. D'Iberville, in the spring of 1697, sailed for Hudson's Bay, recovered a fort from the English, and captured two English vessels. In March, 1697, the savages fell upon Haverhill, in Massachusetts, and killed or carried into captivity some forty persons. The heroism of Mrs. Dustin is honorably commemorated in our early history. Only a week before, she had become a mother. The nurse, trying to escape with the new-born infant, fell into the

1697. hands of the savages, who, rushing into the house, bade the mother arise instantly, while they plundered the house and afterwards set it on fire. They then hurried her away before them, together with a number of other captives, but ere they had gone many steps, dashed out the brains of the infant against a tree. The mother's heart would have sunk, but she thought of her surviving children, and summoned up strength to march before the savages towards the Canadian frontier. She saw her companions, as they sunk one by one with exhaustion, brained by the tomahawk of the savages, and their scalps taken as trophies to the Christian governor of Canada. After sojourning, in prayerfulness and anguish of spirit, with the Indian family to which she was allotted, she pursued with them her onward course towards an Indian rendezvous, where, as she was told, she would have to run the gauntlet through a row of savage tormentors. A desperate resolution took possession of her mind: might she not lawfully slay the

murderers of her babe, effect thus her own deliverance, and rejoin her husband and children, if haply they were yet alive? One night, when now more than a hundred miles from Haverhill, having prevailed upon the nurse and a boy, also a prisoner, to join her, this brave woman arose, and with only such help as this, dispatched all the Indians with their own hatchets, except two of the youngest, took their scalps, and retraced the long journey through the woods back to Haverhill.

Through such trying scenes as these, were the mothers of our people called upon to pass.

Frontenac still continued his struggle with the Iroquois. Although now seventy-four years old, he personally conducted an expedition, and carried the wars into the territory of the Onondagas and Oneidas, cutting up their corn, and burning their villages. It was a melancholy spectacle to see a man of noble descent, and of heroic spirit, himself near the end of life, giving his sanction to torture an Indian prisoner, a hundred years old, with all the refinements of savage cruelty! "A most singular spectacle indeed it was," says Charlevoix "to see upwards of four

hundred tormentors raging about a decrepit old man, from whom, by all their tortures, they could not extract a single groan, and who, as long as he lived, did not cease to reproach them with being slaves of the French, of whom he affected to speak with the utmost disdain. On receiving at last his death-stroke, he exclaimed, 'Why shorten my life? better improve this opportunity of learning how to die like a man!'

The last year of the war was very trying. A severe winter and very great scarcity of provisions were aggravated by a constant apprehension of attack on Boston by a French fleet; but happily no result came of this expedition; and towards ^{1697.} the close of 1697, the peace of Ryswick was proclaimed, and the first intercolonial war was brought to an end.

Each party, by the terms of the treaty, retained the territories possessed before the war, thus leaving the colonial dependencies of both nations in much the same position as they were antecedent to the severe struggle, save that a spirit of deadly hatred had been engendered, which was ready to break out into active cruelty at any favorable moment

CHAPTER II.

1696—1748.

NEW ENGLAND: SECOND AND THIRD INTERCOLONIAL WARS.

Board of Trade and Plantations — Enforcement of acts — Lord Bellamont governor of Massachusetts — His address and popularity — Piracy — Bellamont's death — Dudley his successor — Dispute about the salary of the governor — Second intercolonial war — Preparations — Indians under De Rouville — Deerfield and Haverhill massacres — Expedition against Canada — Unsuccessful — Annapolis taken — Expedition under Walker — Combined attack projected — Failure and loss — Feelings of the colonists — Results of the peace of Utrecht — Parties on the subject of currency and commerce — Public bank in majority — Colonel Shute governor — Disputes — Piracy suppressed — Small pox and inoculation — Burnet governor — Dispute about the salary — Appeal to the king — Language of the Board of Trade — Belcher successor of Burnet — Colonists victorious in the salary dispute — Troubles on the frontier — Rasles and Norridgewock Indians — Lovewell — Retaliation — The New England Courant — Franklin — Belcher displaced — Shirley appointed governor — A popular magistrate — Boundary disputes with New Hampshire, Maine, and Rhode Island settled — Third intercolonial war — Capture of Louisburg — Spirit of the Bostonians — Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Just before the peace of Ryswick, on the complaint of English merchants that the acts of trade had been violated

1696. by the colonists, there was established the BOARD OF TRADE AND PLANTATIONS. "This was a permanent commission, consisting of a president and seven members, known as 'Lords of Trade,' who succeeded to the authority and oversight hitherto exercised by plantation committees of the Privy Council. Subsequently the powers of this Board were somewhat curtailed, but down to the period of the American Revolution it continued to exercise a general oversight of the colonies, watching the Assemblies with a jealous eye, struggling hard to uphold the prerogatives of the king and the authority of parliament, laboring to strengthen the hands of the royal governors, and systematically to carry out the policy of rendering America completely subservient to the narrow

views which then prevailed of the commercial interests of the mother country."* Accordingly the acts of trade were urged anew, and the hands of all revenue officers in the colonies strengthened: vice admiralty courts were also established, with the right of appeal to the king in council.

Lord Bellamont, an Irish nobleman of agreeable manners and polished demeanor, was appointed to the governorship of Massachusetts, the duties of which office, after the death of Phipps in 1695, had been discharged by Stoughton, lieutenant governor. Lord Bellamont having left New York, arrived in Boston in May, 1699, and by his address soon succeeded in gaining the good will of all parties. In imitation of the practice of the Irish lord lieutenant, Bellamont

* Hildreth' "History of the United States," vol. ii., p. 197.

opened the General Court with formal speeches, copies of which were delivered to the two Houses and afterward printed. We give an extract or two, as illustrating the style and manner of proceeding, as well as the sentiments of the new governor. His first speech, a very long one by the by, concluded in these terms: "I should be wanting to you and myself too, if I did not put you in mind of the indispensable duty and respect we owe the king, for being the glorious instrument of our deliverance from the odious fetters and chains of popery and tyranny, which have almost overwhelmed our consciences and subverted all our civil rights. There is something that is godlike in what the king hath done for us. The works of redemption and preservation come next to that of creation. I would not be misunderstood, so as to be thought to rob God of the glory of that stupendous act of his providence, in bringing to pass the late happy and wonderful revolution in England. His blessed work it was, without doubt, and He was pleased to make King William, immediately, the author and instrument of it. Ever since the year 1602, England has had a succession of kings, who have been aliens in this respect, that they have not fought our battles nor been in our interests, but have been, in an unnatural manner plotting and contriving to undermine and subvert our religion, laws, and liberties, till God was pleased, by His infinite power and mercy and goodness, to give us a true English king in the person of his present majesty, who has, upon all occasions, hazarded his royal person in

the fronts of our battles, and where there was most danger; he has restored to our nation the almost lost character of bravery and valor; and, what is most valuable of all, his majesty is entirely in the interest of his people. It is therefore our duty and interest to pray to God, in the most fervent manner, that He would bless our great King William with a long and prosperous reign over us, to which I am persuaded, you that are present and all good people will heartily say, Amen." His last speech has more in the same strain: "The parting with Canada to the French, and the eastern country called Acadia or Nova Scotia, with the noble fishery on that coast, were most execrable treacheries to England, and intended, without doubt, to serve the ends of popery. It is too well known what interest that king favored who parted with Nova Scotia, and of what religion he died."

The noted pirates or buccaneers having been deprived of French and English support, by the remonstrances of Spain, were compelled in a great measure to give up their lawless mode of life. Some of them settled at the west end of Hayti; others stuck to the old trade, and in various places they were received and even winked at by the colonial authorities. A company was formed, King William himself taking shares, to cruise for **1697.** recapturing the rich prizes which the pirates had made. Curiously enough as it seems to us now, the famous Captain Kidd, was put in command of a ship fitted out for this purpose. Kidd, at that time, bore a good character;

but the temptation appears to have been too great, and so he turned pirate himself. As it was an object to seize on Kidd, Lord Bellamont was charged

1698. with the duty of accomplishing it if he could find him. His

own reputation and that of several of his friends depended upon his seizure, that being the only effectual way of removing the jealousies and sharp surmises, not only against several of the ministry but even the king himself. Kidd having buried his treasures on

the east end of Long Island,

1700. burned his ship, and was daring enough to appear openly in Boston. He was arrested, sent to England for trial, where, with Bradish and others, he was executed.

Bellamont by his prudent course succeeded in obtaining a vote for a more liberal salary than any of his predecessors or successors, for the General Court voted him about \$9,000 for the fourteen months he was with them. But he was not able to prevail upon them to rebuild the fort at Pemaquid, or pass ordinances enforcing the acts of trade. A like unwillingness to be shackled in their commercial interests operated in Rhode Island and Connecticut, and caused Bellamont a great deal of trouble and vexation. In 1701,

1701. while in New York and engaged in pretty sharp controversy growing out of the navigation act, Lord Bellamont suddenly died.

Joseph Dudley, an ambitious, but by no means a popular man, obtained the appointment of governor from the king. Having received his commission from Queen Anne, who succeeded Wil-

liam on the throne, Dudley reached Boston in 1702. In his first speech to the Council and Assembly, he in-

formed them that he was com- **1702.**

manded by her majesty to observe to them, "that there is no other province or government belonging to the crown of England, except this, where there is not provided a fit and convenient house for the reception of the governor, and a settled stated salary for the governor, lieutenant governor, secretary, judges, and all other officers; which, therefore, is recommended to you. And since this province is so particularly favored by the crown, in more instances than one, their more ready obedience is justly expected in this and all other occasions." The House, in their answer the

next day, observed, "As for those points which, in obedience to her majesty's command, your excellency has laid before this House, we shall proceed with all convenient speed to the consideration of them." Having resolved that the sum of £500 be at this time presented out of the public treasury to the governor, the House, in their answer to some parts of his speech, observed,

"As to settling a salary for the governor, it is altogether new to us; nor can we think it agreeable to our present constitution, but we shall be ready to do according to our ability, what may be proper on our part for the support of the government." The sturdy Bostonians had no intention of saddling themselves with any such burdens as these. Dudley could not bring them to the point, and indeed from this time it became a fruitful source of contention between the governor and the

colonists as to their respective rights and privileges.

The disputes between France and England relative to the "Spanish succession" brought on a second inter-colonial war, and involved the colonists

not only with the French in the **1701.** north, but with the Spaniards, also, in Florida. Active preparations were made in Canada, in 1702, for renewing the contest, and the settlements in Maine were furiously attacked. The colonists had already provoked hostilities by plundering

the half-breed son of Baron **1703.** Castin, on the Penobscot. The eastern Indians, wholly under French influence, were easily roused to seek revenge. Accordingly a body of two hundred Canadians and a hundred and fifty Indians, under the command of Hertelle

de Rouville, in March, 1704, descended the Connecticut and stole upon the village of Deerfield, in the dead of a wintry night, while the sentinels were all asleep, and the snow-drifts piled high rendered it an easy thing to scale the palisade. The village was burned, nearly fifty of the inhabitants murdered, and a hundred more driven through the snow-covered forests to Canada, a distance of about three hundred miles. As the women and children sunk with fatigue, their sufferings were ended by the tomahawk. In reprisal for these atrocities the English offered a premium of—on an average—\$100 for the scalps of the Indians, and the whole frontier was a scene of bloody and barbarous recrimination. So difficult, however, was it to succeed in taking an Indian that it

was calculated that every Indian scalp brought in during this war cost the colony over \$3,000.

This same De Rouville, in 1708, set forth on another predatory expedition, with the view of surprising Portsmouth, but not being able to obtain some expected reinforcements, fell again upon the little village of Haverhill. With that astonishing bigotry and fanaticism of the day, thinking that they were doing God service, they went through their devotions, then entered the village a little before sunrise, **1708.**

and began the wonted work of destruction. Fifty of the inhabitants were killed by the hatchet, or burned in the flames of their own homesteads. The first panic having subsided, a bold defence was made. Davis, an intrepid man, concealed himself behind a barn, and by beating violently on it, and calling out to his imaginary succors, "Come on! Come on!" as if already on the spot, succeeded in alarming the invaders. Here occurred another remarkable instance of female energy and heroism, called forth by the terrible emergencies of the period. One Swan, and his wife, seeing two Indians approach their dwelling, to save themselves and children, planted themselves against the narrow doorway, and maintained it with desperate energy against them, till their strength began to fail. The husband, unable to bear the pressure, cried to his wife that it was useless any longer to resist, but she, seeing but one of the half-naked Indians was already forcing himself into the doorway, seized a sharp-pointed spit, drove it with her whole strength into his body, and

thus compelled himself and his fellow savage to retreat. The alarm being given, it was with some difficulty that the invaders contrived to effect their escape from the scene of their barbarous assault.

Dudley having obtained information of the weakness of Canada, prevailed upon Rhode Island and New Hampshire to join in an enterprise

1707. against the French. The expedition consisted of a thousand men, and was directed against Port Royal; but they were not able to reduce the fort. Having burned and ravaged in every direction, and having failed in a second attack on the citadel, they were compelled to abandon the enterprise. An

1708. earnest petition was made at this time (1708) to Queen Anne, to terminate this "consuming war" of little less than twenty years' duration, by the final conquest of all the French possessions. All the northern States joined in raising and equipping troops, and agents were sent over to urge the coöperation of the English Government. Their application was successful, and two English ships of war, with five hundred marines on board, appeared in the harbor of Boston.

1710. With a considerable force raised by the colonists, they proceeded, under the command of Nicholson, to invest Port Royal, which was in no condition to offer a protracted resistance. The French were obliged to capitulate, and the conquered fortress, in honor of the English queen, received the name of *Annapolis*, which it has ever since retained. With the exception of the inhabitants within a circuit of three

miles, all others were exposed to plunder and ill usage at the caprice of the captors; and the proposition was even made to drive them from their homes "unless they would turn Protestants."

Nicholson, who had gone to England, returned again in June, **1711.**

1711, and brought with him the important information that a large armament was under way for the subjugation of Canada. A few weeks afterwards a fleet of fifteen ships of war, commanded by Sir Hovenden Walker, with forty transports, and five regiments of veterans of Marlborough's troops, arrived at Boston. Delayed rather vexatiously, it was not till the last of July that the expedition, with seven thousand men on board, sailed against Quebec. Nichol-

1711. son repaired to Albany, to take the command of a large body of troops that were to proceed by land to attack Montreal. When the fleet had advanced ten leagues up the river St. Lawrence, the weather became tempestuous and foggy. A difference of opinion arose concerning the course to be pursued; the English pilots recommending one course, and the colonial another. The admiral, like most English officers, preferred the advice of his own to that of the colonial pilots. Pursuing the course they recommended during the night, eight transports were driven upon the rocks and dashed to pieces. From every quarter cries of distress arose, conveying through the darkness, to those who were yet afloat, intelligence of the fate of their comrades, and of their own danger. The shrieks of the drowning pleaded powerfully for assist-

ance, but none could be afforded until the morning dawned, when six or seven hundred, found floating on the scattered wrecks, were rescued from death, nearly a thousand having sunk to rise no more. Chagrined by this terrible disaster, the admiral sailed away as fast as possible for England, where he arrived in the month of October. The New England troops returned to their homes, and Nicholson, having learned the fate of the fleet, led back his troops to Albany. The indignation of the colonists knew no bounds, and they unsparingly denounced those who had caused the failure of the expedition, and involved them in this heavy and disgraceful expense and loss.

The treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, put an end to the second intercolonial war.

So far as America was concerned **1713.** the colonists obtained considerable advantages, inasmuch as there was yielded to them the entire possession of Hudson's Bay and the fur trade, the whole of Newfoundland, the French having certain privileges in the fisheries, and the territory of Acadie, which received the name of *NOVA SCOTIA*.

The affairs of the war had so engaged public attention, that we hear little of party disputes for five or six years; but as soon as they were delivered from enemies without, a contention began within, the effects of which were felt for many years together. The paper bills of credit were the cause of this contention: so many of which had been issued for the charges of the war—particularly the large sum of £40,000, issued for the Canada expedition—that they were

become the instrument and measure of commerce, and silver and gold were hardly at all to be obtained. The price of every thing bought or sold consequently, was no longer compared with gold or silver, but with the paper bills, or rather with mere ideal pounds, shillings, and pence. The rise of exchange with England and all other countries, was not attributed to the true cause, the want of a fixed staple medium, but to the general bad state of the trade; and it was thought by many that increasing the paper bills would enliven and increase trade.

Three parties grew out of the difference of views on this question. One was very small, and advocated the drawing in the paper bills and depending upon silver and gold currency. Mr. Hutchinson, one of the members for Boston, was among the most active of this party. He was an enemy, all his life, to a depreciating currency, upon a principle very ancient, but too seldom practised upon—*nil utile quod non honestum*: “nothing is advantageous which is not honest.”

Another party was very numerous. These projected issuing bills of credit, which all the members of the company promised to receive as money, but at no certain value compared with silver and gold; and real estates, to a sufficient value, were to be bound as a security that the company should perform their engagements. They solicited the sanction of the General Court, and an act of government to incorporate them. This party consisted, for the most part, of persons in difficult or involved circumstances in trade, or such

as were possessed of real estates, but had little or no ready money at command, or men of no substance at all; and we may well enough suppose the party to be very numerous.

A third party, though opposed to the plan just stated, yet were no enemies to bills of credit. They were in favor of a loan of bills from the government to any of the inhabitants who would mortgage their estates as a security for the repayment of the bills with interest, in a term of years, the interest to be paid annually, and applied to the support of government. The principal men of the Council were in favor of it, and it being thought by the first party the less of the two evils, they fell in with the scheme, and, after that, the question was between a public or a private bank. The legislature was nearly equally divided, but rather favored a private bank, from the great influence of the Boston members in the House, and a great number of persons of the town, out of it. The controversy spread widely, and divided towns, parishes, and private families.

In 1714, after an exhausting struggle, the public bank gained the majority,

1714. "and £50,000 in provincial bills of credit were issued on that scheme, and distributed among the counties in the ratio of their taxes, to be put into the hands of trustees, and lent out in sums from £50, to £500, on mortgages, reimbursable in five annual installments."

Queen Anne's death, August 1, 1714, led to a change in the governorship. A certain Colonel Burgess was appointed, but being in rather needy circum-

stances he was bought off for about \$5,000, and Colonel Shute, who had served under Marlborough, was made governor. Shute arrived in Massachusetts in October 1716, and immediately took the side of the party in favor of the public bank. Of course the other party opposed his measures, Elisha Cooke acting as their leader. Cooke was elected speaker by the House in 1720; but the governor vetoed the choice and dissolved the Court. Embittered feeling on both sides was the consequence; and Shute, disgusted with his post, suddenly left the province in 1722, Dummer, the lieutenant governor, taking the guidance of affairs for the next six years.

Piracy having again become troublesome in the American waters, it was determined to make a vigorous effort effectually to suppress it. Bellamy, one of the most noted of the pirates, was wrecked on Cape Cod, where he perished with a hundred of his men. A few who escaped were seized and hung at Boston. The famous "Black-beard," or John Theach, who used to lurk about Pamlico River, was taken after a desperate resistance; and Steed Bonnet, the chief of a band of pirates who sought refuge on the coast about Cape Fear, was taken, and with forty or more of his men, was executed. In 1723, a commission of admiralty in session at Newport condemned to death nearly thirty more of these lawless depredators. Thus, by the vigor of the colonists, piracy soon lost its terror to those honestly engaged in the pursuits of commerce.

Towards the close of the year 1721, the small-pox broke out in Boston and caused wide spread alarm.

1721. Through the influence of Cotton Mather, Dr. Boylston of that city was prevailed upon to try the process of inoculation. It was violently opposed, and every species of abuse was resorted to in order to put a stop to the new practice. The Mathers took a noble stand against the ignorant prejudice of the community, and the success of inoculation ere long silenced opposition. It was at this very date that Lady Mary Wortley Montague introduced the same practice into England, having learned its value among the Turks.

William Burnet, an amiable and correct man, came from New York in July, **1728.** 1728, as the successor of Shute in the chief magistracy. In his opening speech he informed the House that he was directed to insist upon their fixing a permanent salary for the governor. This renewed the old contest. The House was not at all unwilling to vote money, but they were resolute on the point of yielding a fixed salary. They appropriated £1,700, of which £1,400 was for salary, and £300 for the expenses of the governor's journey. Burnet accepted the latter, but declared positively that he could not, and would not, accept the grant on account of salary. Persisting in their refusal to accede to his demands, the governor, on the 24th of October, adjourned the Assembly to the 31st, to meet at Salem, "where prejudices had not taken root, and where of consequence his majesty's ser-

vice would in all probability be better answered" than in the town of Boston. With a dry sort of humor, which helps to relieve such contentions as these of their tediousness, Burnet remarked, that very possibly there might be a charm in the names of places; and that really, with gentlemen of their stamp, he was at a loss whether to carry them to Salem or to Concord. As there seemed to be a fixed determination on the part of the governor, despite their remonstrances, to keep them in session until they yielded, the House resolved to present a memorial to the king, setting forth the reasons of their conduct in relation to the salary. They informed his majesty, that "it is, and has been very well known in this, as well as other nations and ages, that governors, at a distance from the prince, or seat of government, have great opportunities, and sometimes too prevailing inclinations, to oppress the people; and it is almost impossible for the prince, who is the most careful father of his subjects, to have such matters set in a true light." This address was referred to the Board of Trade, before whom there was a hearing in behalf of the crown, as well as on the part of the House. The Board condemned the conduct of the latter, in refusing to comply with the royal instructions; and in the conclusion of the report to the king and council, manifested an extreme jealousy of the growing power and wealth of Massachusetts, and of the possible, or even probable, determination of its inhabitants to become independent of the crown. "The inhabitants," say the Board, "far from

making suitable returns to his majesty for the extraordinary privileges they enjoy, are daily endeavoring to wrest the small remains of power out of the hands of the crown, and to become independent of the mother kingdom. The nature of the soil and products are much the same with those of Great Britain, the inhabitants upwards of ninety-four thousand, and their militia, consisting of sixteen regiments of foot and fifteen troops of horse, in the year 1718, fifteen thousand men; and by a medium taken from the naval officers' accounts for three years, from the 24th of June, 1714, to the 24th of June, 1717, for the ports of Boston and Salem only, it appears that the trade of this country employs continually no less than three thousand four hundred and ninety-three sailors, and four hundred and ninety-two ships, making twenty-five thousand four hundred and six tons. Hence your excellencies will be apprised of what importance it is to his majesty's service that so powerful a colony should be restrained within due bounds of obedience to the crown, and more firmly attached to the interests of Great Britain than they now seem to be, which, we conceive, cannot effectually be done without the interposition of the British legislature, wherein, in our humble opinion, no time should be lost."

Fretted and worried by this controversy, Governor Burnet was seized with
1729. a fever which terminated fatally on the 7th of September, 1729. Jonathan Belcher, at the time agent for the colony in England, was appointed his successor. The same charge

was laid upon him to arrange for a permanent salary; but he met with no more success than his predecessor; and not long after he accepted the annual grants which the House was willing to make. Thus the unfaltering firmness of the colonists triumphed over all attempts to coerce them into submission on this point. **1732.**

While these disputes between the governor and the people were in progress, fresh troubles arose on the eastern frontier. As was natural, the question of the boundary between the English and French territory was fruitful in trouble. The Massachusetts people looked with no pleasant feelings upon the Jesuit mission on the Penobscot, and were ready to make encroachments upon the Indian lands whenever opportunity offered. It was determined to seize Rasles, the Jesuit missionary at Norridgewock, on the plea of his exciting the Indians to hostility. The expedition was partially successful: **1722.**

Rasles escaped capture at the time; but two years later, in a sudden attack, he was killed, with some thirty Indians, and both the chapel and the village were burned and completely broken up. Following the example of the French, the government offered a large premium for scalps. This excited the cupidity of John Lovewell, a noted partisan of that day, to raise a
1725. company of hunters. He carried on his operations with success, surprised and killed ten Indians near the head of Salmon Falls River, and entered Dover in triumph, with the scalps hooped and elevated on poles. A few months later he met his death

on a second expedition. Near the head of the Saco he fell into an ambush, and was shot on the first fire with eight of his men; the survivors fought bravely through the whole day, repulsed the Indians, and at length made good their retreat. The Indians retaliated by burning frontier villages and farms. At the Gut of Canso they seized seventeen fishing vessels, belonging to Massachusetts; but they were speedily compelled to relinquish them with severe loss to the Indian captors. This dispute, which had well nigh involved all the northern colonies and Indians in a fresh war of mutual extermination, was at length found to be so unprofitable to both parties that they gladly agreed to a peace. Every such struggle, however, had but the same result, that of the gradual extermination of the weaker party, and opening their country to the further advance of the white men.

It was at this period, in 1722, that James Franklin started the *New England Courant*, and had for a contributor Benjamin Franklin, a youth of sixteen at the time. The *Courant* aspiring to what was considered too great freedom in uttering opinions, the younger Franklin was admonished by the authorities, and his brother was forbidden to publish without license. The paper soon after lost support and was discontinued. The *Philadelphia Mercury*, the only newspaper in the colonies out of Boston, though it had no great liberty allowed to it, commented severely upon the course of the authorities towards the *Courant*.

Governor Belcher's enemies succeeded in effecting his displacement in 1740. William Shirley, a lawyer of Boston, was appointed his successor. Governor Belcher, in accordance with his instructions, had resisted new issues of paper money, which had added very much to his troubles and roused the ire of many against him. "The operation of the Massachusetts banks was cut short by an act of Parliament extending to the colonies that act of the previous reign occasioned by the South Sea and other bubble schemes, which prohibited the formation of unincorporated joint stock companies with more than six partners."^{*}

The companies were compelled to wind up; and the partners were held individually liable for the notes. Shirley, who knew the people he had to govern, found it not difficult to attain popularity; and a new issue of paper money was made in order to meet the expenses of the war just broken out. By tacit consent, the General Court made Shirley an annual allowance of £1,000 sterling for salary.

In 1737, a controversy, which had long subsisted between the two colonies of Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire, was heard by commissioners for that purpose appointed by the crown. Various attempts had been made to settle this dispute, and it had been often recommended by the crown to the Assemblies of the two provinces to agree upon arbitrators from neighboring

* Hildreth's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii., p. 380.

governments, and to pass acts which should bind each province to be subject to their determinations; but the suggestion had not been acted upon. This year, however, commissioners were appointed, with Philip Livingston, of New York, as president, to settle the dispute. Greatly to the mortification of Massachusetts, it was decided against her, and the result was, New Hampshire gained several hundred thousand acres more than she had ever claimed. In 1741, Benning Wentworth was appointed governor, an office which he filled for the next twenty years. Massachusetts was equally unsuccessful in the matter of disputed boundaries as respected Maine and Rhode Island. The western boundary of Maine was fixed as it now runs, which was according to the claims of New Hampshire. Rhode Island also obtained a decision in her favor for all that tract which Massachusetts claimed to be within the old Plymouth patent.

The third intercolonial war took its rise from the effort, on the part of Spain, to maintain that jealous system of colonial monopoly which she **1740.** had adopted in its utmost rigor, and in which she was imitated, with less stringency, by the French and English. The latter had acquired, by the treaty of Utrecht, the privilege of transporting a certain number of slaves annually to the Spanish colonies, under cover of which a wide-spread system of smuggling had been introduced, against which the Spaniards vainly sought to protect themselves by the establishment of revenue cruisers. Some of these Spanish vessels had attacked

English ships engaged in lawful traffic, and had committed several instances of barbarity, which had greatly moved the popular indignation, and excited a clamor for war, to which Walpole the minister was reluctantly obliged to consent. Soon after, a general European war broke out, under George II., and the colonies in America were of course involved in new struggles.

The first intimation which New England had of the actual state of things, was in May, 1743, when an ex- **1743.** pedition crossed over from Cape Breton, broke up the fishery, and attacked and captured Fort Canso, in Nova Scotia. Annapolis was twice besieged by Indians and Canadians, but obtained seasonable relief from Massachusetts. Privateers issuing from Louisburg did great damage to the **1744.** New England fisheries and commerce, and the eastern Indians renewed their ravages on the frontiers of Maine.

The French had expended large sums in erecting the fortress of Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton. To effect its reduction was therefore of the most vital importance; yet the attempt might well have appeared all but desperate. The walls of the fortress, surrounded with a moat, were prodigiously strong, and furnished with nearly two hundred pieces of cannon. A body of prisoners, however, who, having been seized at the English settlement of Canso and carried to Louisburg, were allowed to return to Boston on parole, disclosed the important fact that the garrison was both weak and disaffected. Shirley, the governor, proposed to the legislature of Massachusetts to attempt its re

duction, a proposal carried by only a single vote. The northern States, invited to coöperate against the common enemy, furnished some small supplies of men and money, but the chief burden fell upon Massachusetts itself. The enthusiasm of her citizens was enkindled by religious zeal as well as commercial interest: all classes offered themselves as volunteers, from the hardy woodman of the interior, to the intrepid fisherman of the coast. The celebrated Whitfield, at the time on a preaching tour throughout the colonies, aided the expedition by his stirring eloquence, and suggested as a motto for the flag of the New Hampshire regiment, "*Nil desperandum Christo duce*:" "Nothing is to be despaired of with CHRIST as our leader."

Early in April ten vessels, with a body of over three thousand men, assembled at Canso, to wait there the melting of the ice and the arrival of the Connecticut and Rhode Island quotas. Very fortunately they were here joined by four English ships of war, under the command of Captain Warren, who, at the solicitation of Shirley, had been ordered to coöperate zealously with the expedition. Over the New England armament was William Pepperell, a wealthy merchant of Maine, but who had no further knowledge of military affairs than he had obtained by commanding the militia. On the morning of the last day of April, the squadron arrived off Louisburg, the troops were landed in spite of opposition, and the siege was carried on with all the energy of courage and enthusiasm, though uninstructed and

inexperienced in the art of war. Cannon were dragged through morasses and over rocky hills, and batteries were established in an irregular sort of way; but no impression was made upon the works, and after the first outburst of excitement was spent, the most sanguine were compelled to admit that the place seemed all but impregnable, and that the campaign promised to be both long and arduous. Happily the greatest friends of the besiegers were a discontented garrison and embarrassed governor, whose supplies had been already cut off by the vigilance of the English fleet, that now succeeded in capturing, under his very eyes, a ship of war sent to his relief. To hold out longer with any chance of success was impossible, and on the 17th of June he accordingly surrendered. This important capture was looked on by the pious New Englanders as "a remarkable providence," and caused great rejoicings at Boston. The enterprise indeed was all their own, though its success had been materially promoted by succors from the mother country, where their energy and prowess were duly recognised, not without some slight tincture of jealous apprehensions for the future. Pepperell was made a baronet, and both he and Shirley received commissions as colonels in the British army. Warren was made rear admiral. The attempt under the Duke D'Anville, with a large fleet and several thousand veteran troops, to retake Louisburg, was defeated by storms and fatal sickness. The French, however, obtained possession again of this strong fortress by the terms of the

treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle; which excited very considerably the indignation of the New Englanders. Parliament subsequently reimbursed the colonies, for the expenses incurred in their efforts against the French, to the amount of upwards of a million of dollars.

As an illustration of the spirit of the Bostonians in all matters where they conceived their liberties entrenched upon, it deserves to be noted how they served Commodore Knowles and
1747. his attempts to impress men for his ships. One morning in November he sent a press-gang on shore who seized and carried off several of the inhabitants. So soon as the outrage was known the whole city was alive with excitement. A mob of several thousand people immediately collected, and besieged the town-house, where the Council was then in session, with a storm of stones and brickbats. In vain did Governor Shirley come forth upon the balcony, and with a disavowal of the outrage, and a promise to obtain redress, endeavor to calm the exasperated feelings of the populace; they seized upon the officers of the ship, who happened to be on shore at the time, and detained them as hostages for the ransom of their fellow citizens. The governor earnestly entreated Knowles to give up the impressed seamen, in reply to which he offered to land a body of marines to support the governor, and threatened to bombard the town unless the tumult was appeased. The excitement kept on increasing, and the militia, who were called out next day, evincing a sympathy with the mob, Shirley, considering himself in personal danger, re-

tired from the town to the castle, situated on an island in the neighboring bay, a retreat which the more zealous of the mob began to consider equal to an abdication. As matters had now reached an alarming pitch, the leading members of society, who had fully concurred in the movement, began to think that it was time to check it, and assembling in town meeting, declared their intention, at the same time that they yielded to none in a sense of the outrage committed by Knowles, to stand by the governor and executive, and to suppress this threatening tumult, which they very conveniently attributed to "negroes and persons of vile condition." Meanwhile Knowles, at the earnest solicitation of the governor, consented to return most of the men he had impressed, and shortly afterwards departed with his fleet, while Shirley, returning to Boston, was escorted to his house by the same militia who but a day or two before had refused to obey his instructions. In his letters to the Board of Trade on the subject of this "rebellious insurrection," Shirley ascribes the "mobbish turn of a town inhabited by twenty thousand people," to its constitution, by which the management of it devolves on "the populace assembled in their town meetings."

The war was brought to a conclusion by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, October, 1748, a war on the whole very unsatisfactory and adding largely to the national debt of England.
1748. For the present the struggle between the French and English in America was terminated; but it was by no means finally settled. The dis-

putes concerning the boundaries alone contained the seed of future wars, which could only end with the absolute ascendancy of the stronger party. The conquest of Canada had become the favorite scheme both of the English

government and the northern colonies; an object for which the colonists were willing to expend their blood and treasure, and one which their success at Louisburg incited them ever to keep before their eyes.

CHAPTER III.

1691—1748.

NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA.

Party feuds in New York—Fletcher's administration—Schuyler and the Indians—Fletcher's acts in religious matters—His efforts in Pennsylvania and Connecticut—Rev. Mr. Miller's letter to the Bishop of London—Barbarities of Indian warfare—Lord Bellamont governor—His administration—Lord Cornbury appointed—His character and acts—Committee of grievances—Lovelace governor—His death—Expedition against Canada—Postage regulations—Hunter governor—German emigrants—Burnet appointed—Efforts against the French—Cosby governor—Trial of Zenger—Governor Clarke's disputes with the Assembly—The "Negro plot" in New York—Clinton governor—Efforts against the French and Indians—Affairs of New Jersey at this date—Trouble in Pennsylvania—William Penn in America—Efforts to settle the government—"Charter of Privileges"—Penn's return to England—His letter—Evans removed—Gookin governor—Sir William Keith his successor—Family dispute about the sovereignty of the province—Governor Thomas and the controversy between the proprietaries and the Assembly on the question of taxation, defence of the province, etc.

THE unhappy fate of Jacob Leisler, as related in a previous chapter, produced a deep impression in New York, and gave rise to party feuds which lasted a long time in that colony.

From this date, as Mr. Hildreth **1691.** correctly states, there was a final abandonment of the ancient Dutch usages, and the complete introduction of English law; and although the king vetoed a statute declaring the right of the people to participate in the enactment of all laws, through an Assembly, yet in practice an Assembly became from this time an essential part of the political system of New York.

Sloughter's sudden death left New York for a year or so under Ingoldsby's

charge; in the latter part of 1692, however, Benjamin Fletcher was appointed governor. He was **1692.** much such a character as Sloughter, in want, and ready to grasp all within his reach: he took sides, too, with the anti-Leislerian party, which, together with his efforts to obtain endowment for the ministers of the Church of England, stirred up strong opposition. Fortunately for Fletcher as well as for the general progress of the colony, he was duly impressed with a sense of the importance of cultivating the friendship and obtaining the aid of Major Schuyler, in all matters relating to Indian affairs. This able officer's influence with the Five Nations was almost un-

bounded, and he was ever ready to aid in measures for their defence against the French. In the beginning of 1693, on an occasion of the French having made an incursion into the Mohawk country, Schuyler raised a volunteer force of two hundred men and marched from Albany in pursuit of them. Fletcher, by extraordinary activity, brought up from New York the independent companies and other troops; but the French effected their escape and the Indians, though greatly pleased with the zeal of Fletcher, were nevertheless a good deal inclined to make peace with the French.

Fletcher, who, it seems, was not calculated to raise the reputation of any denomination of Christians, was especially urgent in favor of the Episcopal Church and the claims of its ministry for support. As illustrative of the man and the times, we give his address to the members of the Assembly after his ineffectual attempt to accomplish his favorite project of having endowments, and presenting or naming the ministers to officiate in the churches: "Gentlemen, there is also a bill for settling a ministry in this city, and some other countries of the government. In that very thing you have shown a great deal of stiffness. You take upon you, as if you were dictators. I sent down to you an amendment of three or four words in that bill, which, though very immaterial, yet was positively denied. I must tell you, it seems very unmanly. There never was an amendment yet desired by the council board but what was rejected. It is the sign of a stubborn ill temper, and this I have

also passed. But, gentlemen, I must take leave to tell you, if you seem to understand by these words, that none can serve without your collation, or establishment, you are far mistaken. For I have the power of collating or suspending any minister in my government, by their majesties' letters patent; and whilst I stay in the government, I will take care that neither heresy, sedition, schism, or rebellion, be preached among you, nor vice and profanity encouraged. It is my endeavor to lead a virtuous and pious life amongst you, and to give a good example: I wish you all to do the same. You ought to consider that you have but a third share in the legislative power of the government; and ought not to take all upon you, nor be so peremptory. You ought to let the council have a share. They are in the nature of the House of Lords, or upper house; but you seem to take the whole power in your hands, and set up for every thing. You have sat a long time to little purpose, and have been a great charge to the country. Ten shillings a day is a large allowance, and you punctually exact it. You have been always forward enough to pull down the fees of other ministers in the government. Why did you not think it expedient to correct your own to a more moderate allowance? Gentlemen, I shall say no more at present, but that you do withdraw to your private affairs in the country. I do prorogue you to the 10th of January next, and you are hereby prorogued to the 10th day of January next ensuing."*

* Smith's "History of New York," p. 84.

Fletcher, beside being charged with administering the government of Pennsylvania and Delaware—Penn having recently been deprived—was authorized by a royal letter to the colonies, except Carolina, to call on them for aid in defence of New York. The Quakers of Pennsylvania did not at all fancy voting money or anything of the kind, and agreed reluctantly to only a small appropriation, stipulating that it "should not be dipped in blood." A few months later—in October—Fletcher went to Hartford on a similar errand. The Assembly was in session, and Fletcher endeavored to overawe them into consent to his demands. Informing them that he would not set foot out of the province till his majesty's orders had been obeyed, he then directed the trained bands to be assembled, and his commission to be read to them. Captain Wadsworth, the senior captain, walked up and down, engaged, to all appearance, in exercising his men. "Beat the drums!" was his order, as Fletcher's officer lifted up his voice to read. The governor commanded silence, and his officer prepared to read. "Drum, drum, I say again!" called out Wadsworth, and the voice of the reader was a second time drowned in the discordant roll. "Silence!" passionately vociferated Fletcher. "Drum, drum, I say!" shouted Wadsworth in a still louder key; and significantly turning to Fletcher, he exclaimed, "if I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment!" The angry governor, astounded at this display of spirit, was compelled to swallow the affront; and

shortly afterward Fitz John Winthrop, who had been sent to England as agent to protest against a violation of the charter, returned with the royal concession that on ordinary occasions, at least, the command of the local militia belonged to the respective States. Connecticut promised, however, to be in readiness to furnish a quota of a hundred and twenty men for the defence of New York.

Mr. Hildreth* quotes quite fully from a letter addressed by the Rev. John Miller, in 1695, to the Lord Bishop of London, in which is 1695 contained an interesting account of the writer's views of the ecclesiastical and moral condition of New York. The sentiments of Mr. Miller, though evidently not much approved of by Mr. Hildreth, are worthy of consideration, and notwithstanding he speaks as an Episcopalian, the facts which he states show that New York was, a hundred and fifty years ago, as much divided, in proportion, on religious subjects, and as much given to folly and wickedness, as it is now.† Mr. Miller's proposed remedy was the sending over a bishop for the colonies; about the expediency of which, at that date, there has been no little difference of opinion among those who fully recognize bishops as of divine appointment.

* *History of the United States*, vol. ii., pp. 189-193.

† In 1697, a royal grant was made of a certain church, in the city of New York, and piece of ground adjoining, on Broadway, known as Trinity Parish. In 1705, the Queen's Farm, on the west side of Manhattan Island—from St. Paul's Church to Christopher street—was donated to Trinity Church.—See Dr Berrian's *History of Trinity Church*, pp. 14, 15.

The war between the French and Five Nations was carried on more or less vigorously according to the means and opportunities of the aged Frontenac. The most revolting feature connected with this protracted contest was the savage and detestable barbarity practised on both sides. We give an example drawn from La Potherie's History of North America. "The prisoner being first made fast to a stake, so as to have room to move round it, a Frenchman began the horrid tragedy, by broiling the flesh of the prisoner's legs, from his toes to his knees, with the red-hot barrel of a gun. His example was followed by an Utawawa, who, being desirous to outdo the French in their refined cruelty, split a furrow from the prisoner's shoulder to his garter, and filling it with gunpowder, set fire to it. This gave him exquisite pain, and raised excessive laughter in his tormentors. When they found his throat so much parched that he was no longer able to gratify their ears with his howling, they gave him water, to enable him to continue their pleasure longer. But at last his strength failing, an Utawawa flayed off his scalp, and threw burning hot coals on his skull. They then untied him, and bid him run for his life. He began to run, tumbling like a drunken man. They shut up the way to the east, and made him run westward, the country, as they think, of departed miserable souls. He had still force left to throw stones, till they put an end to his misery by knocking him on the head. After this every one cut a slice from his body, to conclude the tragedy with a feast." Such dis-

gusting outrages as these were, for a time at least, put an end to, by the peace of Ryswick, in 1697.

The next year, 1698, Lord Bellamont, who had been appointed governor of New York in 1695, arrived in the colony: he was charged **1698.** with the duty of investigating Fletcher's conduct, enforcing the acts of trade, suppressing piracy, etc. Bellamont took the opposite side to that which Fletcher had favored, and it was in a measure through him that Leisler's son obtained from the Assembly a vote of £1,000, to be paid to him for damages resulting from the proceedings against his father. The attainder was reversed by act of parliament, and Leisler and Milbourne were reburied in the Dutch Church.* Bellamont also originated a Court of Chancery, which afterwards was looked on with a jealous eye. The governor's speech to the Assembly, convened in May, is well worth quoting from: "I cannot but observe to you, what a legacy my predecessor has left me, and what difficulties to struggle with; a divided people, an empty purse, a few miserable, naked, half-starved soldiers, not half the number the king allowed pay for; the fortifications, and even the governor's house, very much out of

* "This year (1700.) no fewer than a thousand Scottish fugitives from the unfortunate and ill-used Scottish colony of Darien arrived at New York in various ships, during the absence of Lord Bellamont at Boston. Nanfan, the lieutenant governor, in conformity with instructions from England, refused even the slightest relief or assistance to these unhappy adventurers. Two years before, the royal governors of New York and New England had issued proclamations, forbidding all correspondence with, or assistance to, the Scottish colony." Oldmixon and Holmes, quoted by Grahame, vol. i., p. 453.

repair ; and, in a word, the whole government out of frame." After this introduction, he puts them in mind that the revenue was near expiring. "It would be hard," he adds, "if I, that come among you with an honest mind, and a resolution to be just to your interest, should meet with greater difficulties in the discharge of his majesty's service than those that have gone before me. I will take care there shall be no misapplication of the public money. I will pocket none of it myself, nor shall there be any embezzlement by others ; but exact accounts shall be given you, when, and as often, as you shall require."

Lord Bellamont's sudden death, in 1701, left the government for a time in the hands of Nanfan, the lieutenant governor, who proceeded with some haste and violence against Livingston and Bayard, two active men in the anti-Leislerian party. Lord Cornbury, a grandson of the first Earl of Clarendon, having arrived in New York, in 1702, as governor, put a stop to these proceedings : he also espoused the views of those opposed to the Leislerian party. Cornbury was a profligate and unprincipled man, sent out to a governorship rather to get rid of him than because of any fitness which he possessed for the duties of the office. Being deeply in debt, it was one main purpose of his acts to get money, in any and every way, for his necessities ; and his whole administration was marked by rapacity, meanness, and outrageous violations of ordinary decency and decorum. Not unlike Fletcher, he was very zealous for the

Church's interests, while disgracing the truths which the Church of England has ever held forth ; and accordingly we find that he promoted all such schemes as zealots of party and seekers after emoluments in religion concocted. Cornbury, on more than one occasion, put into his own pocket the money raised for public service, and the Assembly, naturally not liking this, complained of such treatment ; but all the satisfaction they got was a pretty sharp scolding from his lordship and fresh applications for money.

In a few years matters came to such a pass that the Assembly appointed a committee of grievances, which drew many and heavy charges against the governor. The Resolutions approved by the House were pointed, and clearly showed its fixed determination to assert its just rights. One of these Resolutions is well worth quoting, inasmuch as it significantly indicates a principle which, just before the Revolution, was set forth as lying at the basis of our resistance to the claims of England. It is as follows : "*Resolved*, That the imposing and levying of any moneys upon her majesty's subjects of this colony, under any pretence or color whatsoever, without consent in General Assembly, is a grievance, and a violation of the people's property."

Lord Cornbury being no less obnoxious to the people of New Jersey than to those of New York, the Assembly of that province joined with New York in making a formal complaint against him to the queen. Her majesty, though Lord Cornbury was her cousin, removed him, saying

that she would not countenance oppression by any, even though he were her own flesh and blood; whereupon his creditors threw him into prison. Soon after, his father's death opened the way to him for release, for now become the Earl of Clarendon, he was discharged from arrest and returned to England.

Lord Lovelace was appointed Cornbury's successor in the spring of 1708,

but he did not reach New York till near the close of the year. His administration gave promise of being acceptable and serviceable to the province; it was, however, very

brief; for early in the year 1709, Lovelace died, and Ingoldsby again

had charge of public affairs.

It was while Ingoldsby was acting governor that another fruitless expedition against Canada was made. Five hundred men were raised, and bills of credit were issued to pay the expense. New York showed herself equally zealous with her New England neighbors. Schuyler went to England with some of the Mohawk chiefs, and they were admitted to an audience with the queen. Aid was promised; but the reverses of war in Spain prevented at the time, and all this expense and preparation, which were beyond anything the colonies had yet made, proved of no avail. Had the plan been energetically carried out of a combined attack by land and sea, there can be hardly a doubt but that Canada would have fallen into the hands of the English.

The patent of Thomas Neal for "colonial posts having expired, an act of parliament extended the British post-office system to America. A chief

office was established at New York, to which letters were to be conveyed by regular packets

1710.

across the Atlantic. The same act regulated the rates of postage to be paid in the plantations, exempted the posts from ferriage, and enabled postmasters to recover their dues by summary process. A line of posts was presently established on Neal's old routes, north to the Piscataqua, and south to Philadelphia; irregularly extending, a few years after, to Williamsburg, in Virginia, the post leaving Philadelphia for the south as often as letters enough were lodged to pay the expense. The postal communication subsequently established with the Carolinas was still more irregular."*

Robert Hunter, a Scotchman by birth, who had risen from an humble station to high military rank, was appointed Lovelace's successor in the gubernatorial chair. Three thousand Germans, who had been compelled by the ravages of war, to leave their homes on the banks of the Rhine, were sent out with the new governor to be settled on the banks of the Hudson. The experiment was not a successful one while they served under indentures to the queen, for their maintenance was a positive loss; but when they were allowed the privileges of free citizens, they soon became thriving and industrious denizens of the *German Flats*, on the upper waters of the Mohawk. A part of the same company settled in Pennsylvania, and another part in North Carolina. It is owing to

* Hildreth's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii, p. 262.

these that we find the German language, manners, and religious views handed down, especially in Pennsylvania.

The new Assembly called by Hunter would consent to nothing but annual grants, which for some

1711. time caused much dissatisfaction and dispute. A few years later, Hunter obtained a majority in the newly-elected Assembly disposed to favor his wishes: accordingly, he was enabled to rule this hitherto ungovernable province without further difficulty,

1715. having now a standing revenue, and a subservient Assembly.

Hunter, in 1719, left the province, and William Burnet, a son of the famous bishop of that name, was appointed to succeed him. The new governor seems to have been aware of the importance of resisting the progress of the French in Canada and the West. He caused a trading post to be estab-

1722. lished at Oswego, thus taking possession of the south shore of Lake Ontario, pleading that the Five Nations were under the protection of England, and that they had granted their hunting grounds to their white protectors. In 1727, a fort was built by Burnet at the same place; but the French were not idle; they also erected a fort at Niagara, which commanded the communication into the upper lakes and the Mississippi. Burnet, meanwhile, was involved in embarrassments with the Assembly and people. Much complaint having been made by the latter, he dissolved the Assembly who had

1727. now been in office for eleven years. The new Assembly was not more favorable to the governor,

and complained of the Court of Chancery, in which Burnet presided, as without the authority of law, and oppressive in the fees exacted. Shortly after, Burnet was removed from New York and made governor of Massachusetts.

After the brief administration of Montgomery, who succeeded Burnet in 1728, at which time the city of New York numbered something over eight thousand inhabitants, Colonel

1732. William Cosby was made governor. At first he had the promise of a popular administration, but as he was of a violent temper and mercenary spirit, he soon after became involved in quarrels with members of the Council, and with John Peter Zenger, proprietor of the *Weekly Journal*, a newspaper opposed to the governor and his party. Cosby instituted a suit for libel, and both ordered the *Journal* to be burned by the sheriff and arrested Zenger. Andrew Hamilton, a Philadelphia lawyer, defended Zenger's cause successfully, so that he was acquitted

1733. at once, and the freedom of the press was thereby vindicated.* Poor Zenger,

* To use the language of the venerable Dr. FRANCIS, "the newspaper press is endeared to the feelings of Americans by the strongest considerations of patriotism. Franklin, the apostle of liberty, more than a century ago, published in a newspaper animadversions on the legislative enactments of Great Britain, relative to the colonies. The free strictures on the administration of Governor Cosby and his Council, printed in the *Weekly Journal* of the city of New York, by John Peter Zenger, roused the energies of a whole people, and to use the language of Governor Morris, in a conversation with the speaker, 'the trial of Zenger, in 1733, was the germ of American freedom—the morning star of that liberty which subsequently revolutionized America.'"—See Dr. Francis's speech at the *Fortieth Anniversary of the "New York Historical Society,"* 1844: *Proceedings*, p. 86

however, was left to struggle with debt and official censure; and he complains warmly of the neglect and ill usage of many of those who professed to be his friends and supporters: "My country subscribers," he says, "are earnestly desired to pay their arrearages for this journal, which if they don't speedily, I shall leave off sending, and seek my money another way. Some of these kind customers are in arrears upwards of seven years! Now, as I have served them so long, I think it is time, aye and high time too, that they gave me my outset, for they may verily believe that my every-day clothes are nearly worn out. N. B. Gentlemen, If you have not ready money with you, still think of the printer; and when you have read this advertisement and considered it, you cannot but say, come, dame, (especially you inquisitive wedded men, let the bachelors take it to themselves,) let us send the poor printer a few gammons, or some meal, some butter, cheese, poultry, &c."

Cosby died suddenly, in 1735, and after disputes between members of the

1735. Council as to who was entitled to act *ad interim*, George Clarke, in 1736, was made governor. The Assembly took ground against any

1737. but an annual grant for revenues, and this policy was thereafter adhered to in New York. Clarke, offended at their proceedings, dissolved the Assembly; the popular party, however, triumphed in the new election. A portion of their address to the Governor is worthy of quotation: "We therefore beg leave to be plain with your honor, and hope you will not take

it amiss when we tell you, that you are not to expect that we will either raise sums unfit to be raised, or put what we shall raise into the power of a governor to misapply, if we can prevent it; nor shall we make up any other deficiencies than what we conceive fit and just to be paid; nor continue what support or revenue we shall raise, for any longer time than one year; nor do we think it convenient to do even that, until such laws are passed as we conceive necessary for the safety of the inhabitants of this colony, who have reposed a trust in us for that only purpose, and which we are sure you will think it reasonable we should act agreeably to; and by the grace of God we shall endeavor not to deceive them."

Clarke deemed it unwise to enter into a contest with men who avowed their sentiments thus decidedly, and so he promised his co-operation in all measures calculated to promote the welfare of the province. In his speech, however, at the opening of the next session, he declared that unless the revenue was granted for as long a time as it had been granted by former Assemblies, his duty to his majesty forbade him from assenting to any act for continuing the excise, or for paying the colonial bills of credit. The House unanimously resolved, that it would not pass any bill for the grant of money, unless assurance should be given that the excise should be continued, and the bills of credit redeemed. He thereupon immediately ordered the members to attend him. He told them that "their proceedings were presumptuous, daring, and unprecedented; that he could not look upon

them without astonishment, nor with honor suffer the House to sit any longer;" and he accordingly dissolved it. In

1741. 1741, Clarke, again endeavoring to bring the Assembly to his views, took occasion to charge upon them a settled purpose or desire of independence, a charge which the Assembly denied, and no doubt correctly, for, however tenacious the colonists were of what they held to be their just rights and privileges, there is no probability whatever that at that time there was any idea of a formal severing the connection with the mother country. Clarke at last yielded to the necessity of the case, and accepted such grants as the Assembly chose to make.

In this year, a delusion, not so famous as the Salem witchcraft, but, in proportion, quite as sanguinary, **1741.** occurred in New York, commonly known as the "Negro Plot." The frequent occurrence of fires, most of which were evidently caused by design, first excited the jealousy and suspicion of the citizens. Terrified by danger which lurked unseen in the midst of them, they listened with eager credulity to the declaration of some abandoned females, that the negroes had combined to burn the city, and make one of their number governor. Many were arrested and committed to prison. Other witnesses, not more respectable than the first, came forward; other negroes were accused, and even several white men were designated as concerned in the plot.

When the time of trial arrived, so strong was the prejudice against the unhappy black men, that every lawyer

in the city volunteered against them, and Chief Justice Delancey exerted the influence of his high station against them. Ignorant and unassisted, nearly all who were tried were condemned. Fourteen were burned, eighteen were hung, and seventy-one were transported. Of the whites two were convicted, and suffered death.

All apprehension of danger having subsided, many began to doubt whether there was really any plot at all. None of the witnesses were persons of credit; their stories were extravagant, and often contradictory; and the project was such as none but fools or madmen would form. The two white men were respectable; one had received a liberal education, but he was a Roman Catholic, and the prejudice against these was too violent to permit the free exercise of reason. Some of the accused were doubtless guilty of setting fire to the city; but the proof of the alleged plot was not sufficiently clear to justify these judicial murders, which disgrace the annals of New York.

In 1743, George Clinton, a younger son of the Earl of Lincoln, was sent over as governor of the colony. **1743.**

One of his earliest measures confirmed the favorable accounts which had preceded him, of his talents and liberality. To show his willingness to repose confidence in the people, he assented to a bill limiting the duration of the present and all succeeding Assemblies. The House manifested its gratitude by adopting the measures **1745.** he recommended for the defence of the province against the French, who were then at war with England. In

1745, the savages in alliance with France, made frequent invasions of the English territories. Encouraged by success, the enemy became more daring, and small parties ventured within even the suburbs of Albany, and there laid in wait for prisoners.

1746. Distressed by these incursions, the Assembly, in 1746, determined to unite with the other colonies and the mother country in an expedition against Canada. They appropriated money to purchase provisions for the army, and offered liberal bounties to recruits. But the fleet from England did not arrive at the appointed time; the other colonies were dilatory in their preparations, and before they were completed the season for military operations had passed by. The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, put an end to the contest for a time, but only for a time. The grand struggle for mastery was soon to be made and decided.

The proprietaries of New Jersey, wearied out with struggling with the settlers, in the year **1702** ceded to the crown their rights of jurisdiction; whereupon Queen Anne joined New Jersey to New York, under the government of Lord Cornbury. They, too, as well as the New Yorkers, resisted the encroachments and fraudulent acts of the governor. In **1738**,

1738, New Jersey obtained by petition, the privilege of having a governor of its own; and Lewis Morris was placed in the chair. The position of New Jersey gave it superior advantages in comparative exemption from the assaults and inroads of the Indians. We find, hence, that its progress was

steadily forward, although its annals are marked by serious disputes on the subject of paper money, conveyances of land by Indians to certain claimants, the resistance of the squatters to the efforts made to oust them, etc. After Morris's death, in 1745, **1747.** Belcher, in 1747, took charge of the difficult post of governor of New Jersey; but he was not able to manage matters much better than his predecessors. His course was conciliatory; and he favored the founding of the college at Princeton, which received a charter in 1748. The population of New Jersey at this date is computed to have been forty thousand.

Pennsylvania, too, was not without its share of trouble, though, on the whole, it continued to advance in prosperity. George Keith, a Scotch Quaker, gave rise to a kind of schism, by pressing the question of non-resistance to an extent quite beyond what the more reasonable Quakers ever **1692.** were willing to go. His attack on negro slavery, as inconsistent with these principles, and the "Address" which he set forth, led to his being fined for insolence, and his being taken up by the non-Quakers as a sort of martyr. Penn was cleared from suspicion, and restored to the administration of his province in 1694; but **1694.** the pressure of debt kept him in England, and he appointed Markham to act as his deputy. The Assembly having presented a remonstrance to Governor Markham, in 1696, complaining of the breach of their chartered privileges, a bill of settlement, prepared and passed by the Assembly,

was approved by the Governor, forming the third frame of government in Pennsylvania. Penn, however, to whom was reserved the power of disapproval, never sanctioned this act. A bill for raising £300, professedly for the relief of the distressed Indians beyond Albany, but really in compliance with the demand of the governor of New York, to aid in the prosecution of the war, was passed by the same le-

1699. gislature. In 1699, after fifteen years' absence, Penn again set sail for America, accompanied by his family, with an intention of spending the remainder of his life in Pennsylvania. Considerable difference of opinion existed between himself and the legislature; more particularly on the subject of negro slavery, and the frauds and abuses that disgraced the character of the colonists in their traffic with the Indians. With the view of providing a remedy for both these evils, Penn presented to the Assembly three bills which he had himself prepared; the first, for regulating the morals and marriages of the negroes; the second, for regulating the trials and punishments of the negroes; and the third, for preventing abuses and frauds upon the

1700. Indians. The Assembly negatived the first and last of these bills, acceding only to that which related to the trial and punishment of their slaves. Though disappointed of the more extensive influence, which, as a political legislator, he had hoped to exercise, he was yet able, by his powerful influence among the Quakers, to introduce into their discipline regulations and practices relative to the pur-

poses of the rejected bills, the spirit of which, at least, was thus forcibly recommended to general imitation.

Perplexed with many and serious difficulties, Penn made up his mind to return to England; but before **1701.** doing so he pressed upon the colonists to establish a constitution. The old frame of government was formally given up, and the one which Penn prepared and presented to the Assembly was accepted. It confirmed to them, in conformity with that of 1696, the right of originating bills, which, by the charters preceding that date, had been the right of the Governor alone, and of mending or rejecting those which might be laid before them. To the Governor it gave the right of rejecting bills passed by the Assembly, of appointing his own Council, and of exercising the whole executive power. Liberty of conscience was specially secured as before; and the qualification of voters was fixed at a freehold of fifty acres, or about \$166 in personal property.

Directly after the "Charter of Privileges," as the new frame was called, was accepted, Penn returned to England, leaving the management of his private estates and the direction of Indian affairs in the hands of James Logan, who was for many years colonial secretary and member of the Council. Scarcely had Penn arrived there, when the disputes between the province and the territories broke forth **1702.** with greater bitterness than ever; and in the following year, the separate legislature of Delaware was permanently established at Newcastle.

In addition to the tidings of these prolonged disagreements, and of the final rupture between the two settlements, Penn was harassed by complaints against the administration of Governor Evans, and rendered indignant with charges made against himself of unfair dealing. Having ascertained, by a deliberate examination of the complaints against Evans, that they were

1709. too well founded, he appointed in his place Charles Gookin, a gentleman of ancient Irish family, who seemed qualified to give satisfaction to the people over whom he was appointed governor. The Assembly were out of humor because Penn had refused to dismiss Logan, whom they termed an enemy to the welfare of the province. Logan soon after went to England, and

1710. Penn, now in his sixty-sixth year, sent back by him a letter addressed to the Assembly, replete with calm solemnity and dignified concern. This letter is said to have produced a deep and powerful impression on the more considerate part of the Assembly, who now began to feel for the father of the province, and to regard with tenderness his venerable age; to remember his long labors, and to appreciate their own interest in his distinguished reputation: in consequence of this letter at the next election a new Assembly was chosen and most of the points in dispute were arranged. Penn had determined, in consequence of his pecuniary embarrassments and the vexatiousness of his position, to relieve himself from the troublesome position in which he was placed, intending to cede the sovereignty to the queen for

an equitable consideration; but an attack of paralysis put an end to further steps on his part at the **1712.** time, and some few years afterwards he died.

Gookin was removed in 1716, and was succeeded the next year by Sir William Keith. Penn's will, **1717.** gave rise to a nine years' lawsuit as to the sovereignty of the province; but Keith, studying popularity, was in favor with all the claimants and so remained in office. He and the Assembly proved mutually accommodating, and they consented to his wishes in enrolling a volunteer militia, and in adopting the English criminal law as a substitute for their existing statutes. Keith also consented to try the **1722.** paper money loan system by

an issue of £15,000, to be lent out at five per cent.; the next year an additional £30,000 were issued on the same plan. Through Logan's interference—Keith having served him rather shabbily as secretary and counsellor—the governor was pretty sharply reprehended for some of his acts, and in 1725 he was removed from his office. The members of the Penn family found it most convenient to arrange and settle their long dispute about the sovereignty of the province. Keith tried to be troublesome in the province by heading an opposition to the new governor, Patrick Gordon; but **1726.** with no great success. Subsequently, on returning to England, he broached the notion of the propriety of taxing the colonies for the benefit of the mother country; but, as Mr. Hildreth relates, Sir Robert Walpole is

reported to have declared that it would require more courage than he possessed to venture upon that step.

On the death of the widow of Penn, the sovereignty and territorial rights of the province were reunited **1734** in the three sons of Penn: neither of them, however, possessed their father's ability or had even a moiety of his popularity. Logan administered the government for two years as president of the Council, until the arrival of George Thomas, in 1738, as deputy governor. The Quakers were not more than a third of the population, yet as they possessed the most wealth and were more united, they kept the control of the Assembly. In **1740**, a dispute arose as to questions of measures of defence, fortifications, etc., and though the As-

sembly voted £4000 for the king's use, they imposed upon Thomas the disposing of it: true to their principles they would not openly vote money to carry on war. About this date commenced that warm controversy **1742** between the proprietaries and the Assembly, the latter claiming that the former were bound to provide for the defence of the province inasmuch as they received a revenue from it in the way of quit rents, etc.; the proprietaries and the Board of Trade, on the other hand, emphatically denying any such view of the matter. Thomas having given up the struggle with the Assembly, he was succeeded in the office of deputy governor by **1746** James Hamilton, a man of decided ability and zeal for the cause of the proprietaries.

CHAPTER IV.

1690—1748.

VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, THE CAROLINAS.

Nicholson governor — Blair commissary — College of William and Mary — Administration of Andros — Founding of Williamsburg — Powers of the governor — Spirit of liberty — Office of governor made a sinecure — Spotswood's administration — His acts — Gouch's administration — Progress of Virginia — Affairs in Maryland — Dr. Bray commissary — "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" — Persecution of the Roman Catholics — Lord Baltimore becomes a Protestant — Question of boundary between Maryland and Pennsylvania — Progress of Maryland — Affairs in Carolina — Ludwell governor — Feuds — "Grand Model" abrogated — Archdale's visit and labors — Introduction of rice — Dissenters disfranchised — Act declared null and void — Church of England established by law — Mr. Bancroft's picture of the state of North Carolina — War with the Tuscaroras — Attack on St. Augustine — Unsuccessful — Moore censured — Paper money issued — War with the Yemassee and other Indians — Craven victorious in the contest — Heavy loss and debt — Revolution in South Carolina — Administration assumed by the crown — Proprietaries sell out to the king — Treaty of peace and amity with the Cherokees — Emigration of Swiss — Advance of the colony notwithstanding many sharp trials.

ALTHOUGH the commission of Effingham—see page 148—was renewed by William III., notwithstanding the

charges against him, he did not return to Virginia, and Francis Nicholson, in 1690, accepted the place **1690**.

of his lieutenant. At this date, the Rev. James Blair, who had some years before been a missionary in Virginia, returned to the colony with a commission as Commissary of the Bishop of London, whose jurisdiction extended over the entire American colonies. Mr. Blair was a Scotchman by birth, an earnest, able, devoted man, and for the next half century he exercised a large measure of influence in Virginia.* It was mainly in consequence of Blair's

zealous activity that the king
1691. granted a charter for "The College of William and Mary in Virginia." The preamble states, "that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary of ministers of the Gospel, and that the youth may be piously educated in good letters and manners, and that the Christian faith may be propagated among the western Indians, to the glory of Almighty God"—their trusty and well beloved subjects, constituting the General Assembly of their colony of Virginia, have had it in their minds, and have proposed to themselves, to found and establish a certain placé of universal study, or perpetual college of divinity, philosophy, languages, and other good arts and sciences, consisting of one president, six masters or professors, and a hundred scholars, more or less, according to the ability of said college, and its statutes, to be made by

* "Of the activity and practical usefulness of this excellent man, sufficient evidence will be furnished in the statement, that when, at the advanced age of eighty-eight, he died, he had been sixty-four years a minister of the Gospel; fifty-three years Commissary for Virginia; president of a College for forty-nine years; and a member of the king's council for fifty."
 —Hawks's "Prot. Epis. Ch. in Virginia," p. 75.

certain trustees nominated and elected by the General Assembly of the colony. Nicholson and seventeen others nominated and appointed by the Assembly, "were confirmed as trustees, and were empowered to hold and enjoy lands, possessions, and incomes, to the yearly value of £2,000, and all donations, bestowed for their use. The Rev. James Blair, nominated and elected by the Assembly, was made first president, and the Bishop of London was appointed and confirmed by their majesties to be the first chancellor of the college. To defray the charges of building the college, and supporting the president and masters, the king and queen gave nearly £2,000, and endowed the college with twenty thousand acres of the best land, together with the perpetual revenue arising from the duty of one penny per pound on all tobacco transported from Virginia and Maryland to the other English plantations. By the charter, liberty was given to the president and masters or professors to elect one member of the House of Burgesses of the General Assembly. In grateful acknowledgment of the royal patronage and benefaction, the college was called William and Mary.*" This was the second college founded in North America.

Sir Edmund Andros, of whose troubles in New England we have already spoken, was appointed Governor of Virginia in 1692. Contrary to
 what might have been expected **1692.**
 of him from his previous course, Andros rendered himself very popular in

* Holmes's "American Annals," vol. i., p. 443.

his new government, and, during the six years he was in office, he was particularly serviceable to the colony in collecting, arranging, and taking measures to preserve the public records. Early in 1693, Thomas Neale obtained a patent for establishing a post in the colonies at rates proportioned to those of the English post-office. An act was also passed, in 1696, fixing the salaries of the ministers at sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, together with a glebe, and a dwelling house to be provided by the parish.

1696. Nicholson, in 1698, was reappointed to Virginia, and, with his usual activity, undertook various measures for the benefit of the colony. An act was passed in December of this year **1698.** for the building of a new city, which was to be hereafter the capital of the province in place of Jamestown. The college had already been erected at Middle Plantation, and the region having proved salubrious, the site of the new city was fixed upon in the vicinity of the college on two pleasant creeks that run out of James and York Rivers. As showing their loyal devotion the streets of the new city, named Williamsburg, were laid out in the form of a cypher made from the letters W and M. In order to defray the expense of building a Capitol or State House, the tax on liquors was continued, and a new tax on servants not born in England or Wales, and on slaves imported into the colony. During the same session, provision was made for thoroughly revising the colonial statutes, and also, in obedience to orders received from England, the benefits of the English tol-

eration acts were extended to the dissenters.

Although this last was a step in the right direction, yet but little, if any, aid was to be expected from the royal governors towards attaining enlarged political freedom. "The powers of the governor," says Mr. Bancroft, "were exorbitant; he was at once lieutenant general and admiral, lord treasurer and chancellor, the chief judge in all courts, president of the council, and bishop or ordinary, so that the armed force, the revenue, the interpretation of law, the administration of justice, the church,—all were under his control or guardianship."* Checks on this power, it is true, did exist, in the instructions from the mother country, the Council, and the General Assembly; but, as the instructions were kept secret, the members were in a great measure dependent on the governor for their seats, and as the Assembly was under pretty strict surveillance and occupied somewhat of a subordinate position, the governor, if so disposed, was at liberty to exercise tyrannical sway over the people.

The Virginians, however, nursed the spirit of independence in various ways. They knew well the importance of the colony to England; they were jealous of their rights; they would not vote money unless they could have some oversight of its distribution; and by their aristocratic tendencies they both acquired and retained extensive power in the management of public affairs. When Nicholson favored the project of

* Bancroft's "*History of the United States*," vol. iii., p. 26

providing for the general defence of the colonies against the French by quotas of money, Virginia not only refused to vote its money but with entire unanimity justified its course, despite the special orders from England. Nicholson, having manifested his dissatisfaction in pretty plain terms, with this result, **1705.** he became unpopular, and as he had been guilty of some acts that would not bear too close scrutiny he was removed in 1705.

The ministers of Queen Anne now adopted a line of policy by no means wise or just. The office of governor was made a sinecure, and so remained for about fifty years, the nominal governor receiving three-fifths of the salary, or £1200 sterling annually, and the deputy governor receiving the balance, or £800 for doing all the work. The Earl of Orkney was the first governor under this arrangement. Edward Nott, the deputy, lived only a year; there was, however, effected during his brief administration a fifth revision of the Virginia code, which had been in progress for some years. Most of the provisions relate to the cases of indented servants, slaves, the Indians still remaining, etc., and in general the enactments are marked by a desire to promote humanity and justice. Each county was allowed two burgesses, and Jamestown one, to be elected by the freeholders. The twelve counsellors were allowed about \$1600 annually, for their services in attending the General Assembly and Courts, in proportion to the time spent in actual duty.

On Mr. Nott's death, the place of lieutenant was bestowed upon Hunter,

afterwards governor of New York, but he having been captured by the French on his passage out, Edmund Jennings, president of the Council for several years, discharged the duties of the post. Alexander Spotswood, a military officer of age, judgment, and conciliating manners, was appointed deputy governor in 1710; and he brought with him the formal extension of the *habeas corpus* act to the province of Virginia. Soon after his arrival, Spotswood, who seems to have been in advance of his compeers in divining the purposes of the French in the west and south west, undertook an expedition across the Blue Ridge, and thereby opened the way to a knowledge of the country on the Ohio and Western lakes. Although no immediate results followed this expedition, yet it was a good beginning; Spotswood was knighted, and in due time the beautiful valley beyond the Ridge was settled by colonists. **1711.** In 1711, the province was represented by Spotswood as in a state of entire peace and happiness, and though occasional trials of his equanimity occurred, when Councils were stubborn and Assemblies obstinate, yet, on the whole, the gallant deputy governor passed the thirteen years of his official life in Virginia in quiet and satisfaction; probably Mr. Bancroft is correct in terming him "the best in the line of Virginia governors."

In 1723, Hugh Drysdale was sent out as Spotswood's successor. He proved himself quite acceptable to the Virginians, and reported **1723.** to the authorities at home that there

was in the province "general harmony and contentment." Drysdale's death occurred in 1727, and the government was committed to William Gouch, a military officer of amiable manners and temper. Virginia enjoyed peace and prosperity for many years under his government.* Settlers also began to penetrate the Blue Ridge, and established themselves in the valley beyond. There were, however, no towns, as yet, in the ordinary sense of the word, and but few villages. The capitol at Williamsburg having been destroyed by fire, the burgesses endeavored to remove the seat of government; but the Council defeated the project. Near the close of Gouch's administration, the sixth and last colonial revisal of the Virginia code was made.

As we have before stated, (p. 150,) the government of Maryland was for some three years in the hands of the insurgents. In 1692, the king sent out Lionel Copley as royal governor, under whom the Assembly not only repealed all existing laws, but enacted an entirely new code. The Church of England was established by law; the province was divided into thirty parishes, and tithes were imposed upon every inhabitant without regard to his religious opinions. Great complaints were made by the Roman Catholics and Quakers of the oppressiveness of this tax, and they spared no

* During the ten years from 1720 to 1730, according to Mr. Hildreth, the value of goods exported from England to the North American colonies,—i. e. New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and Carolina,—was £4,712,992= \$20,906,140; being an annual average of about \$2,000,000.

efforts to oppose the establishment in any and every way they could. The Rev. Dr. Bray, whose zeal and self-denial deserve to be held in honor, was appointed commissary by the Bishop of London, in 1696; it was through his efforts, that "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" was originated in 1698, and obtained a charter in 1701. Dr. Bray visited Maryland in 1699, returned to England the next year, and during the remainder of his life did all in his power to promote the spiritual interests of the Colonies.* In 1702, by the act of toleration, every sect was allowed liberty except the Roman Catholic. Two years later, after Colonel Seymour had arrived as governor, legalized persecution was set on foot against the papists, mass was forbidden to be said publicly, and children were tempted to hypocrisy by offers of shares in their parents' property, etc. Seymour died in 1709, and John Hart was appointed governor in 1714.

The first Lord Baltimore had become a Roman Catholic from conviction; the present successor to his title and estates, perceiving that ruin was impending unless he or his family could obtain a restoration of the proprietary rights, prevailed upon his son Benedict Leonard, to embrace the doctrines of the Established Church. This having been done, the administration of the colony was restored to the

* Dr. Bray died in 1730, at an advanced age.—See Dr. Hawks's "Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland," p. 82, etc., for a more full account of this excellent man and his labors.

Calvert family, in full. His infant son, Charles,—his father having died within a year—succeeded as the fifth Lord Baltimore. Hart was continued in office, and though no special effect was produced in Maryland by this change of religious views on the part of the proprietary, it was judged expedient, by the legislature, to impose a test oath by which Roman Catholics were excluded from all share in the government. Charles Calvert, a kinsman of the proprietary, succeeded Hart as governor, in 1720. Some years later the free school system was carried out, with advantage to the colony and its progress.

A younger brother of the proprietary was governor of Maryland from 1727 onward: during his administration, acts were passed offering bounties on flax, hemp, and iron. Calvert went to England in 1732, and soon after the proprietary in person arrived in the colony. His main object was to endeavor to agree upon the line between Maryland, and Pennsylvania and Delaware. The controversy was not settled until after some twenty years of litigation. Lord Baltimore returned to England in 1736, and Benjamin Ogle took charge of the administration of public affairs. During the remainder of the period between this and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Maryland continued to advance in prosperity, and was ready to take her share in the measures rendered necessary by the jealousy of the French, and the near approach of that contest for the mastery soon to be fought between the hostile nations and colonies.

In Carolina, Philip Ludwell was appointed by the proprietaries, in 1690, to the governorship of that province. Sothel was compelled to retire from the place he had usurped, (see page 128) and Ludwell began his administration, over both South and North Carolina, in a way that promised to give peace and satisfaction to the colony. It was, however, of but short duration. The old enmities between Churchmen and Dissenters, and between these same and the Huguenots, now considerable in number and political importance, were revived, and Ludwell, in 1693, retired in disgust. He was succeeded in Albemarle by Thomas Harvey, and in the southern province by Thomas Smith, a man of high character and a member of the Council. The "Grand Model," which had never satisfied any one, was this same year—1693—formally abrogated, it being voted by the proprietaries, "That as the people have declared they would rather be governed by the powers granted by the charter, without regard to the fundamental constitutions, it will be for their quiet, and the protection of the well-disposed, to grant their request."

In order to restore tranquility, Smith advised the proprietaries to send over one of their own number. This advice was adopted; the place was offered to the Earl of Shaftesbury; on his declining, John Archdale, a worthy Quaker, was appointed. His measures were, on the whole, judicious and productive of good results, and having succeeded in allaying some of the fermentations and disputes between contend-

ing parties, and also having displayed a friendly disposition towards the Spaniards in Florida, Archdale appointed Joseph Blake, a nephew of the famous admiral, as governor, and the next year returned to England.

Not long before, a vessel from Madagascar, on her homeward voyage to Britain, happening to touch at Charleston, the captain presented the governor with a bag of seed rice, which he said he had seen growing in eastern countries, where it was deemed excellent food, and yielded a prodigious increase. Cultivated at first more as a curiosity than with any definite expectation of the result, it soon grew to be esteemed a most important staple. "Hence," says Mr. Bancroft, "the opulence of the colony; hence also, its swarms of negro slaves. The profits of the rice fields tempted the planter to enlarge his domains, and Africa furnished laborers."

Although the majority of the colonists were Dissenters, yet in 1704, by a very small majority, they were **1704.** disfranchised, and the monopoly of political power bestowed upon the Church of England. Archdale opposed the bill in the court of proprietaries, but through Lord Granville's efforts it was sanctioned: two years later, on application to the queen, the intolerant acts were declared null and void, and in November, 1706, so far **1706.** as political privileges were concerned, they were repealed by the Colonial Assembly: the Church of England nevertheless was established as the religion of the province. Angry strifes ensued, and turbulence and popular

excitements were not uncommon. Still the period was one of prosperity and exemption from the trials to which other colonies were exposed.

A graphic picture is drawn by Mr. Bancroft of the State of North Carolina, "the sanctuary of runaways," where "every one did what was right in his own eyes, paying tribute neither to God nor to Cæsar;" and of the effort made under Robert Daniel, the deputy governor, to establish the Church of England among such a people as **1704.** this. Of course the effort was abortive; anarchy ensued; the two parties were arrayed one against the other; each party had its governor; each elected its House of Representatives. The Quakers **1706 to 1710.** determined to resist the operation of what they deemed injustice; and notwithstanding the governor of Virginia was asked to interfere with a military force, the malcontents **1712.** were unterrified, and persisted in their attitude of defiance. But the attention of the whole province was soon engrossed by a war with the Tuscarora Indians. These, enraged by what they deemed a trespass on their land, proceeded to revenge themselves in the usual manner of savages. The Quakers in North Carolina refused to bear arms; South Carolina sent some aid; but the yellow fever breaking out, the inhabitants fled in terror and distress from the ravages of disease, and the inroads of the Indians. The next winter—1713—a force of militia **1713.** and Indians from South Carolina, subdued the Tuscaroras, and some eight hundred prisoners were sold into

slavery. The balance of the tribe escaped, and made their way northward, where they were at last received as a sixth tribe in the confederacy of the Five Nations.

A rupture having taken place in 1702, between England and Spain, the attention of the colony was directed to a different object, which afforded 1702. Governor Moore an opportunity of exercising his military talents, and a prospect of enriching himself by Spanish plunder or Indian captives. He proposed to the Assembly, whose cupidity was easily excited, an expedition against the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine. Many applauded the proposal, but men of cool reflection doubted the expediency of the measure. A large majority of the Assembly, however, declared in favor of the expedition, and a sum of £2,000 sterling was voted for the service of the war. Six hundred Indians were engaged, who, being fond of warlike exploits, gladly accepted of arms and ammunition offered them for their aid and assistance. Six hundred provincial militia were raised, and schooners and merchant ships were impressed for transports to carry the forces. Port Royal was fixed upon as the place of general rendezvous, whence the expedition sailed in September. In the plan of operations, it had been agreed that Colonel Daniel, who was an officer of spirit, should go by the inland passage with a party of militia and Indians, and attack the town by land, while the governor should proceed to support him by sea. Daniel was quite successful, having arrived first and plundered

the town; but the Spaniards having laid up provisions for four months in the castle, on his approach they retired to it, with all their money and most valuable effects. Upon the arrival of Moore, the place was invested with a force against which the Spaniards could not contend, and they therefore kept themselves shut up in their stronghold. The governor, finding it impossible to dislodge them without additional artillery, sent a sloop to Jamaica for cannon, bombs, and mortars. While he was waiting the return of the vessel, the Spaniards at Havana, having received information of this sudden attack, sent two ships, the one of twenty-two guns and the other of sixteen, which presently appeared off the mouth of the harbor, and struck such a panic into Moore, that he instantly raised the siege, abandoned his ships, and made a precipitate retreat to Carolina by land; by this movement the Spaniards in the garrison were not only relieved, but the ships, provisions, and ammunition, belonging to the Carolinians, fell also into their hands. Daniel, who had command of the vessel sent to Jamaica, on his return found the siege raised, and narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the Spaniards.

Moore was sharply censured for his conduct, and a debt of £6,000 sterling was entailed upon the colony in consequence. A bill was passed by the Assembly for stamping bills of credit to answer the public expense, which were to be sunk in three years, by a duty laid upon liquors, skins, and furs. This was the first paper money issued in Carolina, and for some years it remained

at par value. Moore, having attacked the Apalachian Indians, was quite successful in breaking up their power; his successor, also, was enabled to resist an attack of the Spaniards, in 1706, on Charleston.

Scarcely had North Carolina recovered from the Indian devastations when South Carolina was exposed to similar calamity. For some time past the Indian tribes had been laying their plans to extirpate the whites, and the combination extended from the tribes in Florida to those in the neighborhood of Cape Fear. The day before the Yemassee began their work of blood, deep gloom was observed to have settled on their faces, and other indications of impending trouble were not wanting. The next morning, April

15th, hostilities broke out. The leaders were all out under arms, calling upon their followers, and proclaiming aloud designs of vengeance. The young men, burning with fury and passion, flew to their arms, and in a few hours, massacred above ninety persons in Pocotaligo town and the neighboring plantations; and many more must have fallen a sacrifice on Port Royal Island, had they not providentially been warned of their danger.

The Yemassee, spreading desolation and ruin on every side, and driving the planters to take refuge in Charleston, were soon joined by the Catawbias, the Cherokees, and the Creeks, all of them a short time before allies of the Carolinians in the war against the Tuscaroras. The Indians, so far as could be ascertained, were some six or seven thousand strong. In Charleston, how-

ever, there were not more than a thousand two hundred men fit to bear arms, but as the town had several forts into which the inhabitants might retreat, Gov. Craven resolved to march with this small force into the woods against the enemy. He proclaimed martial law, and laid an embargo on all ships, to prevent either men or provisions from leaving the country. He obtained an act of Assembly, empowering him to impress men, and seize arms, ammunition, and stores, wherever they were to be found, to arm such trusty negroes as might prove serviceable in this conjuncture, and to prosecute the war with vigor. New York and Virginia sent some military stores, and North Carolina lent such aid as was in her power. Advancing warily, Craven came upon the Indians at Salteatchers, where they were encamped. Here a bloody engagement took place, in which the white men were victorious. The Yemassee were driven out and retired to Florida, and a year or so afterwards peace was concluded with the other tribes. Several hundred inhabitants lost their lives in this war, the damages of which were estimated at £100,000, besides a debt, in bills of credit, of about the same amount.

The proprietaries, though earnestly solicited, refused to afford any relief, or to pay any portion of the debt. The Assembly, therefore, deter-

1716.

mined to remunerate the colony, by disposing of the land from which the Indians had been driven. The terms offered were so favorable, that five hundred Irishmen immediately came over, and planted themselves on the

frontiers. The proprietaries, most unwisely as well as unjustly, refused to sanction the proceedings of the Assembly, and deprived these emigrants of their lands. Reduced to extreme poverty, some perished from want, while others resorted to the northern colonies; and thus a strong barrier between the old settlements and the savages was removed, and the country again exposed to their incursions. The people were exasperated, and longed for a change of masters; and the corrupt and oppressive conduct of Trott, the chief justice, and Rhett, the receiver-general, increased the discontent. Of

the former, the governor and

1718. Council complained to the proprietaries, and asked for his removal; but the authorities at home refused. Johnson, the governor, was ordered to dissolve the Assembly, which he did, despite the excited state of the public

mind. The newly-chosen representatives, elected in December, declined to act as an Assembly, and assumed the character of a revolutionary convention. Johnson refusing to join them, the members of the Convention selected Colonel James Moore to govern the colony in the king's name, and entered into an association for common defence, as well against the Spaniards as the proprietaries. An agent was sent to England in behalf of the colonists, and after a hearing, legal

1720. process was taken for vacating the Carolina charter; pending this process the administration of South Carolina was assumed by the Crown.

Sir Francis Nicholson came out to South Carolina with a commission as

provisional royal governor. Taught by experience of the temper of the colonists, Nicholson desired to make himself popular, and favored as much as he could the wishes of the people, by appointing Middleton president of the Council, and Allen, chief justice, both active in the late movements against the proprietaries. He also gave his sanction to a large additional issue of paper money. Great confusion and sharp contests for a number of years followed on this subject. **1721.** **1722.**

North Carolina had not joined in the insurrection against proprietary authority. Some years afterwards, however, the proprietaries of the province made an arrangement by which they sold out their rights to the crown, for about £22,000. **1729.**

Robert Johnson was appointed royal governor of South Carolina; and Burrington, who had been in disgrace previously, was reappointed to the same office in North Carolina. Burrington was succeeded, in 1734, by Gabriel Johnston. The president of the Council, William Bull, succeeded Broughton, in South Carolina, in 1737. **1734.**

In the early part of 1730, Sir Alexander Cumming was sent out to effect an amicable arrangement with the Cherokees for peacable settlement on the lands near the Savannah River. Cumming was successful in his mission, and a treaty was drawn up by which the sovereignty of the king was acknowledged and privileges of settlement in the Indian territories freely accorded. The Cherokees, in consequence of this treaty, for many years

remained in a state of perfect friendship and peace with the colonists, who followed their various employments in the neighborhood of those Indians without the least terror or molestation.

The Carolinas now attracted considerable attention, and their population was increased by accessions from several of the states of Europe. Encouraged by the assurances and the arrangements of their countryman, John Peter Pury, a native of Neufchatel, in Switzerland, one hundred and seventy persons emigrated with him to this province, and not long after they were joined by two hundred more. The governor, according to agreement, allotted forty thousand acres of land for the use of the Swiss settlement on the north-east side of the Savannah River; and a town was marked out for their accommodation, which he called Purysburgh, from the name of the principal promoter of the settlement. These settlers, however, felt very severely the change of climate, to which many of their lives fell a sacrifice; and for some years the survivors deeply regretted the voluntary banishment to which they had subjected themselves. In the same year, according to a plan that had been recently adopted in England, for the more speedy population and settlement of Carolina, eleven townships were marked out on the sides of rivers, in square plats, each consisting of twenty thousand acres. Two of these townships were laid out on the Alatomaha; two

on the Savannah; two on the Santee; one on the Pedee; one on the Wacamaw; one on the Wateree; and one on Black River. The lands in these townships were divided into shares of fifty acres for each man, woman, and child, who should come over to occupy and improve them. In 1737, **1737.** multitudes of laborers and husbandmen in Ireland, unable to procure a comfortable subsistence for their families in their native land, embarked for Carolina. The first colony of Irish, receiving a grant of lands near the Santee River, formed a settlement, which was called Williamsburgh.

The following year, a party of slaves made an insurrection in South Carolina, which, however, was easily subdued. **1738** Jealous of Spanish influence, and coveting the great wealth of Spanish towns and ships, the Carolinas joined in enterprises against the Spaniards; but the one in 1740, **1740.** against St. Augustine, was unsuccessful. In North Carolina the question of the quit-rents continued to be productive of discord, and the officers of the crown were for years unpaid. The matter was, however, arranged in 1748. Notwithstanding difficulties and trials of various descriptions, the colony increased in population and wealth; and in some cases the younger members of rich families were sent to England to be educated. By and by we shall see the effect of this change brought about by the possession of wealth and leisure.

CHAPTER V.

1732—1754.

FOUNDING AND PROGRESS OF GEORGIA.

Origin of Georgia — James Edward Oglethorpe — His character and merits — Object of the colony — Error of judgment at the first — Oglethorpe at the head of the colony — Founding of Savannah — Emigration of Lutherans from Salzburg — Moravians — Jews — Highlanders — Charles and John Wesley in Georgia — Discontent among some of the colonists — Slavery desired — When introduced — Spanish claims to the territory — Oglethorpe's plans — Resists Spanish pretensions — Attack on St. Augustine — Unsuccessful — Spanish expedition against Georgia and Carolina — Oglethorpe's trial — Charges against him — His complete vindication — Whitfield in America — The great revival — Changes in the government — Slow progress of Georgia — Expensiveness of the colony — Royal governor appointed — The people hospitable — Value of the land not yet known.

SOME years before the breaking out of the third intercolonial war, the colony of GEORGIA was planted in that waste and unproductive portion of Carolina, between the Savannah and the Alatomaha rivers. Its origin was due to kindly and benevolent motives and desires, notwithstanding the errors of judgment into which its founders fell; and the name of James Edward Oglethorpe will always be held in deserved honor and esteem. This philanthropic man was earnestly intent upon mitigating the evils connected with imprisonment for debt, and hoped also to provide seasonable relief for the struggling poor of England, who might desire to live soberly and industriously, and reap the fruits of their efforts. In conjunction with Lord Percival and other noblemen and gentlemen, Oglethorpe obtained a charter* from parliament of a part of Carolina, south of the Savan-

nah, to be settled for the purpose just named. Liberal contributions were made by the nobility and clergy; parliament also made a grant; and the warmest interest was excited in favor of the plan. They who thought of political advantages, favored the project because of the service Georgia was likely to prove as a barrier on the south against the Spaniards; merchants were attracted by promises of wine and silk as staples for the new colony; Protestants looked hitherward as a refuge for their persecuted brethren on the continent; those who desired to labor for the conversion of the Indians, had here opened to them a wide field; everything, in short, seemed to favor the undertaking. And the official seal had on one of its faces a group of silkworms with the motto, "*non sibi, sed aliis*,"—"not for themselves, but for others."

The great error of judgment at the beginning was in confining the emigration to that helpless, inefficient, querulous class of the community, who, by

* See the "*Historical Collections of Georgia*," by Rev. Geo. White, for the Charter of the Colony.

misfortune and ill success at home, were little fitted to encounter the toils and privations of a new country; the very sort of persons needed as pioneers, such as husbandmen, artificers, and laborers, were the ones excluded from the benefit of the charity. But this error was not of long continuance.

Oglethorpe offered to endure the fatigue of planting the colony himself. Accordingly, with thirty-five families—about a hundred and thirty-five persons—a clergyman, having with him Bibles, Prayer Books, and Catechisms, a person to instruct in cultivation of silk, and several officers of justice, Oglethorpe set sail from Deptford,

November 17th, 1732, reached **1732.** Charleston early in 1733, where he and his company were hospitably entertained, and soon after landed on the shores of the new province. On ascending the Savannah River, a pine-covered hill, somewhat elevated above its level shores, the Yamacraw Bluff, was fixed upon as the seat of the capital, which was laid out in broad avenues and open squares, and named SAVANNAH, after the Indian name of the river. During these operations, Oglethorpe pitched his tent under a canopy of lofty pine trees. He found the spot,

1733. on his arrival, occupied by a small body of the Creek Indians, who were easily induced to surrender it and to yield to the settlers an ample extent of territory.* Immediate steps were taken for setting forward the work of

colonization and settlement. A small battery commanded the river; a palisade was erected; an experimental garden was laid out for vines, mulberry trees, etc.; and a storehouse was built.

Soon after, a body of German Lutherans, from the valleys of the Western Alps, within the archbishopric of Salzburg, who had been exposed to persecution at home, obtained the sympathy and assistance of the English parliament, who furnished the means for enabling them to emigrate. Headed by their ministers, they left the home of their fathers on foot, and walked to Rotterdam, their place of embarkation, chanting as they went hymns of thanksgiving for their deliverance. They touched at Dover, where they had an interview with their English patrons; and on reaching Georgia, in March, 1734, formed, at

1734. a distance above Savannah, a settlement, piously called Ebenezer, where they were shortly after joined by other members of their community. To these, early in 1735, were added several Moravians, the disciples of Count Zinzendorf. A company of about forty destitute Jews had also been furnished by some of their wealthier brethren with the means of emigrating to Georgia, where, though not encouraged by the trustees, they were allowed to establish themselves in peace.

Oglethorpe returned to England in April, 1734, and carried with him several Creek chiefs, and some specimens of Georgia silk. The Indians were treated with great attention, and, deeply impressed with the power and wealth of the English, were ready to

* For the interesting history of Mary Musgrove, who acted as interpreter, and the Rev. Mr. Bosomworth, her husband subsequently, see Mr. White's "*Historical Collections of Georgia*," pp. 21-31.

promise perpetual fidelity. By means of an additional parliamentary grant of £26,000, steps were taken for occu-

1736. pying the region lying near to

Florida. Early in 1736, a body of Scotch Highlanders founded New Inverness on the Alatamaha. Oglethorpe returned to Georgia with these settlers, having in his company John and Charles Wesley, afterwards celebrated for their connection with the Methodist movement. Charles Wesley was appointed secretary to Oglethorpe, and John was chosen the parish minister of Savannah. At first he was very popular, and was listened to with great devotion by all classes in the community; but his zeal ere long involved him in difficulties, which led to his leaving Georgia. He had formed an attachment for a young lady, whose piety at first appeared unquestionable, but proving afterwards not quite equal to what Wesley and his religious associates required, he had been led by principle to break off the connection, and the lady was married to another person. Becoming now more "worldly" than before, she was refused admission to the Lord's Supper by Wesley, as unfit to partake of that solemnity, an exclusion for which her husband brought a suit, and claimed damages to the amount of £1,000. Wesley, charged beside with a number of other

1737. abuses of authority, and finding the public feeling decidedly against him, "shook off the dust of his feet," as he phrases it, and left Georgia in disgust. He never afterwards revisited America.

The Germans and Scotch were toler-

ably well contented with their position; industry and frugality brought their proper reward; but the class of settlers spoken of above, soon became clamorous for the privilege of having rum to use, and the keeping of slaves, both of which had been expressly forbidden from the first by the trustees. Discontent, and factious language and action, became quite prevalent among these; and by constant agitation, during ten years or so that followed, their wishes were yielded to, and slavery was introduced into Georgia.

Oglethorpe, aware of the importance of strengthening his position, took measures to fortify the colony against the neighboring Spaniards. A fort was erected on an island near the mouth of the Alatamaha River, where a town called Frederica was regularly laid out and built; and ten miles nearer the sea, on Cumberland Island, was raised a battery, commanding the entrance into Jekyl Sound, through which all ships of force must pass to reach Frederica. The Spaniards took umbrage at these proceedings on the part of the English, and sent a commissioner from Havana to demand an evacuation of all the territory south of St. Helena Sound, as belonging to the King of Spain. Oglethorpe, of course, resisted such a demand. He had acquired the veneration of all classes by his benevolent labors, "nobly devoting all his powers to serve the poor, and rescue them from their wretchedness;" and though he himself possessed no share of territory in Georgia, he determined to shelter it, if needful, with his life. "To me," he said to Charles Wesley,

"death is nothing. If separate spirits regard our little concerns, they do it as men regard the follies of their childhood." Having proceeded to England, he raised and disciplined a regiment, and returned to Savannah in
1738. September, 1738, with the appointment of military commandant of Georgia and the Carolinas, and with directions to "repel force by force."

In August of the next year, Oglethorpe travelled some three hundred
1739. miles through the forests, and met the Creeks, near the site of the present city of Columbus, who promised to maintain amity and concord with the English, and also to exclude all others. Having raised a large
1740. force, Oglethorpe laid siege to St. Augustine; but the expedition was not successful.

Anson's undertakings in despoiling Spanish commerce and colonies, as well as Vernon's efforts in the same line, having proved failures, the Spaniards, in
1742. 1742, determined to attack Georgia and Carolina with a force of three thousand men. Nothing but the ignorance of the Spanish commander saved the colonies from impending and fearful disaster; and Oglethorpe was enabled to repel an attack upon Frederica without serious difficulty. Notwithstanding, however, his devotion to the interests of Georgia, Oglethorpe experienced much the same trials as other men placed in the like positions, and was exposed to a large share of petty meanness and ingratitude. The discontented colonists first sent over Thomas Stevens as their agent to England, laden with com-

plaints against the trustees in general, which, having been duly examined by the House of Commons, were pronounced to be "false, scandalous, and malicious." Oglethorpe himself,
1743. soon after, went to England, to answer charges brought against his character, which he so effectually succeeded in vindicating, that his accuser, Cook, who was his own lieutenant-colonel, was deprived of his commission. Marrying presently and accepting a home appointment, the founder of Georgia never afterwards revisited America; but he lived long enough to see the establishment of the independence of the United States. Oglethorpe died, July 1st, 1785, at the great age of ninety-seven.

Directly after Wesley's return to England, the equally celebrated George Whitfield embarked for Georgia, and labored very effectively in many ways to set forward the cause of charity and religion. The orphan house near Savannah owed its origin to the labors of Whitfield. Mr. Hildreth devotes a number of pages in his second volume, to an account of the "Great Revival" in New England, consequent upon Whitfield's preaching and influence, aided by such men as Jonathan Edwards, David Brainerd, and others. On the whole, we deem Mr. Hildreth's account a fair one, though probably not entirely acceptable to any of the parties whose names he freely uses. "Religion, so conspicuous hitherto as the glowing, sometimes lurid, atmosphere of our historical pictures, fades henceforth, almost vanishes away:" because, thenceforth, men were content to give

up the idea, which is now scouted at by almost all, that religion and politics must go together. Men now care not whether a man has any religion whatever, so far as political and civil relations are concerned. May not the question be worth considering, whether, in departing from the extreme theocratic views of the Puritans, we have not reached the opposite extreme? Is the atheistical indifferentism of our day a better thing for the good of the community than the stern denunciation of the world, and all connection with it, of former times?

The reader, however, who takes note of the important effect upon a people of all extended religious movements, like the one now under consideration, will, we think, not be displeased to see what Mr. Hinton* has to say in regard to the "Great Revival."

"It was in the year 1735, that the first very decided indication of a revival spirit manifested itself at Northampton, Massachusetts, under the ministry of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, afterwards president of the college in New Jersey. It appears to have commenced among the young people of his congregation. 'Presently,' says Dr. Edwards, 'a great and earnest concern about the things of religion and the eternal world became universal in all parts of the town, and among persons of all degrees and ages. All the conversation in all companies, and upon all occasions, was upon these things only, unless so much as was necessary for people to carry on their ordinary secu-

lar business. Other discourse than of the things of religion would scarcely be tolerated in any company. They seemed to follow their worldly business more as a part of their duty, than from any disposition they had to it. The temptation now seemed to lie on this hand, to neglect worldly affairs too much, and to spend too much time in the immediate exercises of religion. But although people did not ordinarily neglect their worldly business, yet there then was the reverse of what commonly is; religion was with all the great concern.' This state of feeling spread rapidly during the following seven years through many of the New England States, and in some of those of New York and New Jersey. 'This work,' says Dr. Trumbull,* 'was very extraordinary on many accounts. It was much beyond what had been the common course of Providence. It was more universal than had before been known. It extended to all sorts and characters of people, sober and vicious, high and low, rich and poor, wise and unwise. To all appearance, it was no less powerful in families and persons of distinction, in the places which it visited, than others. In former works of this nature, young people had generally been wrought upon, while elderly people and children had been little affected, if moved at all. But at this time old men were affected as well as others.' 'People, in a wonderful manner, flocked together to places of public worship, not only on the Lord's Day, but on lecture days, so that the places of worship

* "History of the United States," p. 134.

* "History of Connecticut," vol. ii., p. 141

could not contain them. They would not only fill the houses, but crowd round the doors and windows without, and press together wherever they could hear the preacher. They would not only thus assemble in their own towns and parishes when the word was preached, but if they had the knowledge of lectures in the neighboring towns and parishes, they would attend them. Sometimes they would follow the preacher from town to town, and from one place to another, for several days together. In some instances, in places but thinly settled, there would be such a concourse, that no house could hold them. There was, in the minds of people, a general fear of sin, and of the wrath of God denounced against it. There seemed to be a general conviction, that all the ways of man were before the eyes of the Lord. It was the opinion of men of discernment and sound judgment, who had the best opportunities of knowing the feelings and general state of the people at that period, that bags of gold and silver, and other precious things, might, with safety, have been laid in the streets, and that no man would have converted them to his own use. Theft, wantonness, intemperance, profaneness, sabbath-breaking, and other gross sins, appeared to be put away. The intermissions on the Lord's Day, instead of being spent in worldly conversation and vanity, as had been too usual before, were now spent in religious conversation, in reading and singing the praises of God. At lectures there was not only great attention and seriousness in the house of God, but the conversa-

tion out of it was generally on the great concerns of the soul.'

"There is a circumstance which considerably contributed to accelerate the diffusion of a revival spirit, which must not be overlooked—the visits of the celebrated contemporaries, Wesley and Whitfield, to the American continent, just at this period. The extraordinary exertions of the latter especially excited and emboldened many faithful ministers of Connecticut, whose labors and pecuniary sacrifices now became greater than they had ever before experienced or imagined they could endure. They not only abounded in active exertions among their own and neighboring congregations, but preached in all parts of the colony, where their brethren would admit them, and in many places in Massachusetts, and the other colonies. They were very popular, and their labors were generally acceptable to their brethren, and useful to the people. They were not noisy preachers, but grave, sentimental, searching, and pungent. Connecticut was, however, more remarkably the seat of the work than any part of New England, or of the American colonies. In the years 1740, 1741, and 1742, it had pervaded, in a greater or less degree, every part of the colony. In most of the towns and societies, it was very general and powerful.

"It has been estimated, that, during three years, from thirty to forty thousand persons had their minds affected in the decided manner which has been described. It might naturally have been supposed, that, as many of these impressions occurred at a period of ex-

traordinary excitement, they would not have been generally productive of permanently beneficial results. The contrary, however, in a very great majority of instances, appears to have been the fact. 'The effects on great numbers,' says Dr. Trumbull, 'were abiding and most happy; they were the most uniform, exemplary Christians, with whom I was ever acquainted. I was born, and had my education, in that part of the town of Hebron in which the work was most prevalent and powerful. They were extraordinary for their constant and serious attention on the public worship; they were prayerful, righteous, peaceable, and charitable; they kept up their religious meetings for prayer, reading, and religious conversation, for many years; they were strict in the religion and government of their families, and I never knew that any one of them was ever guilty of scandal, or fell under discipline. About eight or ten years after the religious revival and reformation, that part of the town was made a distinct society, and it was mentioned to Mr. Lothrop, the pastor elect, as an encouragement to settle with them, that there was not a drunkard in the whole parish. While I lived in it, I did not know of one prayerless family among his people, nor ever heard of one. Some of those people, who dated their conversion from that period, lived until they were far advanced in life; and after I was settled in the ministry, I became acquainted with them in one place and another. They appeared to be some of the most consistent practical Christians with whom I ever had an acquaintance.

Their light shone before men, through a long life, and brightened as they advanced on their way. Some I was called to visit in their last moments in full possession of their rational powers, who appeared perfectly to acquiesce in the will of God, to die in the full assurance of faith, and in perfect triumph over the last enemy.'"

But to return from this digression. The government of Georgia thus far had not proved quite satisfactory; the trustees determined, therefore, after Oglethorpe's return to England, to introduce important changes, committing civil affairs to a president and four councillors. **1743.** William Stevens was appointed president, and notwithstanding his advanced age, he discharged effectively the duties of his post.

The progress of Georgia was slow and uncertain. Not only did the course pursued by the trustees serve to hinder its growth, but the nature of the climate and similar causes had a serious influence upon its prosperity. "After twenty years' efforts, and the expenditure of parliamentary grants to the amount of more than \$600,000, besides about \$80,000 contributed by private ostentation or charity, when the trustees surrendered their rights **1752.** under the charter, Georgia, contained only three small towns and some scattered plantations, with seventeen hundred white inhabitants and four hundred negroes. The total value of the exports for the three years preceding, had hardly amounted to \$13,000. The exportation of wine and drugs had been totally relinquished,

but some hopes of silk were still entertained.* Two years later, the Board of Trade having recommended a form of government, John Reynolds **1754.** was sent out as governor. The legislature was similar in its construction to that of other colonies under the Crown. The genuine Southern spirit of hospitality prevailed in Geor-

gia, as in other colonies; yet, although the people were now favored with the same liberties and privileges enjoyed by their neighbors under the royal care, several years more elapsed before the value of the lands in Georgia was known, and that spirit of industry aroused, which afterwards diffused its happy influence over the country.

CHAPTER VI.

1698—1753.

COLONIZATION AND PROGRESS OF LOUISIANA.

Lemoine D'Iberville — Colonists led by him — Enters the Mississippi — Importance of the movement — English jealousy — Ships sent by them — Outwitted by Bienville — D'Iberville charged with various projects by the government — Ascends the Mississippi — Losses by sickness — D'Iberville's death — Settlement at Mobile — Condition of the colonists — Slow progress — Kept alive by help from abroad — Grant to Crozat — Cadillac governor — Ill success — Depressed state of the colony — The famous Mississippi Company — John Law and his career — His schemes in financial matters — Their effect upon France — Colonists sent out by the Company — New Orleans founded — War with Spain — Military and ecclesiastical establishment — Population in 1727 — Massacre by the Natchez Indians — Retaliation by the French — War with the Chickasaws — Difficulty in the way of subduing this brave tribe — Bienville leaves Louisiana — Administration of the Marquis de Vaudreuil — Kerlerec appointed governor.

For some years after La Salle's untimely death (p. 141,) the whole region of the lower Mississippi remained undisturbed. The peace of Ryswick, however, opened the way for fresh efforts on the part of the French to carry out their favorite project of establishing an uninterrupted line of communication between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico. Lemoine D'Iberville was chosen as the leader in this important enterprise. He was well known as a brave and skilful naval

officer, and stood high in the esteem of his Canadian countrymen.* On the 17th of October, 1698, he embarked with two frigates and some two hundred settlers—mostly dis- **1698.** banded soldiers—to plant a colony at the mouth of the Mississippi, which as yet had not been entered from the sea. Early in February, 1699—the Spaniards having prevented his entering

* Hildreth's "History of the United States," vol. ii., p. 453.

* Mr. Gayarré, in his interesting work, "*Romance of the History of Louisiana*," vol. i., p. 30-36, gives a very spirited and graphic account of a sea fight off the coast of New England, in which D'Iberville succeeded in gaining the victory over three English ships which attacked him at the same time.

the harbor of Pensacola—D'Iberville landed on Dauphine Island, near Mobile, and soon after discovered the River Pascagoula and the tribes of the Biloxi. Leaving most of the colonists in huts on Ship Island, D'Iberville, in company with his brother, Bienville, and about fifty men, took two barges and set out to find the entrance to the Mississippi. Guided by the muddy waters, on the 2d of March, they discovered the mouth of the great river, which they ascended as high as Red

River, and received from some

1699. Indians the letter which Tonti had written to La Salle, in 1684. Turning again down the river, D'Iberville left the main stream, and passing through the Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain, made his way back by a shorter passage, to the place where the main body of the colonists were waiting his movements. At the head of the Bay of Biloxi, on the sandy and desolate shore, and under the burning sun of that region, a fort was erected in May. D'Iberville returned to France, leaving his brothers Sauvolle and Bienville in command.

Such was the beginning of the colony, and though it was plainly impossible to look for prosperity there, still it was an important movement in advancing the purposes of the French in America. "Already a line of communication existed between Quebec and the Gulf of Mexico. The boundless southern region—made a part of the French empire by lilies carved on forest trees, or crosses erected on bluffs, and occupied by French missionaries and forest rangers—was annexed to the

command of the governor of Biloxi."*

England, ever wakeful in her jealousy of France, determined to assert a claim to the region thus occupied; and an expedition under Coxe, a London physician, who had purchased the old patent of Carolana, set out for the mouth of the Mississippi. In September, **1699** 1699, as Bienville was exploring the forks below New Orleans, he met an English ship of sixteen guns; with the ready wit of genius he persuaded the English commander that the region where he then was, was already occupied and settled by the French, and thus got rid of a very troublesome visitor. The point where this occurred in the river is still known as the *English Turn*.

D'Iberville returned early in December, 1699, and various and important projects were entrusted to him to carry out; but especially was he to seek for, and to find, gold. In company with his brother, he ascended the Mississippi, and visited various tribes of Indians; but all inquiry and search for gold was in vain: the aged Tonti, with a few companions from the banks of **1700.** the Illinois, joined D'Iberville in this expedition, and they ascended the Mississippi, some three or four hundred miles. Bilious fevers carried off numbers, the amiable Sauvolle among the earliest; and when D'Iberville returned again from France, to which he had gone for provisions and soldiers, he found only a hundred **1702.** and fifty alive. D'Iberville was

* Baneroff's "*History of the United States.*" vol. iii., p. 202.

attacked by yellow fever, and his health was broken down by its effects upon his constitution. He died at Havana, in 1706. Louisiana, at his death, was little more than a wilderness: in the whole of its borders there were not more than thirty families.

The major part of the settlers found it necessary to abandon Biloxi, and removed to Mobile, near the head of the bay of that name. This was the first European settlement within the limits of what is now the State of Alabama, and it remained, as Mr. Hildreth states, for twenty years the head quarters of the colony. No regular systematic industry had place among them; pearls, gold mines, furs, the wool of the buffalo, were sought for by the colonists. Biloxi was a sandy desert, and the soil on Dauphine Island was meagre and unproductive; in fact, to use Mr. Bancroft's poetic language, "Bienville and his few soldiers were insulated and unhappy, at the mercy of the rise of waters in the river; and the buzz and sting of mosquitoes, the hissing of the snakes, the croaking of the frogs, the cries of alligators, seemed to claim that the country should still for a generation, be the inheritance of reptiles,—while at the fort of Mobile, the sighing of the pines and the hopeless character of the barrens, warned the emigrants to seek homes farther within the land." Recruits, it is true, were added from time to time to the colony; but the whole number of the colonists does not seem ever to have exceeded two hundred at any one time during the next ten years; and had it not been for provisions sent from France and St. Do-

mingo, even these would probably have perished by starvation.

Hardly sustaining itself in existence, even by such means, the colony became a burden to Louis XIV., and in 1712, he granted to Anthony Crozat the exclusive privilege for fifteen years of trading in all that immense country, which, with its undefined limits, France claimed as her own under the name of Louisiana. Bienville, still acting as Governor, was succeeded, in 1713, by Cadillac, as Governor, he himself being appointed Lieutenant Governor. Crozat charged Cadillac to look especially after mineral wealth; and the new Governor, whose character is presented in a very ludicrous light by Mr. Gayarré, expected soon to realize an immense fortune. But his expectations met with a mortifying failure, and he was dismissed without ceremony from his office, whose duties he had discharged to so little profit to any one. Crozat, wearied out with the ill success of his plans for establishing commercial relations with the Spaniards, and getting a share in the trade with the Indians, which trade was monopolized by the English, begged the government, in 1717, to take the colony off his hands. At this date, the whole population, white and colored, was only about seven hundred, and notwithstanding Bienville's activity and success in conciliating and overawing the Natchez Indians, among whom he had placed Fort Rosalie, and notwithstanding various efforts in behalf of the colony, it was at this date in a very depressed state.

France, however, was unwilling to

give up the hope of profit and wealth by means of Louisiana; and the Regent and his advisers determined to hand it over to the famous Company of the West, better known as the Mississippi Company, through whose management it was confidently believed that immense wealth would flow into
1717. the empty treasury of France. This gigantic scheme, one of the most extensive and wonderful bubbles ever blown up to astonish, delude, and ruin thousands of people, was set in operation, and its charter registered by the parliament of Paris, on the 6th of September, 1717, the capital being a hundred millions of livres.

The fertile brain of John Law gave birth to this mighty project of making every body rich with nothing more substantial, in fact, than pieces of paper. Law was born in Edinburgh, in 1671; and so rapid had been his career, that, as Mr. Gayarré says, at twenty-three years of age, he was "a bankrupt, an adulterer, a murderer, and an exiled outlaw." But he was undoubtedly a man of financial ability, and by his agreeable and attractive manners, and his enthusiastic advocacy of his schemes, he succeeded in inflaming the imaginations of the mercurial Frenchmen, whose wishes—fathers to their thoughts—led them readily to adopt any plans for obtaining wealth in preference to those of steady industry and the natural gains of honest and honorable trade.

Arriving in Paris with two million and a half francs, which he had gained at the gambling table, he found himself there just at the right time. Louis

XIV. died soon after, and, in 1716, the Duke of Orleans, the Regent, found the financial condition of France to be truly desperate. "The public debt was immense; it was a legacy bequeathed by the military glory of Louis XIV., and the other pompous vanities of his long reign. The consequence was, that the load of taxation was overwhelming, merely to pay the interest of this debt, without any hope of diminishing the capital. All the sources of industry were dried up: the very winds which wafted the barks of commerce, seemed to have died away under the pressure of the time; trade stood still; the manufacturers were struck with palsy; the merchant, the trader, the artificer, once flourishing in affluence, were now transformed into clamorous beggars, and those who could yet command some small means, were preparing to emigrate to foreign parts. The life-blood that animated the kingdom, was stagnated in all its arteries, and the danger of an awful crisis became such, that it was actually proposed in the Council of State, to expunge the public debt, by an act of national bankruptcy. But the Regent has the credit of having rejected the proposition; and a commission was appointed to inquire into the financial situation of the kingdom, and to prepare a remedy for the evil."*

Law now stepped forward, and the Regent eagerly caught at the proposed means of relief; a bank was es-
1716. tablished, as an experiment, bearing Law's name, with a capital of six millions of livres, divided into shares

* Gayarré's "*History of Louisiana*," vol. i. p. 199

of five hundred livres. This bank was very successful, and a year afterwards its notes were ordered to be received as specie by the royal treasury. From

1718. one step to another is always easy, and so it happened that Law's bank was abolished in December, 1718, and the Royal Bank, with Law as director-general, sprang into existence. The same grand speculator was appointed director-general of the Mississippi Company, and both institutions were merged into one.

Our limits do not admit of following the almost incredible career of John Law, and the frenzy of cupidity displayed by the Parisians and others, in the insane attempt to accomplish the payment of their debts, and increase their wealth, by means of an inflated paper currency. The bubble burst after a few years, scattering ruin and distress in every direction: the bank stopped payment in May, 1720, at which time there was paper in circulation, amounting to 2,235,085,590 livres. The whole of it was suddenly reduced to the value of so much waste paper, and no more. Law fled from the fury of the people to Brussels; nearly every thing was lost; he visited England in 1721; left it in 1722, and died in obscurity and poverty at Venice, in 1729. Truly, to use the words of Mr. Gayarré, "he who could write in all its details the history of that Mississippi bubble, so fatal in its short-lived duration, would give to the world the most instructive composition, made up of the most amusing, ludicrous, monstrous, and horrible elements that were ever jumbled together!"

In March, 1718, three vessels reached Louisiana, with three companies of infantry and sixty-nine colonists; and in June of the same year, 1718. some eight hundred persons, colonists, convicts, and troops, also safely arrived: these were the first installments of the six thousand whites and three thousand negroes which the Mississippi Company agreed to introduce. Bienville was re-appointed governor, and soon after sent a party of convicts to clear up a swamp the site of the present city of New Orleans, so named after the Regent of France. A few years later Bienville removed thither the seat of government, and time has justified his foresight and perspicacity in the choice of this locality for the commercial capital of the valley of the Mississippi. Law had reserved to himself twelve miles square on the Arkansas, whither he had sent fifteen hundred German settlers. During the prosperity of the paper scheme, money was profusely spent in promoting enterprise and colonization in Louisiana, but when this scheme exploded these foreign resources suddenly ceased, and the settlers, who were in a great measure dependent on them, were reduced to great distress.

A war having broken out with Spain, Pensacola was twice taken by the French, but in 1721 it 1721. was restored again to its former owners, and the River Perdido became the dividing line between Spanish Florida and French Louisiana. A military establishment of about a thousand troops was kept up; and a considerable number of Capu-

chins and Jesuits had charge of the spiritual concerns of the colonists. "Rice was the principal crop, the main resource for feeding the population. To this were added **1724.** tobacco and indigo. The fig had been introduced from Provence, and the orange from St. Domingo." In 1727, the population amounted to something more than five thousand, half of this number being negroes.

Périer, in 1726, was appointed governor in place of Bienville, whose removal had been effected by his pertinacious enemies; soon after, difficulties began to arise with the Indians. The Natchez tribe, who had at first amicably received the French, and in whose territory Fort Rosalie had been erected, now became jealous of their growing demands for territory: urged on by the Chickasaws, and falling suddenly **1729.** upon the fort in 1729, they massacred all the male inhabitants and carried away the women and children into slavery; but a year or so afterwards, the French nearly exterminated the whole tribe, and sent several hundred of them to be sold as slaves in Hispaniola. The Chickasaws, who traded with the English, and obstructed the communication between Upper and Lower Louisiana, now gave asylum to the poor remains of the Natchez tribe; for these offences the French determined to subdue them.

The Mississippi Company, in 1732, resigned Louisiana into the hands of **1732.** the King, and Bienville was again appointed governor, and directed to make preparations for a war against the Chickasaws. With a

fleet of sixty boats and canoes, and with about twelve hundred Choctaws as allies, Bienville ascended the Tombigbee River to the head **1735.** of navigation, and attacked the Chickasaws near that point; but the French were repulsed and compelled to retreat. Three years later the whole strength of the French was put forth to overcome this haughty and powerful tribe; sickness, however, and scarcity of provisions, soon thinned the **1739.** ranks of the French troops, and, probably in consequence of dissensions among the officers, in 1740, they were glad to withdraw their forces and leave the Chickasaws unsubdued. The home government was greatly displeased with Bienville's ill success in this undertaking; and shortly after, in 1743, the Marquis de Vaudreuil was sent **1743.** out as his successor. Bienville, at the age of sixty-five, left Louisiana never to return to the colony he loved and had served so long and well.

From this date onward, for many years, Louisiana, under the administration of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, enjoyed comparative tranquility, and gradually advanced in prosperity. De Vaudreuil was a nobleman of honorable standing, and endeavored to give a high tone to his government, and although troubles with the Indians and other difficulties interfered with his comfort and the progress of the colony, yet, on the whole, matters went on as well as could be expected. In 1753, De Vaudreuil was transferred to Canada, and Kerlerec, **1753.** a captain in the Royal Navy, succeeded him as governor of Louisiana.

CHAPTER VII.

1700—1750.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE COLONIES.

A brief survey of the condition of the colonies important — Population of Virginia — State of manners, habits, customs, progress in trade and commerce — Report made to the Board of Trade — Complaint of the Virginians as to the conduct of the royal officers — Population of Massachusetts — Trade, etc. — Connecticut and Rhode Island — Militia force — Iron works — Mining operations — Progress of New Hampshire — The throat distemper — Earthquake in New England — Religion in New England — Improvement in manners and general intercourse — Mode of living, fashions, etc. — Discussions as to the intentions of the colonists on the subject of independence — Population and progress of Maryland — Trade, etc., of the Carolinas — Hurricane — Yellow fever — New York — Tea — Contraband trade — Manners and social life in New York — Albany and its people — New Jersey — Pennsylvania; its trade, etc., compared with New York — Value of this imperfect sketch of the condition of the colonies — Final struggle approaching between the English and French in America.

At this point in the progress of our narrative, it will be profitable as well as interesting to pause a while, and take a brief survey of the position and general condition of the American colonies. We have already, here and there, called the attention of the reader to the gradual development of wealth and energy in the colonies; it will conduce, however, to additional clearness of ideas, as well as better understanding of the actual—though not yet understood or appreciated—strength of the colonies, if we devote a few pages more particularly to this subject, and endeavor to ascertain what was the real condition of things during the first half of the eighteenth century. In doing this, we shall rely mainly upon Mr. Grahame, whose *resumé* of this topic, as far as it goes, we look upon as worthy of entire confidence.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the population of Virginia amounted to sixty thousand, of whom about one half were slaves. The militia

were then in number less than ten thousand: in 1722, they numbered eighteen thousand, from which it is fair to infer a proportionably great increase in the general population. In 1750, ^{1722.} Virginia numbered at least one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants, more than half of whom were slaves. At Williamsburg, the seat of government, there were three public buildings, in 1727, which were considered the finest specimens of architecture in the country—the College, the State House, and the Capitol. Hospitality, to a profuse extent, and card-playing among the upper classes, were quite common, and hunting and cock-fighting were amusements in which all were interested. There was also in this town a theatre, the first that arose in the British colonies. Many persons of proud families at home, came to Virginia to escape the being looked down upon by their more wealthy aristocratic friends; and it was customary for young women, who had met with misfortune or loss of charac-

ter in their native land, to emigrate to America, where they were at liberty to establish their claims to better characters, and more honorable positions in life than they could ever have attained elsewhere. Printing was first **1729.** established in Virginia, in 1729; and the first newspaper in this colony was published at Williamsburg, in 1736. From Virginia and Maryland there were now annually exported about one hundred thousand hogsheads of tobacco, (valued at £8 per hogshead) and two hundred ships were commonly freighted with the tobacco produce of these two provinces. The annual gain to England from this trade was about £500,000. The articles of iron and copper ore, beeswax, hemp, and raw silk, were first exported from Virginia to England, in 1730.

In a report made to the Board of Trade in the reign of Queen Anne, we find the following statements: "On every river of this province, there are men, in number from ten to thirty, who, by trade and industry, have got very complete estates. These gentlemen take care to supply the poorer sort with goods and necessaries, and are sure to keep them always in their debt, and consequently dependent on them. Out of this number, are chosen the Council, Assembly, justices, and other officers of government. The inhabitants consider that this province is of far greater advantage to her majesty than all the rest of the provinces besides on the main land, and therefore conclude that they ought to have greater privileges than the rest of her majesty's subjects. The Assembly think themselves entitled to

all the rights and privileges of an English parliament, and begin to search into the records of that honorable House for precedents to govern themselves by. The Council imagine that they stand upon equal terms with the British House of Lords." Probably, we think, these statements were due as much to the jealousy of the Board as to the careful investigation of the facts in the case. The Virginians, no doubt justly, complained of the insolence of the commanders of ships of war sent to cruise off the coast for the protection of trade.—insolence which at no late day became utterly insufferable, and added not a little to the readiness of the provincials to measure arms with the haughty and overbearing regulars, who prided themselves so much on their superiority in all respects. Virginia was warm in its attachment to the parent country; but they, too, had begun generally to question the right to impose restrictions on commerce, a right constantly claimed and almost as constantly resisted or evaded; and the Virginia Assembly had no disposition to keep in repair forts and such like, which might be turned to their hurt in case of a contest.

Massachusetts not less than Virginia had advanced in population during this period. At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were between seventy thousand and eighty thousand inhabitants; in 1731, the number is estimated at one hundred and **1731.** twenty thousand freemen and two thousand six hundred slaves: and in 1750, it had reached not less than two hundred thousand. Six hundred ships and sloops were engaged in

trade, amounting to at least thirty-eight thousand tons; one half of these vessels traded to Europe. About six thousand persons were employed in its fisheries. Connecticut appears to have made steady progress, and in 1750 is computed to have had one hundred thousand inhabitants. Rhode Island, which at the beginning of the eighteenth century had about ten thousand inhabitants, in 1730 possessed a population of eighteen thousand, of whom nine hundred and eighty-five were Indians and one thousand six hundred and forty-eight negro slaves: in 1750, there were thirty thousand inhabitants in this colony. Newport, which was the metropolis, contained a population of something less than five thousand, including Indians and negroes. The first newspaper was published in this colony in 1732. In the year

1738.

1738, Newport contained seven places of worship; there was a large society of Quakers at Portsmouth, and in the other eleven townships of the colony there were twenty-five assemblages for Christian worship. In regard to New Hampshire, we find in Holmes's Annals that its population, in 1750, is computed to have been twenty-four thousand.

The militia of New England, as a whole, is computed to have amounted to fifty thousand. Iron was the only metallic ore which the colonists had undertaken to improve; and there were now six furnaces for hollow ware, and nineteen forges, in New England. In 1730, fifty hundred weight of hemp, produced in New England and Carolina, were exported

to Britain. In 1712, certain adventurers in Connecticut conceived hopes of great enrichment from the discovery of two copper-mines, which were erroneously supposed to contain also some veins of more precious metals. One of these mines at Simsbury, was worked to a great extent, but to little profit. The excavation which they made was afterwards converted into a prison, whereby, as Trumbull rather drily says, it yielded more advantage to the province than by all the copper that had been extracted from it.

We have before spoken of the troubles that arose between New Hampshire and Massachusetts in the matter of the former having a governor for themselves. After much unpleasant litigation the question was settled. The trade of New Hampshire, at this date, consisted chiefly in the exportation of lumber and fish to Spain, Portugal and the Carribee Islands. In winter small vessels were despatched to the southern colonies with English and West India goods, and returned with cargoes of corn and pork. The manufacture of linen was considerably increased by the coming of Irish emigrants to this colony. Although New Hampshire was justly considered to be a healthy region, it was about this time visited with a fatal epidemic, called *the throat distemper*, which broke out again in 1754 and 1784, and was very destructive on all these occasions. The symptoms were a swelled throat, with white or ash-colored specks, an efflorescence on the skin, extreme debility of the whole body, and a strong tendency to

putridity. Its remote and predisposing cause, says Belknap, is one of those mysteries in nature which baffle human inquiry. Respecting inoculation for the small pox we have already spoken, and need only refer the reader to what is there said. On the 29th of October, 1727, while the sky was clear and serene, and a deep stillness and tranquility pervaded the air, New England was suddenly shaken by a tremendous earthquake, which overthrew a considerable number of buildings, and prostrated many persons to the ground. On the same day, the Island of Martinique was threatened with entire destruction, from a similar convulsion of nature.

New England was still distinguished by the zeal in behalf of religion of the great body of its inhabitants. This zeal happily was less intolerant than in earlier days of the Puritan colonies; and when fanatical exhibitions broke out, they were content to treat them as they deserved, and did not attempt to put a stop to delusions and folly, by hanging, or burning, or mutilating the bodies of those, who, for the time, showed that they were not in their right minds. In 1725, a proposition was set on foot to hold a synod of all the Congregational churches in New England; but the design was abandoned, owing to the opposition of the government.

Notwithstanding a certain stiffness still remaining—the result of the long reign of strict Puritanism—the social and domestic condition of the people was vastly improved, and to a large extent there prevailed cheerfulness, re-

finement, and liberality. The royal governors often maintained a somewhat splendid style of living, and formed the centre of a society composed of “persons in office, the rich, and those who had connections in England, of which they were very proud.” These were the gentry of the country, in those days. Modes of life, manners, and personal decoration, were the indications of superiority. Most of the gentry embraced the side of government, when those serious disputes began to arise, which ultimately drove a large portion of them from the colony; but the same indications continued among some who remained, and adhered to the side of their countrymen. There was a class of persons, no longer known, who might be called the gentry of the interior. They held very considerable landed estates, in imitation of the landowners in England. These persons were the great men in their respective counties. They held civil and military offices, and were members of the General Court. This sort of personal dignity gradually disappeared, as the equalizing tendency of the growth and fortunes of the country began to produce its effect upon the whole community.

In early days, the stern old Puritans had endeavored to restrain extravagance and luxury, by sumptuary regulations; but their power was no longer felt, at least to any great extent, in such matters: and as wealth increased, display and even luxurious indulgence obtained place in New England. A picture like the following is decidedly instructive as well as suggestive: “In

the principal houses of Boston," says the writer, "there was a great hall, ornamented with pictures, and a great lantern, and a velvet cushion in the window-seat that looked into the garden. A large bowl of punch was often placed in the hall, from which visitors might help themselves as they entered. On either side was a great parlor, a little parlor, or study. These were furnished with great looking-glasses, Turkey carpets, window curtains and valance, pictures and a map, a brass clock, red leather-back chairs, and a great pair of brass andirons. The chambers were well supplied with feather-beds, warming-pans, and every other article that would now be thought necessary for comfort or display. The pantry was well filled with substantial fare, and dainties—prunes, marmalade, and Madeira wine. Silver tankards, wine cups, and other articles of plate were not uncommon, and the kitchen was completely stocked with pewter, iron, and copper utensils. Very many families employed servants, and in one we see a Scotch boy, valued among the property, and invoiced at £14." Negro slaves also often formed part of a New England household of that day. Even before this period, in the matter of dress, certain of the ladies were eager to copy the London and Paris fashions, as we learn from a splenetic old writer. "Methinks," he says, "it should break the heart of Englishmen to see so many goodly Englishwomen imprisoned in *French cages*, peering out of their hood-holes for some men of mercy to help them with a little wit;" and he sharply complains of their eagerness to learn

what dress the queen is in, and to copy it in all haste.

As a matter of interest, it may be noted here, that the first portrait painter in America was John Smibert, a Scotch artist, who came over with Berkeley, and painted that picture of the bishop and his family which is preserved at Yale College. An art so pleasing was not long in making its way over the colonies, and has preserved to posterity the youthful appearance of Washington. But though art and literature were making their way, public amusements were still frowned upon by the New England magistrates. Otway's play of "The Orphan" was acted in 1750, at a coffee-house in Boston; but such exhibitions were forthwith prohibited, as "tending to discourage industry and frugality, and greatly to increase impiety and contempt of religion." A London company of actors contrived, however, shortly afterwards, to gain a footing in New York, Philadelphia, and other towns further south.

The probable designs of the New Englanders at this date, in regard to the question of by and by throwing off the yoke of the mother country, afforded matter for considerable discussion in England. Some members of the Board of Trade entertained and expressed apprehension of such a determination on the part of the colonists. They even went so far as to give it as their opinion, that nothing but the effective interposition of parliament could arrest the manifest tendency to independence. The colonists treated all such charges as without foundation, and we believe quite justly, so far as

any settled or clearly defined purpose in their own minds was concerned: it is not quite so clear, however, that, when their attention was turned to the evident design of the mother country to impose heavy burdens upon them, and when they both felt their own strength, and knew their own unyielding resolve never to submit to tyranny or unlawful imposition of any sort;—we say, when they thought over these things, it is not quite so clear, that the idea of independence had not found place among them, as a thing possible, though not then at all probable. The folly of provoking such discussions in the colonies, we need not enlarge upon: the youthful giant would throw off all parental control soon enough, without provoking him to measure his strength prematurely with his sire.

In 1734, the population of Maryland appears to have been thirty-six thousand *taxable* inhabitants, by which is meant the white men above six-
1734. teen years of age, and negroes, male and female, from sixteen to sixty. The state of society and manners in Maryland was, naturally, very much the same as in Virginia. A printing-press was established in Maryland, in 1726, three years before Virginia enjoyed that privilege. The people of this colony are said to have derived much advantage from their knowledge of the medicinal uses of certain herbs and plants, from the fact that long peace and friendship with the Indians had induced great freedom of intercourse between the white and the red men. The salaries of public officers were very low. In 1732, the Assembly

made tobacco a legal tender for the payment of all debts, at a penny per pound, and Indian corn at twenty pence per bushel. Probably the Roman Catholics still were in the majority in the colony: many Protestants, however, settled on the frontier counties of Virginia and Maryland.

The population of North Carolina, in 1710, was six thousand; probably it had considerably increased some years later; it must be confessed, however, as we have in substance noted before, that in the early part of this century the people of North Carolina formed one of the most turbulent, irreligious, and illiterate communities in America. In the year 1700, the population of South Carolina was less than six thousand: in 1723, it amounted to thirty-two thousand; of whom eighteen thousand were slaves. Beside the commercial intercourse with England, an extensive trade, carried on almost entirely in British ships, was kept up between Carolina and the West Indies, New England, Pennsylvania and New York. Between 1720 and 1730, rice, to
1730. the amount of over forty-four thousand tons, was exported from South Carolina: in the year 1730, the negroes amounted to twenty-eight thousand, and large accessions to this class of population continued to be made from year to year. In respect to social life, the habits of the planters were generally frugal, and luxury had not yet obtained much influence. Printing was introduced in 1730, and a newspaper established in 1734. The majority of the inhabitants were attached to the Church of England;

but the Presbyterian denomination also flourished.

During the summer of 1728, the weather in South Carolina proved uncommonly hot; the surface of the earth was parched, the pools of water were dried up, and the beasts of the field reduced to the greatest distress. This was followed in the autumn by a furious hurricane, which occasioned wide-spread destruction. In the same year that fearful scourge, the yellow fever, broke forth to an extent and with a malignity that swept off large numbers. Subsequently to this, the increase of wealth among the Carolinians led to a corresponding increase in expensiveness of living and its usual concomitants of display and luxurious indulgence.

At the beginning of the century, New York numbered thirty thousand persons; in 1732, this number had more than doubled, of whom about seven thousand were slaves; and in 1750, there were nearly one hundred thousand inhabitants in the province. The annual imports of this colony were reckoned at £100,000; and in 1736, two hundred and eleven vessels with cargoes entered, and two hundred and twenty-two vessels with cargoes departed from the port of New York. A taste for tea was gradually making progress: this led to considerable contraband trade on the part of the colonists, so that they might obtain tea at a less rate than that charged by the English East India Company; in fact, they did get it by this means some thirty per cent. lower. A public school was founded in New York city by the Legislature, in 1732, where-

in Latin, Greek, and the mathematics were to be taught. A newspaper was first published in New York in 1725.

Some remaining influence of the Dutch manners and habits still prevailed in New York, although it was evident that English and French tastes were predominant. The citizens were lively and sociable in manners; there were weekly evening clubs; and in the winter, balls and concerts. Living was on a less expensive scale than at Boston, and the New Yorkers were at that day, as well as now, devoted to business and the gains of trade. Albany, at this date on the outskirts of civilization, retained much more of the flavor of its Dutch origin. The architecture was like that of Delft or Leyden; all the houses stood with their angular zigzag gables turned to the street, with long projecting gutter-pipes, which, like those of the towns of continental Europe at the present day, discharge their unsavory current of dirty water or melted snows upon the heads of the unwary passengers. The *stoopes*, or porches, were furnished with side-seats, well filled in the evening with the inmates, old and young, of both sexes, who met to gossip or to court, while the cattle wandered almost at will about the streets of the half-rustic city. In the interior of the dwellings, Dutch cleanliness and economy were established; the women, as at the present day in Holland, were considered *over-nice* in scrubbing their floors, and burnishing their brass and pewter vessels into an intensity of lustre. From the dawn of day until late at night they were engaged in the

work of purification. They lived too with exemplary sobriety; breakfasting on tea without milk and sweetened by a small bit of sugar passed round from one to the other; they dined on butter-milk and bread, and if to that they added sugar, it was esteemed delicious, though sometimes they indulged in broiled and roasted meats. The use of stoves was unknown, and the huge fire-places, through which one might have driven a wagon, furnished with ample logs, were grand and cozy nestling-places during the long winter evenings, which the wail of the snow storm and the roar of the forest trees rendered more deliciously secure. Under the English the same simplicity of manners long prevailed.

The population of New Jersey, in 1738, had increased to forty-seven thousand three hundred and sixty-seven, of whom about four thousand were slaves. In 1736, a college was founded at Princeton, named Nassau Hall. The general prosperity of this colony was due, doubtless, to the virtuous and industrious character and habits of the people. In 1750, the population of New Jersey was about seventy thousand.

In regard to Pennsylvania and Delaware, no entirely reliable computation can be made of the population of these colonies; probably it was considerably less than that of Virginia at the same date. The colonists traded with England, Portugal and Spain; with the Canaries, Madeira, and the Azores; with the West India Islands; with New England, Virginia, and Carolina. In 1731, Philadelphia is said to have

numbered about twelve thousand inhabitants, being, probably, somewhat in advance of New York. In 1736, the vessels arriving and departing were considerably less than we have noted in the case of New York. The importations into Pennsylvania are reckoned at the annual value of £150,000, being much more than those of New York.

The value of the exports from Great Britain to North America, according to Mr. Hildreth, for the ten years from 1738 to 1748, was, on an average, annually about \$3,500,000. The imports from the colonies were somewhat less. The balance against the colonies was paid in specie, the produce of their West India and African trade.

From this brief, imperfect, and, we fear, rather dry sketch of the general condition of the American colonies, it will be evident that there existed among them the undoubted elements of strength, decision of character, and firm resolves to maintain their just rights and privileges. Prosperity had fallen to their lot in a large degree, and with prosperity the natural restlessness of the Anglo-Saxon race urged them on to greater and more far-reaching designs. Their neighbors, the French, they had never liked; already had there been many a contest between them; and now the day was fast approaching when the final struggle was to take place and the mastery be attained by one or the other. It was not possible much longer to put off the contest.

France, thus far secure in the West,—to use the language of Mr. Parkman—“next essayed to gain foothold upon the sources of the Ohio, and, about the

year 1748, the sagacious Count Galissonière proposed to bring over ten thousand peasants from France, and plant them in the valley of that beautiful river, and on the borders of the lakes. But while at Quebec, in the Castle of St. Louis, soldiers and statesmen were revolving schemes like this, the slowly-moving power of England bore on with silent progress from the East. Already the British settlements were creeping along the valley of the Mohawk, and ascending the eastern slope of the Alleghanies. Forests crashing to the axe, dark spires of smoke ascending from autumnal fires, were heralds of the advancing host; and

while on the one side of the Alleghanies, Celeron de Bienville was burying plates of lead, engraved with the arms of France, the ploughs and axes of Virginia backwoodsmen were enforcing a surer title on the other. The adverse powers were drawing near. "The hour of collision was at hand."*

To the history of this last measuring of arms between the ancient rivals, and of its important bearing on the position of the colonies, in their disputes with the mother country, we now invite the reader's attention.

* Parkman's "*History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac*," p. 56.

CHAPTER VIII.

1749—1755.

THE FOURTH INTERCOLONIAL WAR.

Designs and claims of the French — Counter claims of the English — No regard to the Indians' claims — The Ohio Company — Its policy and efforts — GEORGE WASHINGTON — Early life and training — His father's death — The mother of Washington — Receives an appointment as midshipman in the Navy — Method and orderly habits — Activity, spirit, energy — Studies surveying — Undertakes the duties of a surveyor — Military appointment — His brother Lawrence's ill health and death — Appointed by Governor Dinwiddie to visit the French post on the Ohio — His adventurous mission — Its results — His return — His journal — Appointed lieutenant-colonel — His military exploits — The affair with Jumonville — Truth of the matter — Obligated to capitulate at Fort Necessity — Thanks of the Assembly to Washington — Convention of governors at Albany — Plan of union and confederation — Not received with favor — Levy of troops called for — Dieskau's force — Ill usage of colonial officers — Braddock commander-in-chief — Expeditions undertaken — Braddock's character and conduct — Franklin's help — His conversation with Braddock — Washington serves as aid-de-camp — His urgent advice rejected by Braddock — Splendid spectacle — Troops routed by Indians and French in ambush — Death of Braddock — Washington's preservation — Panic of the army — Prestige of royal troops destroyed.

WE have already spoken of the designs of the French and their determination to obtain, if possible, the control of the entire region from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, based upon that law which gives to the discoverers of rivers, the jurisdiction over the lands watered by them. So long as the English colonies were confined to the immediate vicinity of the sea coast, there was little reason for them to interfere with the plans and pur-

poses of the French. In the progress of events, however, as they became acquainted with the regions beyond the mountains, and as they penetrated into those beautiful and fertile portions of the country on the banks of the Ohio and its tributaries, the English colonists not only learned the value and importance of the vast tracts of territory thus far unexplored, but also resolved to set up counter claims to the right over the soil. The French had established numerous military and trading posts from the frontiers of Canada even to the city of New Orleans, and in order to establish their claims to jurisdiction over the country, they had carved the lilies of France on the forest trees, or had sunk plates of metal in the ground for this purpose.* The French claimed as discoverers, and in so far seemed to have a just ground for their pretensions: the English, on the other hand, had grants of territory extending in a direct line westward to the Pacific Ocean, and hence they claimed a right to all the thousands of miles intervening between the Atlantic coast and the almost illimitable West. Neither party, it is worth noticing, deemed it necessary to pay a moment's attention to the prior claims of the Indian occupants.† From this position of things, it is evident, that actual collision be-

* See the language of Mr. Parkman quoted on p. 219, and more fully in his "*Conspiracy of Pontiac*," pp. 85-126.

† In November, 1749, when the hardy pioneer, Gist, was surveying for the Ohio Company the lands on the south side of the Ohio River as far down as the great Kanawha, an old Delaware Chief, observing what he was about, propounded to him a shrewd inquiry:—"The French claim all the land on one side of

tween the contending parties could not much longer be deferred.

Shortly after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, a body of London merchants and Virginia land speculators, known as the Ohio Company, obtained in England a grant of six hundred thousand acres of land on the east bank of that river, with exclusive privileges of Indian traffic. This was naturally looked upon, by the French, as an encroachment, they claiming the whole region watered by the tributaries of the Mississippi. The English set up a counter claim, in the name of the Six Nations, recognized by the treaties of Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle, as under British protection, whose empire, so it was said, reached over the whole eastern portion of the Mississippi Valley and the basin also of the lower lakes. As the principal object of the Ohio Company was to obtain a footing on the soil, **1751.** they forthwith proceeded to establish the post of Redstone, on the Monongahela River—a step, of course, regarded as an aggression by the French, who built a new fort on the shores of Lake Erie, and were evidently preparing to drive out all opponents, and take possession of the disputed territory. In anticipation of this step, Dinwiddie, lieutenant-governor of Virginia, had already sent out a messenger in the guise of a trader, to ascertain the temper of the Indians, and to spy out the proceed-

the Ohio, the English claim all the land on the other side:—tell me now, where does the Indians' land lie?" Poor savages, as Mr. Irving well says, between their "fathers," the French, and their "brothers," the English, they were in a fair way of being most lovingly shared out of the whole country.

ings of the French. The English government, in anticipation of a war, had urged the governor, to lose no time in building two forts, for which purpose artillery and munitions were sent over; but the French had been beforehand with them, and had already gathered a considerable force to act according as the emergency might require. It was evident that active measures needed to

1753. be taken at once, and Dinwiddie determined to send a messenger to the nearest French post, and demand explanations, as also the release and indemnification of certain traders captured by them a short time before. This resolve on the governor's part brings before us, for the first time, the man, of all others, whom Americans most love to honor. It is but right that here we should say something of the family from which he sprang, as also of his early life and training.

Nearly a century previous to the birth of the illustrious "father of his country," two brothers, of an honorable family in England, John and Andrew Washington, emigrated to Virginia, and settled in Westmoreland County, between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. The grandson of John Washington, Augustine, was born in 1694, and inherited the family estate, situate on Bridge's Creek, near where it falls into the Potomac. He was twice married: two children survived, Lawrence and Augustine, and the mother died in 1728. Two years later, Augustine Washington was married again; his bride was Mary Ball, a celebrated beauty of that day. Six children were the fruits of that union: four

sons and two daughters. The family of Washington was one, which, for centuries, had borne itself nobly and honorably. As Mr. Irving finely says: "hereditary rank may be an illusion; but hereditary virtue gives a patent of innate nobleness beyond all the blazonry of the Herald's College."*

GEORGE WASHINGTON, the eldest child of his mother, was born on the 22d of February, 1732, in the homestead on Bridge's Creek; but not a vestige of the house or place remains. **1732.** Soon after George's birth, his father removed to an estate in Stafford County, opposite Fredericksburg. This, too, the home of his boyhood, no longer exists; a few fragments of bricks and the like, are all that remain. George's eldest brother, Lawrence, had been sent by his father to England, and enjoyed privileges which were not within the reach of the other children. George had only the commonest advantages of the day; no language but his own, and simple instruction in the ordinary branches of an English education, were the extent of his privileges. When George was about eight years old, his brother Lawrence returned from England, an accomplished young man, and there appears to have been formed at once a warm and abiding friendship, which grew with their growth, and strengthened with their strength, so long as Lawrence's life lasted. On the 12th of April, 1743, Augustine Washington died after a short illness: **1743.** he was in the prime and vigor of manhood, and enjoyed the reputa-

* Irving's "Life of Washington," vol. i. p. 18.





tion of being an upright and honorable man. His death was peculiarly afflictive to a young and growing family, which needed all a father's care and counsel, to aid in preparing them for the duties and responsibilities of life. By this sudden and great loss, MARY, the mother of George Washington, became his guide and instructor, and moulded his character for the future eminence which he attained. She was a woman of great energy and integrity, and to her care was intrusted the management of the large property left to the children of Augustine Washington, against the time they should severally come of age. She proved herself entirely worthy of this trust. Her plain, solid sense; her decision of character; her strict but not severe discipline; her conscientious heed to the religious and moral guidance of her four fatherless children; all these gave her authority and respect in her family, which were equalled only by the affection with which she was regarded by every member of her household.

Under such guidance, and favored with constant intercourse with his brother Lawrence and Lord Fairfax and family, George Washington passed his early years. From a child fond of the mimic sport of a soldier's life, this love of adventure grew upon him; and when he was about fourteen, a midshipman's warrant was obtained for him, and his
1746. luggage is said to have been actually on board a man-of-war, when his mother's heart failed her, and George, ever obedient, gave up the plan of seeking for fame in the Navy. Humanly speaking, how

vast a difference would it have made had he been permitted to follow his boyish inclination!

Returning to school, George devoted his attention to improvement in all those branches, especially mathematics, calculated to fit him for civil or military service. Perseverance and completeness marked his whole course, and the habits of method, order, and accuracy which were then established adhered to him through life. "He found time to do everything and to do it well. He had acquired the magic of method, which, of itself, works wonders." In short, his was a character which, even in boyhood, marked him out to be a leader and guide of others. His schoolfellows appealed to him to decide their little differences, and his sincerity and strict integrity and fairness gave him the undoubted ascendancy at all times. Active, energetic, delighting in athletic games and exercises, prompt, ready, knowing how to obey quite as well as how to command, conscientious, ardent, self-possessed,—these qualities might well have raised him above his fellows, and indicated, especially to a mother's prophetic ken, the greatness and nobleness of the career before him.

After he left school, Washington continued to study mathematics and trigonometry, examined works on tactics and military topics, became expert in the use of arms, and kept alive the flame of ambition for warlike deeds by association with officers who had served in the recent wars. But he could not be idle and enjoy content: hence he was ready to undertake duties of an

arduous kind, yet, in a new country, both very useful and very profitable. Practically experienced in the art of surveying, Washington was asked by Lord Fairfax to undertake the mapping out and determining the sites and boundaries of his lordship's possessions, particularly beyond the Blue Ridge, in order to see if he could not bring to terms the squatters who had here and there taken up their residences on his lands, and also give encouragement to more reputable persons to settle in those fertile regions.

It was in March, 1748, when he had just completed his sixteenth year, that

1748. Washington, accompanied by George Fairfax, set off, at the head of a party, compass and chain in hand, to penetrate and map out an almost unbroken wilderness. This was precisely the sort of discipline to test his character, and give vigor to his constitution. Washington was soon accustomed to clamber precipices and wade morasses, to swim his horse over swollen streams, to sleep for nights under the canopy of heaven, wrapped up in a bear-skin, and deem a seat by a blazing log-fire a place of luxury, to live hard and to work hard, to cook his own rough meal with a wooden fork, and to cope betimes with the wild forests and their wilder tenants.*

* "At the very time of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle, the woods of Virginia sheltered the youthful GEORGE WASHINGTON, the son of a widow. Born by the side of the Potomac, beneath the roof of a Westmoreland farmer, almost from infancy his lot had been the lot of an orphan. No academy had welcomed him to its shade, no college crowned him with its honors: to read, to write, and to cipher—these had been his degrees in knowledge. And now,

Amidst trials such as these, he fulfilled his task so successfully, as to obtain the post of public surveyor, which he continued to discharge for three years to the entire satisfaction of all concerned. The confidence reposed in him soon led to his promotion to higher duties, and at the early age of nineteen, he was chosen to the command of one of the military districts into which Virginia was divided, in consequence of probable troubles with the French on the Ohio. The post was one of importance, and gave him the rank of major, and the pay of £150 a year: the duties were, to attend to the organization and equipment of the militia. Washington, as usual, set to work with energy and vigor in the discharge of his new responsibilities.

His brother Lawrence's health, always delicate, now became critical, and George accompanied him in a voyage to Barbadoes to try the efficacy of that climate. They sailed on the 28th of September, 1751; at first, the promise of benefit was flattering, and George returned, early in 1752, to bring out his brother's wife

at sixteen years of age, in quest of an honest maintenance, encountering intolerable toil, this stripling surveyor in the woods, with no companions but his unlettered associates, and no implements of service but his compass and chain, contrasted strangely with the imperial magnificence of the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. And yet God had selected, not Kaunitz, nor Newcastle, not a monarch of the house of Hapsburg, nor of Hanover, but the Virginia stripling, to give an impulse to human affairs, and, as far as events can depend on an individual, had placed the rights and destinies of countless millions in the keeping of the widow's son."—Baneroff's "*History of the United States*," vol. iii pp. 467. 8.

to meet him. This, however, never took place; Lawrence Washington received no permanent benefit by his absence, and he reached home just in time to die. His death took place, July 26th, 1752, at the age of thirty-four. Lawrence's death imposed new and very trying duties upon George. He was named one of his brother's executors, and in case of his infant niece's death, he was to inherit the ample estate of Mount Vernon. The main responsibility of managing this large property fell upon George, and it need hardly be said that in this, as in other things, he manifested the highest conscientiousness and integrity.

Thus, though only in the dawn of manhood, George Washington was already one who had made his mark: it remained now only that the door of opportunity be opened to test what he was capable of effecting on a larger stage of operations. The way was soon after plainly pointed out to him, and he was ready to enter upon it with all the zeal, energy, and courage of his noble nature.

On a previous page, we have spoken of Governor Dinwiddie's determination to send a messenger to the nearest French post on the Ohio, to demand explanations in regard to their plans and purposes in encroaching, as the governor affirmed, upon his majesty's territories. George Washington was the one immediately thought of for so difficult and delicate a commission. "It is true," as Mr. Irving says, "that he was not yet twenty-two years of age, but public confidence in his judgment and abilities had been manifested

a second time, by renewing his appointment of adjutant-general, and assigning him the northern division. He was acquainted too with the matters in litigation, having been in the bosom councils of his deceased brother. His woodland experience fitted him for an expedition through the wilderness; and his great discretion and self-command for a negotiation with wily commanders and fickle savages. He was accordingly chosen for the expedition."

On the 30th of October, 1753, Washington set off from Williamsburg, taking Van Braam, an old soldier, with him, as an interpreter, he himself 1753. never having learned the French language. He reached Wills' Creek (Cumberland River,) on the 14th November, where he engaged Mr. Gist, the intrepid pioneer and intimately acquainted with the country, to accompany and pilot him in the present expedition. With Van Braam, Gist, and five others, Washington set out the next day to make his way through a wild region, just then almost impassable by recent storms of rain and snow. At Logstown, about twenty miles below the Fork of the Ohio, where the Monongahela and the Alleghany unite to form that river, he held a conference with the Indian sachems, and had a taste of the peculiar diplomacy of the aborigines, which is, in some respects, fully equal to that of more civilized people, in its want of truthfulness and straight-forwardness. The chiefs furnished Washington with an escort to Venango, which was some seventy miles distant. Such was the inclemency of the weather, and the difficulty of travelling, that Washing-

ton did not reach this point till the 4th of December. Here he found Joncaire, a "veteran intriguer of the frontier," as Mr. Irving styles him, and after some specimens of Joncaire's ability in dealing with the Indians in Washington's company, and also partaking of a social entertainment, during which the French officers gave out pretty plainly their designs with respect to the Ohio Valley, he was enabled at last to proceed and meet M. de St. Pierre, the French commander, at a post about fifteen miles south of Lake Erie.

St. Pierre behaved towards the youthful ambassador, with all the well-known courtesy of his nation, but after a day or two's consideration, informed Washington, that he was not able to entertain Governor Dinwiddie's proposal; he had been placed at the post he occupied, by the governor of Canada, and he should maintain it till removed by proper authority. Washington was not idle while this matter was under discussion; he used his eyes to good purpose, and obtained all the information in regard to strength, position, and plans of the French, which was open to him. On the 15th of December, he received from St. Pierre a sealed reply to Dinwiddie's letter, and prepared to return home as soon as possible. He reached Venango again on the 22d, and on Christmas Day set out by land on his route homeward. Of the dangers and trials of that return, our limits do not allow us to speak: Mr. Irving has drawn out the adventurous story in his own unsurpassed style, and, noting that Washington reached Williamsburg on the 16th of January, 1754, he points

out how largely the youthful hero's prudence, sagacity, resolution, firmness, and self-devotion were tested, and concludes most justly, that this "expedition may be considered the foundation of his fortunes: from that moment he was the rising hope of Virginia." His journal, an interesting document, was printed, and fully roused the attention of both England and the colonies to the necessity of prompt measures in this crisis of no ordinary moment.*

From the tenor of St. Pierre's communication, it was evident that steps of some kind must speedily be taken. Dinwiddie was anxious to raise funds to carry on offensive warfare; but the Assembly were not so complaisant to his demands as he thought they ought to be, under the circumstances. Even in the legislature itself, doubts were expressed as to the king's claim over the disputed lands, and though the sum of £10,000 was ultimately voted for "the protection of the settlers in the Mississippi," it was clogged with the proviso, that commissioners should be appointed to watch over its appropriation. The other colonies, who had been urgently called upon to give aid, received the appeal with great unconcern, and held out but little hope of assistance. With the means at his disposal, the governor, however, increased the military force to six companies, which were placed under Colonel Joshua Fry, Washington being appointed second in command, with the title of lieutenant-colonel.

* See Marshall's "*Life of Washington*," vol. i. p. 461; also, "*Washington's Writings*," vol. ii. p. 432-47.

To stimulate the zeal of his troops, and to form a body of military settlers, Dinwiddie issued a proclamation, granting to them two hundred thousand acres on the Ohio—a measure received with little approbation by the legislature of Pennsylvania, who considered that they had counter-claims to the lands in question.

A party of forty-one men, under Captain Trent, had already been sent to the Fork of the Ohio, and had commenced building a fort there by Washington's advice. Early in April, he himself marched from Alexandria with two companies, and arrived on the 20th at Wills' Creek. Here he received intelligence that the French, in large force, had driven out his men, and had themselves gone on to finish the works, which they named Fort Duquesne, after the governor of Canada. This may be regarded as the first act of open hostility. Washington, having held a council of war, and having dispatched messengers for reinforcements, determined to advance in the direction of the Ohio. It was a very slow and exceedingly toilsome advance. An entrenchment was thrown up at the Great Meadows, which Washington purposed fortifying more carefully, when he learned that a detachment of the French was only a few miles off, lurking in concealment, evidently with no good purpose. He promptly resolved to seek them out, and, guided by the Indians, he soon after found them—May 28th—in a place surrounded by rocks and trees, where they had put up a few cabins for shelter from the rain. The moment the French

discovered the presence of Washington and his men, they ran to arms; a sharp skirmish ensued, for a while; the balls whistled around the young commander's head, and a man was killed at his side. Jumonville, the leader of the French, fell dead; nine others were slain, and the survivors yielded.* La Force, a person of great cunning, and considered by Washington to be a very dangerous adversary, was among the prisoners. These, amounting to twenty-one in all, were sent to Governor Dinwiddie at Winchester.

Blame was attempted to be thrown upon Washington for the sad results of this encounter. It was claimed that Jumonville was entitled to the protection due to the character and mission of an ambassador, since he was advancing with a summons to the English to evacuate the territory of the French; and Washington was denounced as an assassin. The truth, however, was, that the party under Jumonville, as was proven by a letter of instructions found on that young officer, were engaged in outlying occupation, in ascertaining everything they could about the country, and the plans of the English, and in sending messages to the commander at Fort Duquesne. And they had acted accordingly. "Instead of coming in the public and open manner of ambassadors," to use Washington's words in reply to the foul aspersion, "the party of Jumonville came secretly; they sought out the most hidden retreats, and remained

* See Mr. Bancroft's account, "*History of the United States*," vol. iv. p. 117-19.

concealed whole-days within five miles of us. After sending out spies to reconnoitre our position, they retreated two miles, from whence they sent messengers to M. Contrecoeur with the results of their reconnoissance."

Colonel Fry's sudden death, at Wills' Creek, placed the burden of the chief command upon Washington.* His position was perilous in the extreme; the French force was very much larger than his own; and scarcity of provisions began to be seriously felt. Fort Necessity was built at the Great Meadows; and leaving the South Carolina company under Captain Mackay in charge of the fort, Washington advanced towards Fort Duquesne. He was soon compelled, however, to retreat, and the French and Indians, to the number of fifteen hundred, coming upon him at Fort Necessity, he made a spirited stand for some hours, but **1754.** finally agreed to an honorable capitulation. The next morning, July 4th, Washington set out on his return to Wills' Creek, where his men were recruited, and where also Fort Cumberland was erected.†

* "William Fairfax, Washington's paternal adviser, had recently counselled him by letter, to have public prayers in his camp; especially when there were Indian families there. This was accordingly done at the encampment in the Great Meadows, and it certainly was not one of the least striking pictures presented in this wild campaign—the youthful commander, presiding with calm seriousness, over a motley assemblage of half equipped soldiery, leathern clad hunters and woodmen, and painted savages with their wives and children, and uniting them all in solemn devotion by his own example and demeanor."—Irving's *Life of Washington*," vol. i. p. 128.

† Mr. Irving (vol. i. p. 13 -140) enters with great particularity into the details of this whole matter,

Although this campaign was thus unsuccessful, it was felt that Washington had done all that was possible under the circumstances. He received the thanks of the Assembly, and acquired the unbounded confidence and affection of the soldiers under his command. Three hundred pistoles—about \$1,100—were distributed among the soldiers.

While Washington was engaged in his expedition against the French, a convention was held at Albany of Committees from the Colonial Assemblies of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and the New England colonies. This was in June, 1754. The principal object they had in view was to renew the treaty **1754** with the Six Nations, whose friendship at this crisis was of grave importance. Besides this, the question of union and confederation of the colonies for mutual defence came up, and was decided in the affirmative, and one delegate from each colony was appointed to draw up a plan of union. Franklin sketched such a plan, which was adopted by the Convention, the Connecticut delegates alone dissenting. "It proposed a grand Council of forty-eight members: seven from Virginia; seven from Massachusetts; six from Pennsylvania; five from Connecticut; four each from New York, Maryland, and the two Carolinas; three from New Jersey; and two each from New

and most completely exonerates Washington from any blame in regard to M. Jumonville's death. The reader will find it interesting to examine also the account given by Mr. Sparks, *Life of Washington*," p. 36-55.

Hampshire and Rhode Island; this number of forty-eight to remain fixed; no colony to have more than seven nor less than two members; but the apportionment within those limits to vary with the rates of contribution. This Council was to undertake the defence of the colonies as a general charge, to apportion quotas of men and money, to control the colonial armies, to enact ordinances of general interest, and to provide for the general welfare. It was to have for its head a president-general appointed by the crown, to possess a negative on all acts of the Council, the appointment of all military officers, and the entire management of Indian affairs. Civil officers were to be appointed by the Council, with the consent of the president. Such was the first official suggestion of what grew afterwards to be our present Federal Constitution.*

It is worthy of remark that this plan met with no favor from either the Colonial Assemblies or the Board of Trade. "The Assemblies," says Franklin, speaking of it some thirty years afterwards, "all thought there was too much *prerogative* in it; and in England it was thought to have too much of the *democratic* in it." The home government, too, probably felt suspicious of anything like united action among the colonies, since it might teach them their strength and foster the idea of independence. It was determined, therefore, as best, all things considered, to carry on the war by

means of royal troops, the colonies furnishing such help as they might see fit.

There being every appearance of war between England and France, the royal governors in the colonies made applications for a levy of militia, which were warmly responded to by the northern colonies, the southern displaying far less zeal. As it was known that a French squadron, destined to carry out four thousand troops, under Baron Dieskau, was preparing to sail from Brest, Admiral Boscawen was sent to intercept it; but the greater part of the ships succeeded in throwing their forces into Canada and Louisburg, although one or two fell into the hands of the English. No formal declaration of war had as yet been issued, but meanwhile each was engaged in measures to annoy and injure the other.

Dinwiddie was a good deal mortified at the uncompliant humor of the Assembly, and he gave utterance to no light complaints in his dispatches. They did, however, vote a respectable military force, in which, to avoid disputes about rank among the officers, a general order gave precedence in all cases to those commissioned by the king or commander-in-chief, over such as had only colonial commissions. This excited disgust, of course, in the minds of men like Washington and his fellow-officers; and self-respect urged him to resign his commission immediately. Having done this, he devoted himself to looking after his private affairs.

General Braddock was appointed commander-in-chief, and early in 1775

* Hildreth's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii. p. 443.

was dispatched to the Chesapeake with two British regiments. Two regiments of a thousand men in each **1755.** were ordered to be raised and officered in New England, and three thousand men were to be enlisted in Pennsylvania by the authority of the crown. In April, Braddock met a convention of colonial governors at Alexandria, where three expeditions were determined upon. One, commanded by himself, was to proceed against Fort Duquesne, and expel the French from the Ohio; a second, under Shirley, of Massachusetts, recently appointed major-general, was to march against Niagara; and a third, under Johnson, a man of vast influence among the Six Nations, was to undertake the capture of Crown Point, on the western shore of Lake Champlain.*

Braddock was a brave soldier, and had served with credit in the field; but he was entirely ignorant of the peculiarities of warfare in the New World, and what was worse, was determined to take no advice from those better informed than himself. Vexed at the delays in the means of transportation, and the malpractices of the contractors, he indulged himself in no measured terms against every thing and every body in America, and became less and less disposed to listen to any advice. Franklin visited him at Fredericton, ostensibly in discharge of his duty as post-master, and offered his interven-

tion with the farmers and others, in order to expedite matters for the general's proposed campaign. Braddock gladly availed himself of this timely aid. Franklin also ventured to hint the possibility of danger in the new kind of warfare which was before the royal troops. "In conversation with him one day," says Franklin, "he was giving me some account of his intended progress. 'After taking Fort Duquesne,' said he, 'I am to proceed to Niagara; and having taken that, to Frontenac, if the season will allow time, and I suppose it will; for Duquesne can hardly detain me three or four days; and then I see nothing that can obstruct my march to Niagara.' Having before revolved in my mind," continues Franklin, "the long line his army must make in their march by a very narrow road, to be cut for them through the woods and bushes, and also what I had read of a former defeat of fifteen hundred French, who invaded the Illinois country, I had conceived some doubts and some fears for the event of the campaign. But I ventured only to say, 'To be sure, sir, if you arrive well before Duquesne, with these fine troops, so well provided with artillery, the fort, though completely fortified, and assisted with a very strong garrison, can probably make but a short resistance. The only danger I apprehend of obstruction to your march, is from the ambuscades of the Indians, who, by constant practice, are dexterous in laying and executing them; and the slender line, near four miles long, which your army must make, may expose it to be attacked by surprise in its

* According to a return made to the Board of Trade, the population of the colonies amounted at this date to nearly 1,500,000, of which not quite 300,000 were blacks. The population of New France was hardly 100,000.



Illustration of a group of people, including men, women, and children, traveling across a landscape. Some are on horseback, some are on foot, and some are carrying large bundles or packs. The scene is set outdoors with a cloudy sky and a distant horizon.

flanks, and to be cut like a thread into several pieces, which, from their distance, cannot come up in time to support each other.' He smiled at my ignorance, and replied, 'These savages may indeed be a formidable enemy to your raw American militia; but upon the king's regular and disciplined troops, sir, it is impossible they should make any impression.' I was conscious of an impropriety in my disputing with a military man in matters of his profession, and said no more.* The result showed, unhappily, that the philosopher, on this occasion, was able to judge more clearly than the man trained in exact European military science, and full of prejudice in favor of established routine.

Washington, at Braddock's earnest request, was prevailed upon to serve as aid-de-camp, a position which he supposed would give him facilities for studying the art of war under a strictly scientific commander. "The sole motive which invites me to the field," as he says in a letter to one of his friends, "is the laudable ambition of serving my country, not the gratification of any ambitious or lucrative plans. This, I flatter myself, will appear by my going as a volunteer, without expectation of reward, or prospect of obtaining a command, as I am confidently assured it is not in General Braddock's power to give me a commission that I would accept." The advice of Washington was sought by the perplexed general, who found the season rapidly passing away, and he and his troops advancing at

only a snail's pace. Washington urged him to push forward with a light armed division, leaving the rest of the forces to follow under Colonel Dunbar. Braddock acted upon this suggestion, and set forth with twelve hundred men and ten field pieces; but he treated with great contempt the advice of his more experienced aid-de-camp, as to the need of caution in regard to ambushes of the French and Indians. It was getting late in the month of June; Washington was suddenly taken ill of a fever, and was obliged to remain behind at Youghieny, in charge ^{1755.} of his friend, Dr. Craik; but eager to rejoin the army, he set off, weak as he was, on the 3d of July, in a covered waggon, and reached the camp on the 8th, when Braddock, having consumed a month in marching about a hundred miles, was now within fifteen miles of Fort Duquesne.

The attack was to be made the next day. Washington again begged to be allowed to send out the Virginia rangers to examine the dangerous passes yet to be gone through; but Braddock peremptorily and angrily refused. It was an inspiring sight to see the pomp and circumstance of parade and military exactness, the next morning, the 9th of July, when the troops, as if on a gala day, set out to ford the Monongahela, with bayonets fixed, colors flying, and drums and fifes beating and playing. Washington was in raptures with the scene, and often, in later days, spoke of it as the most beautiful spectacle he had ever witnessed. It was nearly two o'clock when the troops had all passed the river. They were ascending a

* *Autobiography of Franklin*, p. 148.

rising ground covered with long grass and bushes, the road being only about twelve feet wide, and flanked by two ravines, concealed by trees and thickets, when suddenly a quick and heavy firing was heard in front. Washington's fears of an ambush of French and Indians had proved only too true. Stricken with terror, the vanguard, after losing half their number, and firing at random into the forest, fell back, as Braddock, alarmed at the noise, hastened forward with the rest of the troops. The terrific yells of the Indians, the volleys incessantly poured in by the ambushed foe, the impossibility of making head against an enemy whom they could not see, soon threw the royal troops into hopeless confusion, which Braddock vainly sought, for three terrible hours, to retrieve, by displaying the most desperate bravery. Five horses had been killed under him, and he was still urging on his men, when he received a shot in the lungs, and, though anxious to be left to die upon the scene of his discomfiture, was carried off into the rear. His aid-de-camps, Orme and Morris, were already disabled, Sir Peter Halket and his son fell together mortally wounded, and Washington, who displayed the utmost courage and presence of mind, as he hurried to and fro with Braddock's orders, was a repeated mark for the enemy's bullets, four of which passed through his coat, while two horses were shot under him. His escape without even a wound was almost miraculous, and we may well believe that one so signally preserved, was preserved for very especial service yet to be rendered to the cause of truth

and liberty.* Horatio Gates, afterwards a general of note in the Revolution, was also severely wounded. The Virginia troops fought most bravely, and in a way adapted to the wiles of hidden foes. But it was all in vain. The rout became complete, and panic-stricken, the troops fled in headlong confusion, abandoning every thing, baggage, stores, artillery, to the enemy, and that enemy, too, only a small detachment of French and Canadian soldiers, and some six hundred or more Indians! In this murderous defeat, twenty-six officers were killed and thirty-six wounded, and more than seven hundred soldiers were among the dead and wounded; the French and Indian loss did not exceed sixty or seventy. The survivors, fleeing when no man pursued, stopped not till they reached Colonel Dunbar and the rear guard. The unhappy Braddock died on the 13th of July;† and Washington, in the absence of the chaplain, read 1755. the Funeral Service over his remains. "Who would have thought it?" were among his dying words, and sensible of

* There is a well-attested tradition, that many years afterwards, Washington was visited by an aged and venerable Indian chief, who declared that during the battle, he had repeatedly taken aim at him, and directed several of his warriors to do the same, but finding that none of these balls took effect, he concluded that the young hero was under the special guardianship of the Great Spirit, and could never perish in battle. From that moment he ceased from all further attempts to take the life of Washington.

† We beg leave to refer the curious reader to "*The History of the Expedition against Fort Duquesne, in 1755, under Major-general Edward Braddock.*" Edited from the original manuscript, by Winthrop Sargent. It is a volume that will well repay examination.

his fatal error at the last, he apologized to Washington for his petulant reply to his urgent advice. Dunbar and the troops hurried onward to Fort Cumberland, and despite all remonstrances, rested not till they had reached Philadelphia. Truly, it was "the most extraordinary victory ever ob-

tained, and the farthest flight ever made." And the effect upon the colonists was not without importance: "the whole transaction," as Franklin significantly observes, "gave us the first suspicion, that our exalted ideas of the prowess of British regular troops had not been well founded."

CHAPTER IX.

1755—1763.

PROGRESS AND CONCLUSION OF THE WAR.

Expedition up the Bay of Fundy—Acadie and the French neutrals—Their expatriation—Cruelty of this act—Shirley's expedition against Oswego—William Johnson—Influence with the Indians—Hendrick the old Sachem—Battle of Lake George—Dieskau's death—Fort William Henry—Indians on the frontier—Action in Pennsylvania and Virginia—Washington made colonel—Campaign of 1755 unsuccessful—Washington's devotion to duty—War declared by England—Loudon commander-in-chief—Bradstreet at Oswego—Montcalm takes Oswego—His activity and skill—Loudon's procrastination—1756 also unsuccessful—Plans for 1757—Loudon against Louisburg—Too late—Montcalm assaults Fort William Henry—Slaughter of the troops, after the surrender, by the Indians—Montcalm's share in this act of treachery—Great alarm in the colonies—Complaints and discontent general—Pitt prime minister—His energetic course—Attack on Louisburg—This stronghold taken—Abercrombie's expedition against Ticonderoga—Lord Howe's death—Abercrombie repulsed—Superseded by Amherst—Bradstreet against Fort Frontenac—Forbes takes Fort Duquesne—Plan of the campaign of 1759—Conquest of Canada determined upon—Amherst's expedition, and capture of Ticonderoga—Prideaux and Johnson take Niagara—Neither able to join Wolfe—The attack on Quebec—Wolfe's and Montcalm's death—Canada subdued—Views of French statesmen as to the consequence—Washington's marriage—Is a member of the House of Burgesses—Great exultation in the colonies at the success of the contest with the French—Cherokee war at the South—Its progress and conclusion—Otis against "Writs of Assistance"—Otis's eloquence—English arms turned against the French in the West Indies—The peace of Paris—The English masters on the continent—Further Indian troubles—The conspiracy of Pontiac—End of the contest.

WHILE Admiral Boscawen was cruising off the coast of Newfoundland, watching for the French fleet, which, as we have before stated, escaped falling into his hands, a force of ten thousand men embarked at Boston for the Bay of Fundy. The French settlements here, it was asserted, were encroachments on the province of Nova Scotia. Colonel Monckton took the

command of the troops, and in the early part of June, 1755, succeeded, without much difficulty, in taking the forts at Beau Sejour and Gaspereau. The fort at the mouth of the St. John's River, on the approach of the English, was abandoned and burned. It had proved not difficult to drive out the French troops from the Bay of Fundy; but it became a

question of moment what was to be done with the French colonists, amounting, at the time, to some twelve or fifteen thousand,* settled principally about Beau Bassin, the basin of Minas, and on the banks of the Annapolis. These settlers, who had doubled in number since Nova Scotia became a British province, were still French in language, religion, and attachments, and receiving their priests from Canada, were peculiarly exposed to temptations to violate the terms of the neutrality, which exempted them from bearing arms against France. Some three hundred of the young men were taken in arms at the surrender of Beau Sejour, and as it would be highly inexpedient to send the whole population out of the country, to strengthen Canada or Cape Breton, it was necessary to dispose of them in some other way. Boscawen and others consulted as to the course to be pursued, and finally resolved upon an entire expulsion of the French colonists, and a transportation of them to the various British provinces. This, too, notwithstanding the express stipulation in the surrender of Beau Sejour that the inhabitants should not be disturbed. But honor and truth were sacrificed, and cruelty and treachery prevailed. Braddock's defeat, the news of which had just reached them, hardened the authors of this scheme in their determination. Keeping their purpose secret until the Acadiens had gathered in the harvest, the English persuaded them to assemble at their

parish churches, on one pretense and another, and, having surrounded them with troops, pronounced then and there the fearful doom in store for them. At the point of the bayonet, on the 10th of September, they were hurried on board the ships assigned for their transportation. "Wives separated from their husbands in the confusion of embarking, and children from their parents, were carried off to distant colonies never again to see each other! Their lands, crops, cattle, every thing, except household furniture, which they could not carry away, and money, of which they had little or none, were declared forfeit to the crown; and, to insure the starvation of such as fled to the woods, and so to compel their surrender, the growing crops were destroyed, and the barns and houses burned, with all their contents!"* More than a thousand of these unhappy exiles were carried to Massachusetts, where the horror of popery prevented their being allowed even the consolations of the religion in which they had been trained. Every colony had to receive a portion of the ill-used Acadiens, a burden on the community which no one was disposed quietly to bear. Some made their way to France, Canada, St. Domingo, and Louisiana; but these were few in number: the greater part died broken-hearted in a foreign land.†

Shirley, meanwhile, was on his march from Albany to Oswego, where he purposed embarking for Niagara. It was

* Murray (*"History of British America,"* vol. ii. p. 139,) estimates the number at seventeen or eighteen thousand.

* Hildreth's *"History of the United States,"* vol. ii., p. 458.

† Mr. Longfellow has drawn inspiration from this theme in his *"EVANGELINE, A Tale of Acadie"*

a slow progress, owing to the various hindrances incident to a region where roads were to be cut, and rivers crossed. Considerably weakened by sickness, and a good deal cast down by the news of Braddock's defeat, whose death

1755. raised Shirley to the rank of commander-in-chief, the latter part of August was spent in building two strong forts at Oswego, fitting out vessels, and making great preparations for advancing against Niagara. But nothing was accomplished, and the enterprise was abandoned for the season. Shirley did not escape censure, on the charge of inefficiency.

Johnson, who had command of the troops sent against Crown Point, was, in many respects, a very remarkable man. He was Irish by birth; he was flexible in disposition, tall and imposing in person, plausible in manner, and soon gained an immense influence over the Indians, whose dress he adopted, and whose savage life he seemed greatly to enjoy. His position as British agent with the Five Nations gave him an opportunity for dealing with the Indians, not only for the good of his country, but for his own personal profit. The following story will illustrate this latter point. There was a famous old Mohawk chief, commonly called King Hendrick, who was as shrewd as he was brave. He had a great love for finery, and to gratify his desires, he entered upon a contest of wits with Johnson. Having seen at Johnson's castle, one morning, a richly embroidered coat, he determined upon a cunning expedient to gain possession of it. "Brother," he said to Sir William, as

he entered one morning, "me dream last night." "Indeed," answered Sir William; "what did my red brother dream?" "Me dream that coat be mine." "It is yours," promptly replied Johnson. Not long after, he was visited by the baronet, who, looking abroad upon the wide-spread landscape, quietly observed to Hendrick: "Brother, I had a dream last night." "What did my English brother dream?" rejoined the sachem. "I dreamed that all this tract of land was mine," pointing to a district some twenty miles square in extent. Hendrick looked very grave, but, seeing the dilemma in which he was placed, replied: "Brother, the land is yours—but you must not dream again."

The troops under Johnson, amounting to some six thousand men, advanced to Lake George. Baron Dieskau, meanwhile, had ascended Lake Champlain with two thousand men from Montreal, and having landed at the southern extremity of that lake, had pushed on to Fort Lyman, better known as Fort Edward. Changing his purpose, he determined to attack Johnson, and in a narrow and rugged defile, about three miles from Johnson's camp he met a body of a thousand Massachusetts troops, and some Mohawk Indians, Colonel Williams being in command.* Dieskau, without difficulty, put to rout this force, and Williams

* Mr. Hildreth very justly records, that Williams secured to himself a better monument than any victory could have given. While passing through Albany, he made a will, leaving certain property to found a free school for Western Massachusetts, since grown into "Williams College."

was killed, as was also Hendrick, the old sachem.* Dieskau next advanced to attack Johnson's camp, which, protected by its location, and fortified by some cannon, brought up from Fort Edward, withstood the attack. Dieskau was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner, and his men fled to Crown Point. The French are said to have lost a thousand men, the English three hundred. A party of New Hampshire troops encountered the baggage of Dieskau's army, and captured it. These three actions, fought on the same day, are known as the battle of Lake George. Johnson received knighthood, and a parliamentary grant of £5,000; and the colonists looked upon the affair as a great victory.

Johnson did not, however, as seemed to be expected of him, advance against Crown Point. The New Englanders charged him with incapacity, and lack

of energy, but, alleging the want of provisions and means of transportation, he accomplished no more than the building of Fort William Henry, near the late field of battle, and disbanded his troops for the winter.

The frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, were exposed, by Dunbar's inglorious retreat, to incursions from the Indians under French influence. Governor Morris, of Pennsylvania, urged the Assembly to make provision for the defence of the frontiers; but that body had some private disputes to settle, in regard to taxing the proprietary estates, and also professed the usual Quaker 1755. scruples against war, which hindered their proper attention to the governor's request. In November, however, they voted some £50,000 for public defence, which led to the resignation of several of the Quaker members of the Assembly.

In Virginia, the Assembly voted £40,000 in taxes, and issued treasury notes to that amount. To Washington, for his gallant conduct at Braddock's defeat, £300 were voted, with gratuities to the other officers and the privates. The Virginia regiment was reorganized, and he himself was placed at its head, with Stephens as lieutenant-colonel. About the middle of September, Washington repaired to Winchester, where he fixed his head quarters: but, during the next winter, he was compelled to make a journey to Boston, to obtain a decision from Shirley as to some vexed points of precedence and military rank.

The year 1755 closed with little sat-

* Hendrick was the son of a Mohegan chief, by a Mohawk woman. He married into a Mohawk family, and became distinguished among the Six Nations. His fame extended to Massachusetts; for the commissioners, in 1751, consulted him on the great question of instructing certain youths of his nation. In this battle with Dieskau, he commanded three hundred Mohawks. He was grave and sententious in council, and brave in fight. Some of his sayings are worth mention. When it was proposed to send a detachment to meet the enemy, and the number being mentioned, he replied: "If they are to fight, they are too few; if they are to be killed, they are too many." When it was proposed to send out the detachment in three parties, Hendrick took three sticks, and said, "put them together, and you cannot break them; take them one by one, and you will break them easily." They followed the advice of the old warrior in this; and had they regarded the precautions he suggested, in scouring the field by a flank guard, Williams would not have fallen into the ambuscade. Hendrick deserves to be remembered among the friends of white men, who now and then have been found among Indians.

isfaction; no one of the expeditions had resulted as had been previously hoped and expected. And when Shirley met a convention of colonial governors at New York, he found little disposition on their part to respond to his wishes, in regard to new enterprises against Fort Daquesne, Niagara, and Crown Point. Johnson and Delancey, of New York, assailed his course in the late campaign, and presently afterwards Shirley was recalled.

Washington, on his return to his post, found the whole frontier in alarm from the Indians, who had been guilty of outrages of a very trying **1756.** character. The whole soul of the youthful commander was engaged in his work; but harassed and perplexed by want of efficient support, and pained deeply by the scenes which he was compelled to witness, he exclaims, in a letter to Governor Dinwiddie: "The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions of the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease." Washington spared no effort to meet the emergency, and it was felt by every one that he was indeed a most devoted patriot, and an honor to his native Virginia.

In May, 1756, war was formally declared by England against France; the French court soon after issued a counter declaration. General Abercrombie, who had acquired some reputation on the continent, was shortly after sent out with an additional force, but the

Earl of Loudon, the new commander-in-chief, did not arrive till near the end of July. A garrison having been left in Oswego, to reinforce this became the immediate object of solicitude. Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet was detached thither with a small body of forces, and succeeded in making his way in safety. A large body of French were sent to intercept him, but Bradstreet was too prompt and active for their movements. On his return up the river, the French and Indians waylaid his party; but Bradstreet repulsed them after a sharp conflict. Shortly after the fight was over, they were joined by a fresh body of troops, who descended the river to Oswego, which, by these successive reinforcements, was placed in a temporary posture of defence. Bradstreet, on joining Abercrombie, warned him of the intentions of the French to seize Oswego, and fresh troops were accordingly dispatched thither; but their departure having been delayed by the procrastination of Lord Loudon, and the refusal of Abercrombie to take the responsibility of active measures, the movement when made, in August, was found to be too late; the fort had already been surrendered to the French under Montcalm. Thus more than a thousand men, a hundred and thirty-five pieces of artillery, a great quantity of stores and provisions, and a fleet of boats and vessels, built for the Niagara expedition, fell into the hands of the enemy; and the British troops on the march, under Webb, fell back with terror and precipitation to Albany.

This result was mainly due to the

increased energy infused into the movements of the French by the arrival of a new commander-in-chief. Louis Joseph, Marquis de Montcalm de St. Veran, was born at the Chateau de Candiac, near Nismes, in 1712, of a family illustrious not only for its extraction, but for its prowess. Though destined for the profession of arms, he had received so excellent an education, that he ever afterwards retained a taste for scientific and literary pursuits, and had his career not been suddenly terminated, would have been chosen a member of the French Academy. And before he was chosen as commander-in-chief of the French armies in North America, he had distinguished himself in many a gallant encounter. Such was the general who now arrived at Quebec with a large reinforcement of troops, and who, after sustaining the honor of the French arms with unexampled success, fell gloriously on the field of battle, and is associated with Wolfe in an enduring monument of fame and renown.

With the exception of Armstrong's successful attack upon Kittaning, the principal town of the Indians on the Allegany River, the whole of the season passed away without any results of moment. Sickness caused many and severe losses; the regulars went into winter quarters; and Loudon's greatest exploit was frightening the citizens of New York into obedience to his demand for gratuitous quarters for his officers.

At the beginning of the next year, 1757, a council was held at Boston, and it was concluded to defend the frontiers, and send an expedition against Louis-

burg. New England was called on for four thousand men, and New York and New Jersey for two thousand. In Pennsylvania the Quaker ^{1757.} Assembly voted a levy of £100,000, waiving for the present the tax on the proprietary estates; they protested, however, that they did this under compulsion, and sent Franklin to England as agent to urge their complaints. Washington, in Virginia, did what he could in the way of defence, but it was plain that so long as Fort Duquesne was in the hands of the French, no effectual defence could be maintained on the frontier. Further south there were troubles likewise with the Indians but not to any great extent.

Early in July, Lord Loudon sailed from New York with six thousand regulars, and was joined at Halifax by a fleet of eleven sail of the line, under Admiral Holborne, with six thousand additional soldiers on board. But again Loudon was too late; seventeen French ships of the line entered the harbor of Louisburg, and with the strong garrison there, it was useless to attack it with such a force as he had at the time: all that he could do was to return to New York.

Montcalm, with characteristic energy, determined to strike a heavy blow while Loudon was engaged against Louisburg. Ascending Lake George, with a force of eight thousand men, he laid siege to Fort William Henry, where Colonel Monro was in command with two thousand troops. Webb was at Fort Edward, fourteen miles distant, with four thousand men. The attack was pressed with vigor: the ammuni-

tion was exhausted; and as Webb gave no relief, Monro was compelled to surrender. The garrison was to be allowed to march out with the honors of war, and they and their baggage to be protected as far as Fort Edward. The Indian allies with Montcalm were greatly displeased at these terms, and greedy of the plunder, they fell upon the unarmed and retreating troops. It must always remain doubtful how far Montcalm was able or willing to restrain the savages in their detestable act of treachery, when hundreds fell victims to the fury of the red men. "The fort," says Israel Putnam, in speaking of this dreadful scene, "was entirely demolished, the barracks, and outhouses, and buildings, were a heap of ruins; the cannon, stores, boats, and vessels, were all carried away. The fires were still burning; the smoke and stench offensive and suffocating. Innumerable fragments, human skulls, and bones, and carcasses, half consumed, were still frying and broiling in the decaying fires. Dead bodies, mangled with scalping knives and tomahawks, in all the wantonness of Indian fierceness and barbarity, were everywhere to be seen. More than one hundred women, butchered, and shockingly mangled, lay upon the ground, still weltering in their gore. Devastation, barbarity, and horror, everywhere appeared, and the spectacle presented was too diabolical and awful either to be endured or described." The fall of Fort William Henry caused great alarm in the colonies. Twenty thousand militia were ordered out in Massachusetts; but Montcalm,

satisfied with his present success, retired to Canada without further trial of strength with his enemies.

Thus, after three campaigns, and large efforts on the part of the colonists, the French were still masters. Louisburg, Crown Point, Ticonderoga,* Frontenac, and Niagara, and the chain of posts thence to the Ohio, were still in their hands. They had destroyed the forts at Oswego, and, compelling the Six Nations to neutrality, were able to keep up a devastating warfare all along the frontiers. No wonder that discontent prevailed everywhere; no wonder that it was deemed high time for new counsels, and more vigorous measures to be adopted.

It was at this time that William Pitt, afterwards Earl of Chatham, was called, more through popular urgency, than from any liking of George II., to the entire control of foreign and colonial affairs. Conscious that he, if any man, was able to save the country, his measures were characterized with a vigor commensurate with the necessity, while the agents appointed to carry them into execution were selected with wise discrimination. 1758

His plans for the conquest of Canada infused new life into the colonists, and as they were besides to be repaid for the expense of their levies, large forces of provincials were very soon collected, while, by the arrival of fresh reinforce-

* Ticonderoga is a corruption of *Cheonderoga*, an Iroquois word, signifying *sounding waters*, and was applied by the Indians to the rushing waters of the outlet of Lake George at the falls. The French built a fort here in 1756, which they named *Fort Carillon*.

ments from England, Abercrombie, who remained commander-in-chief, soon found himself at the head of a force of fifty thousand men, a number greater than the whole male population of New France. Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne, were all to be attacked at once.

The first blow was struck at Louisburg. Early in June, Boscawen made his appearance before that fortress with a fleet of thirty-eight ships of war, and an army of fourteen thousand men under General Amherst. The garrison at Louisburg was three thousand in number, and eleven ships of war were in the harbor. The works were considerably out of repair, and were not in a condition to stand a regular siege; so that after a vigorous approach on the part of the English, and severe loss on the side of the French, the garrison was compelled, on the 27th of July, to capitulate. Wolfe, who was destined to accomplish so great things not long after, was prominent in conducting this expedition to its successful issue. Thus Louisburg, with all its artillery, provisions, and military stores, as also St. John's Island (now Prince Edward's), and their dependencies, were placed in the hands of the English, who, without farther difficulty, took possession of the island of Cape Breton. The conquerors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, and eighteen mortars, with a very large quantity of stores and ammunition. The inhabitants of Cape Breton were sent to France in English ships; but the garrison, sea officers, sailors, and marines, amounting collec-

tively to nearly six thousand men, were carried prisoners to England. Amherst sailed back to Boston with his troops, and thence marched to the western frontier.

Some weeks before the fall of Louisburg, General Abercrombie, with about sixteen thousand men, embarked at Fort William Henry, and passed down Lake George, to commence operations against Ticonderoga. Israel Putnam, afterwards famous in the Revolution held the rank of major at the time, and commanded a company of well-known and very effective rangers. After debarking at the landing place in a cove on the west side of the lake, the troops were formed into four columns, the British in the centre, and the provincials on the flanks. In this order they marched toward the advanced guard of the French, which, consisting of one battalion only, posted in a logged camp, destroyed what was in their power, and made a precipitate retreat. While Abercrombie was continuing his march in the woods towards Ticonderoga, the columns were thrown into confusion, and in some degree entangled with each other. At this juncture, Lord Howe, at the head of the right centre column, fell in with a part of the advanced guard of the enemy, which had been lost in the wood in retreating from Lake George. Accompanying Putnam, who tried to dissuade him, Howe dashed through the woods, attacked and dispersed the French, killing a considerable number, and taking one hundred and forty-eight prisoners. In this skirmish the gallant Howe received a musket shot in the

breast, and fell dead upon the field.* Ticonderoga was held by some two thousand Frenchmen. Having learned that reinforcements were expected to arrive soon, Abercrombie resolved on an assault without waiting for his artillery. The troops having received orders to advance briskly, to rush upon the enemy's fire, and reserve their own till they had passed the breastwork, marched to the assault with great intrepidity. Unlooked-for impediments, however, occurred. In front of the breastwork, to a considerable distance, trees had been felled with their branches outward, many of which were sharpened to a point, by means of which the assailants were not only retarded in their advance, but becoming entangled among the boughs, were exposed to a very galling and destructive fire. Finding it impossible to pass the breastwork, which was nine feet high, and much stronger than had been represented, Abercrombie, after a contest of four hours, abandoned the attack, and the next day made a hasty retreat to Fort William Henry. His conduct was regarded with so little favor, that he was superseded, and Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief.

* No one of the royal officers was so popular and so universally admired as Lord Howe, and his death was regarded as a public calamity. It is in regard to him that the story is told of the noted Stark, the hero of Bennington, who knew him, and loved him well. Stark is said to have declared his apprehension that, had Howe lived, he could not have been a true whig in the Revolution;—so great an influence was exercised by this accomplished and brave young nobleman. Massachusetts erected a fitting monument, in Westminster Abbey, to testify their unfeigned sorrow in losing him.

No further attempt was made on Ticonderoga, at the present. As some compensation, however, for this defeat, Colonel Bradstreet, with **1758.** three thousand men, marched to Oswego, and embarking in vessels already provided, ascended the lake, and landed, August 25th, at Fort Frontenac, (now Kingston). The place was feebly garrisoned, and as the attack was entirely unexpected, its success was speedy and certain. Nine armed vessels were taken, and the fort, with a large store of provisions, was destroyed. Bradstreet lost but few men in the attack, but sickness carried off some five hundred of his troops. On the return, the soldiers aided in building Fort Stanwix, on the site where the village of Rome is now situate.

The expedition against Fort Duquesne, was put under the command of General Forbes. His force consisted of seven thousand men, including the Pennsylvania and Virginia troops, and the Royal Americans from South Carolina. Great delay occurred in consequence of General Forbes **1758.** not following the advice of Washington, to advance by the road already opened by Braddock, and ordering a new one to be cut from Raystown, on the Juniata. The vanguard to whom this work was committed, had been nearly cut off, like Braddock's, by a sudden surprise, having lost two hundred men, when Forbes, on November 8th, came up with the remainder of the forces. With fifty miles of road to open across the forests, the winter rapidly approaching, and the disheartened troops beginning to desert, it was contemplated to retrace

their steps, and abandon the enterprise, when, by the accidental capture of some prisoners, they learned the weakness and distress of the French garrison. Nerved by this intelligence, they determined on making a vigorous effort to gain possession of Fort Duquesne before it could be reinforced. Leaving their artillery behind, and pushing into the trackless forest, through which with their utmost efforts they were not able to advance more than a few miles a day, they had advanced within a few hours' march of the place, (November 24th,) when the French garrison, reduced to less than five hundred men, having set fire to the works, retreated down the Ohio. The abandoned fort now received an English garrison, and its name was changed from Duquesne to Pitt: the rest of the army retraced their steps, and the harassed frontiers of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were now freed from the incursions of the Indians. On the eastern frontier, Fort Pownall was built on the Penobscot, to hold the Indians in check, and cut off their communication with Canada.

The campaign of 1758, proving thus successful, Pitt found parliament both ready and eager to further his wishes in carrying on the war against Canada. The colonial Assemblies acted promptly and with energy, for nearly a million of dollars had been reimbursed to them on account of the year's expenses.

1759. Twenty thousand colonial troops were ready for service in the spring of 1759, and high hopes were entertained of brilliant success.

The plan now adopted was substan-

tially the same as that which Phipps and Warren had successively failed to execute. Amherst was to advance by way of Lake Champlain, with twelve thousand regulars and provincials; and General Prideaux was to proceed to the reduction of Niagara. Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Niagara being disposed of, Amherst and Prideaux with their forces were to co-operate with Wolfe against Quebec. This heroic officer* had sailed early in the spring from England, and had made his appearance in the St. Lawrence, in June, with an army of eight thousand regular troops, in three brigades, under Monckton, Townshend, and Murray.

Various delays occurred to hinder the progress of General Amherst; and it was the latter part of July, when he appeared before Ticonderoga. As the naval superiority of Great Britain had prevented France from sending out reinforcements, none of the posts in this quarter were able to withstand so great

* James Wolfe, the second son of a colonel who had served under Marlborough, was born at the vicarage of Westerham, in Kent, on the 2d of January, 1727. When first he entered the army in his father's company, he was a lad of fourteen, and so delicate that he was obliged to be landed at Portsmouth. On his recovery, he joined the troops, was engaged at Dettingen and Fontenoy, and at the engagement of La Feldt was publicly thanked by the Duke of Cumberland on the battle-field. His remarkable merit soon attracted the eye of Pitt, who, overleaping the ordinary rules of the service, made him a brigadier-general, and associated him with Amherst in the expedition against Louisburg. His natural character displayed a union of qualities but seldom united; delicate in frame, excitable in temperament, refined in tastes, and with a love of domestic enjoyments, he was no less daring, energetic, and desirous of obtaining distinction in the service of his country.

a force as that under Amherst. Ticonderoga was immediately abandoned; the example was followed at Crown Point; and the only way in which the French seemed to think of preserving their province was by retarding the English army with shows of resistance till the season of operation should be past, or till, by the gradual concentration of their forces, they should become numerous enough to make an effectual stand. A succession of storms upon the lake, and the want of vessels, rendered it impossible for Amherst to carry out the portion of the plan dependent on him, and instead of joining Wolfe or advancing upon Montreal, he was compelled to go into winter quarters at Crown Point. The New Hampshire Rangers, under Major Rogers, in September and October, made a successful foray against the Indian village of St. Francis, which they destroyed completely, and thus relieved the New England frontier of the dreaded attacks from that noted spot.

General Prideaux, early in July, reached Niagara with a considerable force. While directing the operations of the siege, he was killed by the bursting of a gun, and the command devolved on Sir William Johnson. That general, prosecuting with judgment and vigor the plan of his predecessor, pushed the attack of Niagara with an intrepidity that soon brought the besiegers within a hundred yards of the covered way. Meanwhile, the French, alarmed at the danger of losing a post which was a key to their interior empire in America, had collected a large body of regular troops from the neighboring garrisons

of Detroit, Venango, and Presqu'île, with which, and a party of Indians, they resolved, if possible, to raise the siege. But they were totally routed, and a large part taken prisoners. The fort surrendered the next day, and six hundred men with it; these were carried to New York. According to the plan marked out, Johnson ought now to have advanced to co-operate with Amherst and Wolfe on the St. Lawrence; but the want of proper shipping and scarcity of provisions, put this quite out of his power. Thus, as it happened, Wolfe was left to carry on the siege and reduction of Quebec single handed.

As we have stated above, Wolfe, on the 26th of June, arrived off the Isle of Orleans. Quebec, that Gibraltar **1759.** of America as it has been termed, was defended by the Marquis de Montcalm, with a force of two thousand regulars and several thousand militia and Indians. The attack having been long foreseen, as Murray relates, in his History of British America,* full time was allowed Montcalm to entrench and strengthen his position, but the supply of provisions was very limited. An attempt was first made to destroy the British fleet by fire-ships; but these were caught with grappling irons, towed aside, and allowed to burn out without doing any injury. Brigadier-general Monckton then occupied Point Levi, opposite Quebec, which was thence bombarded with vigor; but, though a number of houses were destroyed, the defences remained almost uninjured. The place therefore could

* Vol. i., p. 175-178.

only be carried by storming the entrenchments which the French had thrown up in front of it. This bold measure Wolfe resolved to adopt, and on the 31st of July he effected a landing. The boats, however, had met with an accidental delay; the grenadiers, it is said, rushed forward with too blind and impetuous a valor; Montcalm, strongly posted between Quebec and Montmorenci, poured in upon them a destructive fire; the Indian rifle told with fatal effect; and the assailants were finally repulsed with the loss of five hundred men.

Wolfe felt this disappointment so deeply that his delicate frame was thrown into a violent fever; and in a despatch to Mr. Pitt he afterwards expressed the apprehension under which he labored. The fleet, his strongest arm, could not act against the wall of rock on which Quebec is seated; and with his weakened force he had to storm fortified positions, defended by troops almost as numerous as his own. So soon, however, as his health permitted, he called a council of war, desired the general officers to consult together; and, it is said, proposed to them a second attack on the French lines, avoiding the errors which had led to the failure of the first. They were decidedly of opinion that this was inexpedient; but on the suggestion, as is now believed, of Brigadier-general Townshend, the second in command, they proposed to attempt a point on the other side of Quebec, where the enemy were yet unprepared, and whence they might gain the Heights of Abraham, which overlooked the city. Wolfe assented, and applied all his powers to

the accomplishment of this plan. Such active demonstrations were now made against Montcalm's original position, that he believed it still the main object; and though he observed detachments moving up the river, merely sent De Bougainville with fifteen hundred men to Cape Rouge, a position too distant, being nine miles above Quebec.

On the night of the 12th of September, in deep silence, the troops were embarked and conveyed in two divisions to the place now named Wolfe's Cove. The precipice here was so steep, that even the general for a moment doubted the possibility of scaling it, but Fraser's Highlanders, grasping the bushes which grew on its face, soon reached the summit, and in a short time he had his whole army drawn up in regular order on the plains above Montcalm, struck by this unexpected intelligence, at once concluded that, unless the English could be driven from this position, Quebec was lost; and, hoping probably, that only a detachment had yet reached it, pushed forward at once to the attack. About fifteen hundred light infantry and Indians arrived first, and began a desultory fire from among the bushes; but the British reserved their shot for the main body, which was seen advancing behind. They came forward in good order, and commenced a brisk attack; yet no general fire was opened in return till they were within forty yards, when it could be followed up by the bayonet. The first volley was decisive; Wolfe and Montcalm both fell almost at the same moment; the French instantly gave way in every quarter; and





repeated charges, in which the Highland broadsword was powerfully wielded, soon completed the victory. As soon as Wolfe received his mortal wound, he said, "Support me! let not my brave soldiers see me drop." He was carried to some distance in the rear,—and hearing the cry "They run!" he asked "Who run?" Being told "The enemy," he gave some short directions, and then said: "Now, God be praised, I die happy!"

We cannot forbear quoting the simple and feeling observations of General Townshend respecting his heroic friend,* whose fate threw so affecting a lustre on this memorable victory: "I am not ashamed to own to you, that my heart does not exult in the midst of this success. I have lost but a friend in General Wolfe; our country has lost a sure support and a perpetual honor. If the world were sensible at how dear a price we have purchased Quebec in his death, it would damp the public joy. Our best consolation is, that Providence seemed not to promise that he should remain long among us. He was himself sensible of the weakness of his constitution, and determined to crowd into a few years actions that would have adorned length of life."†

* But see Mr. Bancroft's account, (vol. iv., p. 339): he speaks strongly of Townshend's meanness in respect to this battle.

† The body of Wolfe was conveyed for sepulture to England, and a monument was erected to his memory in Westminster Abbey. A small pillar marks the spot where he fell, on the plains of Abraham; and a pyramid since raised upon the heights of the city, simply bearing the names of "WOLFE" and "MONTCALM," is destined to perpetuate the common memory of these gallant chiefs, and of the memorable battle in which they gloriously fell.

The battle had scarcely closed when De Bougainville appeared in the rear, but on seeing the fortune of the day, immediately retreated. On the 17th, a flag of truce came out, and on the 18th, a capitulation was concluded on honorable terms to the French, who were not made prisoners, but conveyed home to their native country.

Canada was, however, not yet conquered. The winter had arrested the farther advance of Amherst and Johnson; and General de Levi, who had assembled at Montreal upwards of ten thousand men, conceived the design of recapturing Quebec in the spring, before it could obtain succors, either by sea or land. Being baffled in his projects to carry it by a *coup de main*, he landed his army, on the 27th of April, 1760, advanced to the Heights of Abraham, and prepared to carry on a regular siege. General Murray had been left with a garrison of six thousand men; but a severe attack of scurvy had reduced to half that number those who were capable of bearing arms. This officer, dreading that the place was unfit to stand a siege, and hoping much from the bravery of his troops, attacked the enemy, on the 28th of April, at Sillery; but, being overpowered by superior numbers, he was defeated with great loss. If guilty here of any rashness, he atoned for it by the activity with which he placed Quebec in a state of defence, and held out the town till the 15th of May, when a fleet, under Admiral Swanton, arrived and raised the siege.

The French army then concentrated

itself in Montreal, where the Marquis de Vaudreuil made an attempt to maintain his ground; but being enclosed by the forces under General Amherst, and by those from Quebec and Niagara, he found himself obliged, on the 8th of September, 1760, to sign a capitulation, by which that city and the whole of Canada were transferred to British dominion. He obtained liberal stipulations for the good treatment of the inhabitants, and particularly the free exercise of the Roman Catholic faith, and the preservation of the property belonging to the religious communities.

"Thus ended," says Mr. Irving, "the contest between France and England for dominion in America, in which, as has been said, the first gun was fired in

1759. Washington's encounter with De Jumonville. A French statesman and diplomatist, (Count de Vergennes) consoled himself by the persuasion that it would be a fatal triumph to England. It would remove the only check by which her colonies were kept in awe. 'They will no longer need her protection,' said he; 'she will call on them to contribute toward supporting the burdens they have helped to bring on her, and *they will answer by striking for independence.*'"^{*} To the same effect are some of the sentiments of Montcalm, which have been preserved. The appositeness of these sentiments to the matter before us renders them worth quoting, in part at least. After speaking of his personal knowledge on this subject, he goes to say: "All the colonies have, happily for themselves,

reached a very flourishing condition, they are numerous and rich, they contain within their own bosom all the necessities of life. England has been foolish and dupe enough to allow the arts, trades, and manufactures to become established among them, that is to say, she has allowed them to break the chain of wants which attached them to, and made them dependent upon herself. Thus all these English colonies would long ago have thrown off the yoke, each province would have formed a little independent republic, if the fear of seeing the French at their doors had not proved a bridle to restrain them. As masters, they would have preferred their countrymen to strangers, taking it nevertheless for a maxim, to obey either as little as possible. But once let Canada be conquered, and the Canadians and these colonists become one people, and on the first occasion when Old England appears to touch their interests, do you imagine, my dear cousin, that the Americans will obey? And in revolting, what will they have to fear?"

Washington is so essentially a part of American history that it is only proper to put on record, facts of moment respecting him. On the 6th of January, 1759, he was married to Mrs. Martha Custis. A few months afterwards, having been elected a member of the House of Burgesses, he repaired to Williamsburg to take his seat. The House determined to signalize the event by special honor to the beloved Washington. Hardly had he entered the House, when Mr. Robinson, the speaker, eloquently returned thanks, in the

* "Life of Washington," vol. i., p. 308.

name of Virginia, to her distinguished son, for the services he had rendered to his country. Washington rose to reply; blushed — stammered — trembled—could not utter a word. “Sit down, Mr. Washington,” said the speaker, with a courteous smile, “your modesty equals your valor; and that surpasses the power of any language I possess.”

Great was the exultation of the colonies at this successful termination of the struggle with the French. New York was especially pleased, since its northern and western limits had been so long in dispute; and now it might lay claim to large increase of its territory. “By the sudden death of Delancey, in July, 1760, the administration of New York had devolved on Cadwallader Colden, who was presently appointed lieutenant-governor. Though now upwards of seventy years of age, Colden continued in that office for sixteen years; and, in consequence of the frequent absence of the governors, was repeatedly at the head of affairs.”* New England had equal reason with New York, to rejoice, because its frontiers were now freed from the dreadful incursions of the Indians, whose power for further mischief was almost entirely destroyed. Indeed the hostile tribes were nearly annihilated. At the South, the war with the Cherokees still kept

the frontiers of Carolina in alarm. This formidable tribe, after the reduction of Fort Duquesne, where they had aided Forbes, had become involved in a serious quarrel with the back settlers of Virginia and the Carolinas. The origin of the quarrel is obscure. It is said that the Cherokees seized upon some horses which they found running wild through the woods, but which in reality belonged to Virginian owners, and that the latter, supposing it to be a theft, killed twelve or fourteen of them; an outrage deeply resented by the Indians, who, inflamed by French influence, were led to believe that the English meditated their entire extermination. Gov- 1759.
ernor Littleton refused to listen to a proposal for arranging the dispute, and in October, 1759, marched into the Cherokee territories with fifteen hundred men; but he was glad to retire as soon as possible. Sickness and insubordination speedily put an end to the expedition. Fresh disputes soon after broke out, and the Cherokees prepared to do battle in their defence. An express was sent to General Amherst, who detached twelve hundred men under Colonel Montgomery, to the relief of the Carolinas. Strengthened by their militia, he marched into the Cherokee country, relieved Fort Prince George, at the head of the Savannah, which they had blockaded, and ravaged all the Indian settlements on his way. Finding the Cherokees rather in- 1760.
flamed than intimidated by these proceedings, he advanced to Etchoe, their capital, not far from whence they had posted themselves to oppose

* We are indebted to Dr. Francis, for the interesting fact that “Dr. Colden was the first American expositor of the Linnæan system in the New World. This he taught on the banks of the Hudson, almost immediately after its announcement by the illustrious Swede.” Colden, in addition to his “History of the Five Nations,” was also the author of various literary and scientific productions.

his further progress. (June 27th.) In doing so he had to pass through a hollow valley covered with brushwood, through which ran a muddy river with elay banks. To scour this dangerous pass, Colonel Morrison advanced with a company of Rangers, when the Indians, suddenly springing from their ambush, killed him at the first shot, with several of his men. The light infantry being now moved forward, a warm fire was kept up on both sides, but the Indians still maintained the post without flinching, till, threatened in the flank by a movement of the agile Highlanders, they slowly fell back and reluctantly yielded the pass, posting themselves upon a hill, to watch the movements of their invaders. Supposing that Montgomery was advancing towards Etchoe, they ran to give the alarm to their wives and children, and prepare for a still more desperate resistance. But the English commander, deeming it not prudent to attempt anything further, retired to Charleston and prepared to leave for the north, in obedience to orders. The Upper Cherokees now beleaguered Fort London, the garrison of which, almost in a starving condition, under promise of safe conduct had surrendered, early in August. But the promise was not kept. A few miles from the fort they were surrounded by a body of Indians, who opened a heavy fire upon them, which killed Captain Demeré, the commandant, and nearly thirty others, and carried off the remainder into captivity. The Cherokees, who could now muster three thousand warriors, continued to ravage the frontiers, and inspired such

fear, that Amherst was earnestly solicited to send back the troops he had withdrawn. The conquest of Canada being now achieved, the Highland regiment commanded by **1761.** Colonel Grant returned to Carolina; reinforced by the colonial militia and scouts dressed in Indian costume, Grant advanced, with two thousand six hundred men, to the spot where Montgomery had been repulsed, (June 10th.) The Cherokees bravely maintained the struggle for several hours, but were at length entirely defeated; their towns and magazines destroyed, their corn-fields ravaged, and they themselves forced to retreat into the desolate recesses of their mountains. Their resources being thus cut off, they were compelled to sue for peace. In order to obtain it, they were at first required to deliver four warriors to be shot at the head of the army, or to furnish four green Indian scalps within twenty days; a degrading and brutal condition, from which they were relieved by the personal application of one of their aged chiefs to Governor Bull.

Notwithstanding the exulting feeling prevalent, everywhere, on account of the triumph of English arms in America, there was no lack of evidence how jealously the colonists regarded any invasion, real or supposed, of their rights and privileges. The question respecting "writs of assistance," is a significant illustration of this fact. Pownall, early in August, 1760, had been succeeded as Governor of Massachusetts by Francis Bernard. This latter held high notions of the authority of the mother country over the

colonies. His zealous efforts to promote the objects of the ministry at home, were warmly seconded by Thomas Hutchinson, who had lately been appointed lieutenant-governor, and also chief justice, to the disappointment of Otis, who had been promised a seat on the bench by Pownall. It was at this juncture that, owing to a trade opened by the colonists with the French islands, by which they obtained supplies, orders had been given by the English ministry for the stricter enforcement of the acts of trade, already so odious to the mercantile interest and the people at large. To prevent evasion of the law, orders were sent to apply to the judicature for "writs of assistance," that is, for permits to break into and search any suspected place. It was not long before the custom-house officers applied for the issue of the writs, to which the merchants determined to offer the most strenuous opposition, and retained Thatcher and James Otis, son of the speaker, to plead on their behalf. Otis, as advocate of the Admiralty, was bound to argue in favor of the writs, but urged by patriotic zeal, he resigned his office, and accepted the retainer of the merchants. On the day appointed for the trial, the council-chamber of the old town-house in Boston, was crowded with the officers of government and the principal inhabitants of the city. The case was opened by the advocate for the crown, who founded his long and elaborate argument on the principle, that the parliament of Great Britain is supreme legislator of the British empire. Thatcher, who was one of the

first lawyers of the city, replied in an ingenious and able speech, resting his arguments upon considerations purely legal and technical. But Otis, who followed him, was not to be restrained within these narrow and inconvenient limits. He assailed the acts of trade as oppressive and even unconstitutional, and with a fire and vehemence which carried everything before them, he roused the Bostonians and the public at large, to a consideration of questions soon to assume a position of the gravest importance. "Otis was a flame of fire," says John Adams, in his sketch of the scene. "With a promptitude of classical allusion, a depth of research, a rapid summary of historical events and dates, a profusion of legal authorities, a prophetic glance into futurity, and a rapid torrent of impetuous eloquence, he hurried away all before him. The seeds of patriots and heroes were then and there sown. Every man of an immensely crowded audience appeared to me, to go away, as I did, ready to take arms against 'writs of assistance.' Then and there was the first scene of the first act of opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain. Then and there, the child Independence was born. In fifteen years, that is, in 1776, he grew up to manhood, and declared himself free." The influence of Otis's fervid eloquence was widely felt in the approaching dispute with the mother country. He himself was elected a representative from Boston, and became a leading member of the House. The "writs of assistance," although granted, were too unpopular to be used, except in rare cases.

Canada having been conquered, the British arms were next directed against the French West India Islands, General Monckton, in November, 1761, sailed from New York, with two line-of-battle ships, a hundred transports and twelve thousand regular and colonial troops. Among his officers were Gates and Montgomery, afterwards celebrated in the Revolutionary War. The expedition was completely successful, and all the islands then in possession of the French, were wrested from them. A family compact between the different branches of the house of Bourbon, had engaged Spain to side with France, and declare war against Great Britain. To humble this new enemy was the next object of her arms, and an expedition was shortly afterwards sent out, which, in August, 1762, wrested Havana from Spain. The arms of England were every where triumphant, her cruisers swept the seas, and her rivals were obliged to consent to a humiliating peace.* On the 3d of November, 1762, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Fontainebleau, by which the whole of North America, from the Mississippi to the Atlantic, was ceded to Great Britain. The island and city of New Orleans were ceded to Spain, with all Louisiana west

of the Mississippi, then almost in a state of nature. Havana was also restored to her in lieu of Florida, which, divided into East and West Florida, now became provinces of the British empire in America. On the 10th of February, 1763, the peace of Paris was publicly ratified, between the contending powers.

It was in this same year that a wide spread combination among the Indians, led to fearful ravages on their part. The Delawares and Shawanese, now occupying the banks of the Muskingum, Sciota, and Miami, provoked by being crowded rudely by the settlers fast pouring across the Alleghanies, and perhaps incited by the artful representation of French fur traders, made a simultaneous attack, in June, along the whole frontier of Pennsylvania and Virginia. The noted Pontiac, a man of superior ability, was the moving spirit of this confederation, and it tasked to the utmost, the powerful influence of Sir William Johnson, to keep the Six Nations from joining Pontiac against the white men.* The English traders were plundered and slain, and the posts between the Ohio and Lake Erie, were surprised and taken. Only Niagara, Detroit, and Fort Pitt held out, the two latter being closely blockaded; and the troops which Amherst sent to relieve them did not reach their destination without severe encounters. This onslaught provoked a bloody

* "The present contest for territorial and commercial supremacy had extended even to the East Indies, thus, as it were, encircling the globe. A twenty years' struggle in Hindostan, between the French and English East India Companies, had ended in the complete triumph of the English, securing to them the dominion of the Carnatic and Bengal; the beginning of that career of territorial aggrandizement in India, since so remarkably carried out."—Hildreth's *"History of the United States,"* vol. ii., p. 501.

* As our limits do not admit of details, we must refer the reader to Mr. Parkman's admirably written volume, *"History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac, and the War of the North American Tribes against the English Colonies, after the Conquest of Canada."*

retaliation on the part of a body of Scotch and Irish settlers in Paxton township, Pennsylvania. They attacked a friendly and harmless tribe, living under the guidance of some Moravian missionaries, murdered men, women, and children indiscriminately, forced their way into Lancaster workhouse, where some of the fugitives had taken refuge, and killed them, and then marched down to Philadelphia, in January, 1764, to exterminate a body of Indians who had fled to that city. It was with much difficulty that Franklin succeeded in forming a body of militia, to defend the city, and in compelling the

“Paxton boys,” as they were called, to retire without further shedding of blood. It was a disgraceful and scandalous outrage, but unhappily, there was no power in the province sufficient to punish these murderers.

General Gage, the new commander-in-chief in America, called for levies of troops to aid in putting an end to this war with the Indians. Two **1764.** expeditions were sent out, one by way of Pittsburg, and the other along the lakes. The Indians finding themselves thus vigorously pressed, deemed it expedient, soon after, to consent to terms of peace.

CHAPTER X.

1764—1766.

ENGLAND BEGINS THE CONTEST.

Progress of settlements — Advances in wealth, learning, and art — Recuperative energies of the colonies — The flame of liberty — How the collision was hastened on — Causes which led to the contest — M. Guizot's philosophical remarks — Policy of the English government in having ten thousand troops in America — Authority of parliament over the colonies — Not quite clear what it was — Walpole's view as to taxation — George Grenville's plan — How the news was received in America — Resolution of the General Court in Massachusetts — Instructions to the Agent in England — Otis's bold pamphlet — Action in the other colonies — Reasons for Grenville's delay in not pressing the passage of the stamp act — View of the colonists on this point — Excitement in regard to it; but urged forward — Ignorance in England of America's true condition — Taxation and Representation inseparable — Townshend's inquiry — Colonel Barré's eloquent rejoinder — The bill passed — Franklin's letter to Thompson — The “Quartering Act” — Patrick Henry and the Virginia Assembly — Resolutions — Violent debate — Henry's speech — COLONIAL CONGRESS recommended — Popular outbreaks in various places against the stamp tax — Assembling of the Colonial Congress in New York — Its acts — No stamps allowed to be used — Riot in New York — The stamp act treated with general contempt — “Sons of Liberty” — Change in the English ministry — Parliament of 1766 — Pitt's great speech — Grenville's speech — Pitt's eloquent reply — Franklin's evidence before the House of Commons — Repeal of the stamp act proposed and carried — Saving clause in regard to its repeal — Camden's views — The king's assent — General joy in England at this result. APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X. — I. Franklin's Letter to W. Alexander, Esq. — II. The Stamp Act.

THE subjugation of Canada and the Indian tribes in the north-east, gave a fresh and vigorous impulse to the settlements in Maine, which although among

the oldest in North America, had been very seriously retarded by successive wars with the Indians. New settlers began to occupy the Lower Kennebec,

and to extend along the coast towards the Penobscot. Emigrants from New England, partially filled up the places vacated by the exiled Acadiens. The Upper Connecticut, also began to be settled, and many families pushed forward across the Green Mountains, towards Lake Champlain. Emigrants from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, continued to pour over the mountains, despite a royal proclamation tending to restrain them, and occupied largely the lands on the Monongahela, claimed by the Six Nations as their property. In South Carolina, liberal inducements were held out to encourage free white laborers, from Ireland and Germany, principally, to settle in the upper districts of that province. Georgia, too, was rapidly increasing in population, Governor Wright having proved the agricultural value of the swamps and low lands, along the rivers and coast; and in 1763, the Georgia Gazette, the first newspaper in that colony, was commenced. East and West Florida, likewise began to increase in population, and the resources of that region began to be developed during the ten years following, more than had been done during the whole time of the Spanish occupation. Some emigrants from Canada settled in Louisiana, which was still under the French administration, although by the terms of the treaty of Fontainebleau, the island and city of New Orleans, and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, had been ceded to Spain. We may mention here, that the Spanish domination was by no means acceptable to the Louisianians. They did everything in

their power to manifest their unwillingness and disgust, even proceeding to a show of force; but it was of no avail; the transfer to the Spanish rule took place in 1769.*

In the older settlements, there was, likewise, evident signs of advancement in wealth and population. Mr. Hildreth terms this, "the golden **1764.** age" of Virginia, Maryland, and South Carolina, whose population and productions were increasing at a rate never before or since equalled. "Norfolk and Baltimore began to assume the character of commercial towns, Philadelphia and New York, sole ports to a vast back country, were growing fast; Boston had been stationary for twenty-five years, and continued so for twenty-five years to come, chiefly owing to the fact, that the trade and navigation, for a long time almost engrossed by Boston, was now shared by other towns fast springing up along the sea coast of New England. The harshness and bigotry of former times were greatly relaxed. A taste for literature, science, and social refinement began to be developed. The six colonial colleges received an accession of students. By the efforts of Drs. Shippen and Morgan, both natives of Pennsylvania, a medical school was added to the Pennsylvania College, the first institution of the kind in America.† Even

* We must beg leave here, to refer again to Mr. Gayarré's "*History of Louisiana*," vols. ii. and iii. The patriotic spirit of the writer, gives a charm to his work, which commends it at once to the regard of the reader.

† It is but proper, in this connection, to state, in the language of Dr. Francis, that, "New York is the

the fine arts were not without native votaries. West and Copley, fathers of American art, both born the same year, had commenced as portrait painters, the one in New York, the other in Boston; but they soon sought in London, a wider field and more extended patronage." Mr. Hildreth also notes, that the law had assumed the rank of a distinct profession at this date. Henry, Otis, Dickinson, and others, among lawyers, were already enrolling themselves among the most vigorous opponents of those who invaded the rights and liberties of the colonists; and their influence was felt sensibly in the colonial Assemblies.*

We have enlarged upon these matters not only on account of their interest in a historical point of view, but also because of their importance at the present crisis in American affairs. The recuperative energies of the colonies were remarkably displayed; and their ability to assert forcibly their rights, and to maintain them manfully, became more and more evident to themselves, if not to those in power in England. The feeling of self reliance was engen-

dered on all hands; and it seemed to be almost demonstrable, that the Americans were competent for any emergency which might arise in the progress of their social, political, or even military affairs. "In the bosoms of this people," as John Quincy Adams eloquently says, "there was burning, kindled at different furnaces, but all furnaces of affliction, one clear, steady flame of LIBERTY. Bold and daring enterprise, stubborn endurance of privation, unflinching intrepidity in facing danger, and inflexible adherence to conscientious principle, had steeled to energetic and unyielding hardihood the characters of the primitive settlers of all these colonies. Since that time two or three generations of men had passed away—but they had increased and multiplied with unexampled rapidity; and the land itself had been the recent theatre of a ferocious and bloody seven years' war, between the two most powerful and most civilized nations of Europe, contending for the possession of this continent. Of that strife the victorious combatant had been Britain. She had conquered the provinces of France. She had expelled her rival totally from the continent over which, bounding herself by the Mississippi, she was thenceforth to hold divided empire only with Spain. She had acquired undisputed control over the Indian tribes, still tenanted the forests unexplored by the European man. She had established an uncontested monopoly of the commerce of all her colonies. But, forgetting all the warnings of preceding ages, forgetting the lessons written in the blood of her own

city in which the first organization of a complete medical faculty was created during our colonial relationship with Great Britain." King's College, in 1767-8, was the first institution in America which conferred the degree of Doctor of Medicine. See Dr. Francis's interesting Address, at the Anniversary of the "Woman's Hospital," February, 1856.

* At this date, "North Carolina contained about 95,000 white inhabitants; Virginia, about 70,000 whites, and 100,000 negroes; Maryland, nearly 70,000 whites; Pennsylvania, (supposed) 280,000 souls; New Jersey, more than 60,000; Connecticut contained, 141,000 whites, about 4,500 blacks, and 930 Indians; Massachusetts, about 240,000 inhabitants. Canada contained about 100,000 souls."—Holmes's "Annals," vol. ii., p. 117.

children, through centuries of departed time, she undertook to tax the people of the colonies *without their consent.*"

This led to inevitable collision; this hastened on the struggle for chartered rights and liberties; this, persisted in as it was, and attempted to be established by force, roused the colonists to risk their all in contending for what was dearer to them than even life itself. A brief review of the causes which led to the contest with the mother country, will demonstrate the truth of what has just been stated.

England, under the ministry of Pitt, had attained a preëminence in military renown, unequalled in her history; she had subdued her enemies, had come off victorious in every contest, and was now the acknowledged mistress of the seas, and superior over all her competitors. Gratifying as was this success, however, it had not been attained without vast expenditure of means; and now, victorious as she was, she found herself saddled with a debt almost fear-

ful to contemplate, and compelled to lay burdens upon the people, well nigh beyond all possibility of endurance.* It was but natural, that, following out the suggestion of Pitt in reference to this matter, so soon as the war was concluded, some steps should be taken to obtain revenue from the colonies. It was but natural, likewise, that the colonists should view with suspicion, any scheme calculated to trench upon what they held to be their inalienable right, not to grant

money except by or through their own representatives. The seven years' war had not been carried on without great effort and sacrifices on the part of the colonists. Thirty thousand of their soldiers had fallen in the struggle, either in battle or by disease. Sixteen millions of dollars had been expended, of which, only about five millions had been reimbursed by Parliament. Massachusetts had burdened herself with an oppressive debt, as also had Connecticut, New York, and Virginia. And the colonists could not but feel that their importance was vastly increased by the results of that war, which they had materially aided in bringing to its successful conclusion. They were now, no longer weak and inexperienced children: they had grown up to a vigorous youth and manhood; and they were prepared to manifest the fact whenever it might be necessary. It became a settled determination with them, to assert their claims as sons, as children in the family, and as entitled to all the privileges and rights of sons and this was only what was to be expected from sons who boasted of the origin which they enjoyed.

"It is the honorable distinction of England," says M. Guizot,* "to have given to her colonies, in their infancy, the seminal principle of their liberty. Almost all of them, either at the time of their being planted or shortly after received charters which conferred upon the colonists the rights of the mother country. And these charters were no

* The national debt at this date, amounted to £140,000,000, i. e., nearly \$700,000,000.

* "Essay on the Character and Influence of Washington," from the French, pp. 14-24

a mere deceptive form, a dead letter, for they either established or recognized those powerful institutions, which impelled the colonists to defend their liberties and to control power by dividing it; such as the laying of taxes by vote, the election of the principal public bodies, trial by jury, and the right to meet and deliberate upon affairs of general interest. Thus the history of these colonies is nothing else than the practical and sedulous development of the spirit of liberty, expanding under the protecting influence of the laws and traditions of the country. Such, indeed, was the history of England itself. . . . In the infancy of the English colonies, three different powers are found, side by side, with their liberties, and consecrated by the same charters,—the crown, the proprietary founders, whether companies or individuals, and the mother country. The crown, by virtue of the monarchical principle, and with its traditions, derived from the Church and the Empire. The proprietary founders, to whom the territory had been granted, by virtue of the feudal principle which attaches a considerable portion of sovereignty to the proprietorship of the soil. The mother country, by virtue of the colonial principle, which, at all periods and among all nations, by a natural connection between facts and opinions, has given to the mother country a great influence over the population proceeding from its bosom.

“From the very commencement, as well in the course of events as in the charters, there was great confusion among these various powers, by turns

exalted or depressed, united or divided, sometimes protecting, one against another, the colonists and their franchises, and sometimes assailing them in concert. In the course of these confused changes, all sorts of pretexts were assumed, and facts of all kinds cited, in justification and support either of their acts or their pretensions.

“In the middle of the seventeenth century, when the monarchical principle was overthrown in England, in the person of Charles the First, one might be led to suppose, for a moment, that the colonies would take advantage of this to free themselves entirely from its control. In point of fact, some of them, Massachusetts especially, settled by stern Puritans, showed themselves disposed, if not to break every tie which bound them to the mother country, at least to govern themselves, alone, and by their own laws. But the Long Parliament, by force of the colonial principle, and in virtue of the rights of the crown which it inherited, maintained, with moderation, the supremacy of Great Britain. Cromwell, succeeding to the power of the Long Parliament, exercised it in a more striking manner, and, by a judicious and resolute principle of protection, prevented or repressed, in the colonies, both Royalist and Puritan, every faint aspiration for independence. This was to him an easy task. The colonies, at this period, were feeble and divided. Virginia, in 1640, did not contain more than three or four thousand inhabitants, and in 1660 hardly thirty thousand. Maryland had at most only twelve thousand. In these two provinces, the royalist party had

the ascendancy, and greeted with joy the Restoration. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, the general feeling was republican; and when the local government were compelled to proclaim Charles the Second as king, they forbade, at the same time, all tumultuous assemblies, all kinds of merry-making, and even the drinking of the king's health. There was, at that time, neither the moral unity, nor the physical strength, necessary to the foundation of a state.

"After 1688, when England was finally in possession of a free government, the colonies felt but slightly its advantages. The charters, which Charles the Second and James the Second had either taken away or impaired, were but imperfectly and partially restored to them. The same confusion prevailed, the same struggles arose between the different powers. The greater part of the governors, coming from Europe, temporarily invested with the prerogatives and pretensions of royalty, displayed them with more arrogance than power, in an administration, generally speaking, inconsistent, irritating, seldom successful, frequently marked by grasping selfishness, and a postponement of the interests of the public to petty personal quarrels. Moreover, it was henceforth not the crown alone, but the crown and the mother country united, with which the colonies had to deal. Their real sovereign was no longer the king, but the king and the people of Great Britain, represented and mingled together in Parliament. And the Parliament regarded the colonies with nearly the

same eyes, and held, in respect to them, nearly the same language, as had lately been used towards the Parliament itself, by those kings whom it afterwards overcame. An aristocratic senate is the most intractable of masters. Every member of it possesses the supreme power, and no one is responsible for its exercise.

"In the mean time, the colonies were rapidly increasing in population, in wealth, in strength internally, and in importance externally. Instead of a few obscure establishments, solely occupied with their own affairs, and hardly able to sustain their own existence a people was now forming itself, whose agriculture, commerce, enterprising spirit, and relative position to other states, were giving them a place and consideration among men. The mother country, unable to govern them well, had neither the leisure nor the ill will to oppress them absolutely. She vexed and annoyed them without checking their growth."

As a part of the policy of the English ministry, it was proposed to maintain in America ten thousand regular troops, as a peace establishment, for the defence of the colonies. Probably also, there was had in view the importance of such a force as this, to help to sustain the authority of the crown in the colonies. So soon as peace was established, the successors of Mr. Pitt in the ministry, in accordance with the proposal of the Board of Trade some years before, determined to try the scheme of taxation by the supreme ordinance of Parliament.

That Parliament had authority over the colonies, was admitted on all hands,

but just what it was, or how far it extended, was not quite so clear. Although the colonists had unwillingly yielded to the exercise of power by Parliament in *matters of trade*, still they had yielded submission, and had suffered legislation to extend to a number of other matters beside trade. Parliament had regulated colonial trade for the exclusive benefit of the mother country for a long time, and had appointed custom-house officers, and instituted admiralty courts in the colonies: it is true, these were systematically evaded and resisted; nevertheless, what had been done and submitted to, had given Parliament a sort of legal vested right in all points of the kind. But, let it be noted, Parliament had never exercised the power of levying *taxes for revenue*. The minor matters of regulating the postage on letters, and certain duties on "enumerated articles," were mere trifles; and however the question might stand as to the power of Parliament to levy taxes upon the colonists, it was certain that it had never yet been attempted to be exercised. When the English ministry ventured to make the trial, the contest, almost at once, involved in itself the very essentials of life and liberty.

That astute minister, Sir Robert Walpole, when a suggestion was made to him to levy a direct tax upon the colonies, as we have noted in a former chapter, had declined making so dangerous an experiment: "I shall leave this operation to some one of my successors, who may possess more courage than I, and have less regard for the commercial interests of England. My

opinion is, that, if by favoring the trade of the colonies with foreign nations, they gain £500,000, at the end of two years, fully one half of it will have come into the royal exchequer, by the increased demand for English manufactures. This is a mode of taxing them more agreeably to their own constitution and laws, as well as our own." But there was not the same political sagacity in some of Walpole's successors; and they ventured to try what he had declined; they determined to tax the colonies.*

George Grenville enjoys the reputation of having given origin to the scheme which resulted in the well known Stamp Act. He was in some

* "The disposition to tax the Americans, unless they would tax themselves equal to the wishes of the ministry, was undoubtedly strengthened by the reports of their gaiety and luxury which reached the mother country; it was also said, that the planters lived like princes, while the inhabitants of Britain labored hard for a tolerable subsistence. The officers lately returned, represented them as rich wealthy, and even overgrown in fortune. Their opinion might arise from observations made in the American cities and towns during the war, while large sums were spent in the country, for the support of fleets and armies. American productions were then in great demand, and trade flourished. The people, naturally generous and hospitable, having a number of strangers among them, indulged themselves in many uncommon expenses. When the war was terminated, and they had no further apprehension of danger, the power of the late enemy in the country being totally broken,—Canada, and the back lands to the very banks of the Mississippi, with the Floridas, being ceded to Great Britain,—it was thought they could not well make too much of those who had so contributed to their security. Partly to do honor to them, and partly, it is to be feared, to gratify their own pride, they added to their show of plate, by borrowing of neighbors, and made a great parade of riches in their several entertainments. The plenty and variety of provision and liquors enabled them to furnish out an elegant table, at a comparatively trifling expense."—Gordon's "*History of the American Revolution*," vol. i., p. 157

considerable doubt as to the propriety of taxing the colonies without allowing them representatives; yet, as Mr. Bancroft says,* he loved power and the favor of Parliament, and contemplating the immense debt of England with a sort of terror, he was ready to insist upon the colonies helping to bear the burden; and so, forgetting the wise caution of Walpole, he brought forward in Parliament, a proposition to impose upon the colonists the payment of a stamp tax on all bills, bonds, notes, leases, policies of insurance, legal papers, of various kinds, etc. It was at first laid before Parliament more for information and notice, than with any purpose of pressing its passage.

The next year, Grenville, now prime minister, proposed several resolutions tending to develop his plan for **1764.** taxing America,† such as additional duties on imports into the colonies from foreign countries, on sugar, indigo, coffee, etc., it being openly avowed that the object had in view was, to "raise a revenue for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing his majesty's dominions in America." These resolutions passed the House without much debate or notice, it being resolved, without a division, "that Parliament had a right to tax the colonies." Among the resolutions proposed by Grenville, was one imposing "certain stamp duties on the colonies:" but he declared to the House, his desire that it should not be acted upon until the next session of Par-

liament. It was foreseen that the law would be disregarded, if extraordinary measures were not adopted to enforce it, and provision made that penalties for violating it, and all other revenue laws, might be recovered in the admiralty courts. The judges of these courts were dependent solely on the king, and decided the causes brought before them without the intervention of a jury.

The colonial agents in London sent copies of the resolutions to their respective colonies.* As soon as the intelligence of these proceedings reached America, they were considered as the commencement of a system of oppression, which, if not vigorously resisted, would eventually deprive them of the liberty of British subjects. The **1764** General Court of Massachusetts, at their session in June, took this law into consideration. The House of Representatives resolved, "That the sole right of giving and granting the money of the people of that province was vested in themselves, and that the imposition of taxes and duties by the Parliament of Great Britain, upon a people who are not represented in Parliament, is absolutely irreconcilable with their rights." "If our trade may be taxed," was their argument, in the words of that eminent patriot, Samuel Adams, "why not our lands, why not the produce of our lands, and every thing we possess or use? This, we conceive, annihilates our charter-rights to govern and tax ourselves. It strikes at our British privileges, which, as wa

* See Mr. Bancroft's "*History of the United States*," vol. v., p. 156.

† *Ibid.* p. 186.

* See Appendix I., at the end of the present chapter

have never forfeited, we hold in common with our fellow subjects who are natives of Britain. If taxes are laid upon us without our having a legal representation where they are laid, we are reduced from the character of free subjects to the state of tributary slaves." The House also dispatched an energetic letter to Mr. Mauduit, the agent in England, declaring, "if we are not represented, we are slaves!" and, together with the letter, sent a copy of the recently issued pamphlet of Otis, "The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted." The ground taken by Otis was bold, and clearly set forth that this whole matter was one of principle with the colonists; yet there was no hint of forcible resistance to the claims of Parliament. Indeed, lawyer-like, Otis maintained the supremacy of Parliament and its acts, denouncing resistance as high treason. The colonists were not yet ready to array themselves in arms against the doings of Parliament; but there was no disposition, on the other hand, to any thing like servile submission to injustice. Tracts similar to that of Otis were put forth in Rhode Island, "by authority;" in Maryland, by Dulany, the secretary of the province; and in Virginia, by Bland, a leading member of the House of Burgesses.

Toward the close of the year, petitions to Parliament were drawn up in Massachusetts and Connecticut, which were somewhat moderated in
 1764. tone, owing, in the case of Massachusetts, to the influence of Hutchinson. New York agreed to a petition much more strongly worded, as did also

Rhode Island. In the Virginia House of Burgesses, a petition to the king, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a remonstrance to the Commons, were drawn up by a Committee consisting of Richard Henry Lee and other eminent leaders of the aristocracy. The tone adopted was moderate, and the hardship of pressing a measure like the one proposed, was dwelt upon.

Grenville had a reason for delay, in not urging the stamp tax forward. His notion was, that the colonies, finding that the revenue must be paid in some way by them, and particularly disliking the form in which it was proposed by stamp duties, would suggest some other mode, and then he would take them at their word, and the revenue would be raised without further trouble. "If they think any other mode of taxation more convenient to them," were his plausible words, "and make any proposition of equal efficacy with the stamp duty, I will give it all due consideration." But to *do* this thing, he was resolved: "if you object to the Americans being taxed by Parliament, save yourself the trouble of the discussion, for I am *determined* on the measure." Many in England, says M. Botta, and possibly the agents of the colonies themselves, attributed this conduct of the minister to moderation; but beyond the Atlantic it found a quite different reception, all with one voice exclaiming that this was an interested charity. For they thought, that however civil his offers, the minister would nevertheless exact, to a penny, the entire sum he desired, which in substance was saying, that willingly or otherwise,

they must submit to his good pleasure; and, consequently, his complaisance was but that of an accomplished robber. It was known that he would not be satisfied with less than £300,000 sterling a year, the sum considered necessary for the support of the army it was resolved to maintain in the colonies for their defence. No one of the agents was authorized to comply. Two only alleged they were commissioned to declare that their provinces were ready to bear their proportion of the duty upon stamps, when it should be established according to ancient usages. The minister, therefore, having heard no proposal that appeared to him acceptable, resolved to pursue the design of a stamp tax. Meanwhile, the fermentation in America was violent, not only among private citizens, but also among the members of public and corporate bodies; and all were of one mind, in asserting that the Parliament had no right to tax the colonies. In all places, political circles and clubs were formed; the subject of all conversations was the fatal tax. Every day, every hour, diminished the respect and affection of the Americans towards the British nation, and increased their disposition to resist. Supported, too, as they knew, by some of the purest patriots of the mother country, they earnestly declaimed against the injustice of any such proceeding, as laying a tax upon them for the purpose of supporting a standing army in America. The murmurs which had arisen from every quarter against this proposal were alarming, and ought to have proved a note of warning to the ministry. But none of

these complaints were of any avail. The course to be pursued was decided upon, and the ministry went forward with their plan. The memorials, the remonstrances, the petitions, the resolutions of the Americans, were rejected, and the bill for imposing a stamp duty was submitted to Parliament, at its session, in 1765.

It is not difficult to imagine the kind of discussion which then took place. Few of the members of the House knew or cared aught for America, save as it seemed to open a new source whence revenue could **1765** be drawn; and were it not a well-established fact, it would seem incredible, that there could have been so remarkable a state of ignorance and blindness as to the actual position and importance of the colonies, and their power of asserting and defending their rights. On the one side, it was contended that taxation and representation are inseparable, and that the imposition of this tax would be as impolitic as it was unjust, for the Americans would not submit to it. On the part of the ministry, it was claimed that the colonies were in fact virtually as much represented by the actual members, as were the great proportion of the English, who themselves enjoyed no vote; that the right of taxing the colonists was derived from the responsibility and expense of defending them; that the colonists must either be entirely dependent upon England, or entirely separated from her. The inconsistency of allowing a duty to be placed upon their exports, while they refused to submit to one upon stamps, was artfully

pointed out. Finally, after ostentatiously enumerating the advantages derived by America from her connection with Great Britain, and leaving out of sight the counterbalancing restraints upon her commerce, which had all along been so unwillingly acquiesced in, Mr. Charles Townshend, one of the ministers, propounded this inquiry:—"And now, will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished up by our indulgence, till they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms—will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?"

Instantly Colonel Isaac Barré arose to reply. He had before spoken, and was one of the very few who knew how to appreciate the Americans. His words were listened to with the attention they deserved. Taking up Townshend's interrogation, he exclaimed:

"*They planted by YOUR care!* No; your *oppressions* planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to all the hardships to which human nature is liable, and, among others, to the cruelties of a savage foe, the most subtle, and I will take upon me to say, the most formidable of any people upon the face of God's earth; yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country, from the hands of those who should have been their friends.

"*They nourished up by YOUR indul-*

gence! They grew by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care for them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them in one department and another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies, to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them—men whose behavior, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men promoted to the highest seats of justice; some who, to my knowledge, were glad, by going to a foreign country, to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own.

"*They protected by YOUR arms!* Those sons of liberty have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valor amidst their constant and laborious industry for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. And believe me—remember, I this day told you so,—that same spirit of freedom which actuated that people at first, will accompany them still;—but prudence forbids me to explain myself further. God knows, I do not at this time speak from any motives of party heat; what I deliver are the genuine sentiments of my heart. However superior to me, in general knowledge and experience, the respectable body of this House may be, yet I claim to know more of America than most of you, having seen and been conversant with that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has, but a people jealous of their

liberties, and who will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated. But the subject is too delicate—I will say no more.”

Barré's eloquence had its effect, but it was only momentary; the bill passed by a vote of two hundred and forty-five to forty-nine: there was no division, or the slightest opposition in the Lords; and, on the 22d of March, the royal assent was given, and the Stamp Act became a law.* Barré's words had

1765. been heard in the gallery by an American, who wrote them out, sent them across the Atlantic, and by midsummer, they were as familiar as household words to the Americans, and the name of **SONS OF LIBERTY** cheered and strengthened the hearts of thousands to dare and do in behalf of their rights. Franklin, on the very night of the passage of the bill, wrote to his friend, Charles Thomson, afterwards secretary of Congress: “the sun of liberty is set; the Americans must light the lamps of industry and economy.” “Be assured,” was Mr. Thomson's response soon after: “we shall light torches of a very different sort,”—a significant allusion to what would inevitably follow any attempt to carry out so unjust and impolitic a scheme, as that of the English ministry.

In the Annual Mutiny Act, there was a clause inserted, which was to carry out another part of the ministerial plans, by authorizing as many troops to be sent to America as the ministers might see fit. For these

troops, by a special enactment, as Mr Hildreth notes, known as the “Quartering Act,” the colonies in which these troops might be stationed, were required to find quarters, fire-wood, bedding, drink, soap, and candles.

The Virginia Assembly was in session, in May, when the news arrived of the passage of these acts. The feelings of the people had been gradually becoming more and more excited; the minister's plan of 1765. employing only Americans to act as executors of the Stamp tax, gave no satisfaction or promise of its being quietly yielded to; and although the aristocracy might hesitate in a case like this, where so many interests seemed to be at stake, the mass of the people found their fit champion in Patrick Henry. He had already distinguished himself in Virginia, in 1763, where, contrary to the law, and notwithstanding the most clear legal rights of the plaintiffs, (the colonial clergy), he had succeeded, by the mere force of his eloquence, in carrying the jury, and the whole court, in favor of his clients, the defendants.* Chosen a member of the Assembly, Henry now, when others hesitated, stepped forth, and proposed these stirring Resolutions:

Resolved, That the first adventurers, settlers of this his Majesty's colony and dominion of Virginia, brought with them and transmitted to their posterity, and all other his Majesty's subjects, since inhabiting in this his Majesty's said colony, all the privileges, fran-

* See Appendix II., at the end of the present chapter

† See Wirt's “*Life of Patrick Henry*,” pp. 37-49: also Hildreth, vol. ii. p. 508. 9.



Albion C. Chappell

HARRICK HENRY ADDRESSING THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY

Entered according to Act of Congress in 1854 by Johnson, Fry & Co in the Clerk's office at the District Court of the Southern District of NY

chises, and immunities that have at any time been held, enjoyed, and possessed by the people of Great Britain.

Resolved, That by two royal charters, granted by King James I., the colonies aforesaid are declared entitled to all liberties, privileges, and immunities of denizens, and natural-born subjects, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been abiding, and born within the realm of England.

Resolved, That the taxation of the people by themselves, or by persons chosen by themselves to represent them, who can only know what taxes the people are able to bear, and the easiest mode of raising them, and are equally affected by such taxes themselves, is the distinguishing characteristic of British freedom, and without which the ancient constitution cannot subsist.

Resolved, That his Majesty's liege people, of this most ancient colony, have enjoyed the rights of being thus governed by their own Assembly, in the article of taxes, and internal police, and that the same have never been forfeited, or yielded up, but have been constantly recognized by the king and people of Britain.

Resolved, therefore, That the General Assembly of this Colony, have the sole right and power, to lay taxes and imposts upon the inhabitants of this colony, and that every attempt to vest such power in any other person or persons whatsoever, than the General Assembly aforesaid, has a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American freedom.

A violent debate ensued, which was

protracted for hours. Henry, roused by imputations freely uttered by those who opposed action, exclaimed, "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III.—"

"Treason!" cried the speaker—"Treason! treason!" echoed from every part of the house. "It was one of those trying moments," as Mr. Wirt well says, "which are decisive of character. Henry faltered not for an instant, but rising to a loftier attitude, and fixing on the speaker an eye of the most determined fire, he finished his sentence with the firmest emphasis,—'and George III.—*may profit by their example!* If *this* be treason, sir, make the most of it.'"^{*}

The resolutions were carried, the last by a majority of only one vote. It is true that the next day, when Henry was absent, the last resolution was rescinded; nevertheless, in their original form they were speedily put in circulation throughout the colonies, and gave a strong impulse to the popular feeling. The bold stand of Virginia, was well calculated to nerve the patriotic hearts of true men everywhere.

In Massachusetts, before the news arrived of what had been done by the Virginians, the General Court appointed a committee of nine 1765. to consider the steps necessary to be taken in the present emergency. That committee (June 6th,) recommended the calling of a Congress at New York, on the first Tuesday in October, to consult upon the affairs of the colonies, and "to consider of a general and humble

^{*} Wirt's "Life of Patrick Henry," p. 83.

Address to his Majesty and the Parliament, to implore relief." Governor Bernard thought it best to concur in the adoption of this plan. James Otis, with Ruggles and Partridge, were deputed to represent Massachusetts in this Congress.

A popular outbreak soon after, showed how violently the spirit of opposition had begun to work. A large elm tree in Boston, under which the opponents of the stamp tax were accustomed to assemble, soon became famous as "Liberty Tree." Early in the morning of August 14th, two effigies were suspended from the branches of this elm; one was designed for Oliver, secretary of the colony, and appointed stamp distributor; the other, intended for the Earl of Bute, prime minister, was a jack boot, with a head and horns peeping out at the top. Great numbers both from town and country came to see them. The spectators soon entered into the spirit of the thing. In the evening the whole was cut down and carried in procession by the populace, shouting "liberty and property forever! no stamps!" They next pulled down a new building, lately erected by Mr. Oliver. They then went to his house, before which they beheaded his effigy, and at the same time broke his windows. Eleven days after, similar violences were repeated. The mob attacked the house of Mr. William Story, deputy register of the court of admiralty, broke his windows, forced into his dwelling house, and destroyed the books and files belonging to the said court, and ruined a great part of his furniture. They next proceeded to

the house of Benjamin Hallowel, comptroller of the customs, and repeated similar excesses, and drank and destroyed his liquors. They afterwards proceeded to the house of Mr. Hutchinson, and soon demolished it. They carried off his plate, furniture, and apparel, and scattered or destroyed manuscripts, and other curious and useful papers, which for thirty years he had been collecting, an irreparable loss. About half a dozen of the meanest of the mob were soon after taken up and committed, but they either broke jail, or otherwise escaped all punishment. The inhabitants of Boston, in a town meeting, expressed their abhorrence of these excesses, and a civic guard was organized to prevent their recurrence; but the rioters, though well known, were never punished, a proof that the community generally, though unwilling to do such things, were not sorry that they had been done by others.

There were similar outbreaks of popular fury in the other colonies. On the 24th of August a gazette extraordinary was published at Providence, with *Vox Populi vox Dei*, for a motto: effigies were exhibited, and in the evening cut down and burnt. Three days afterwards, the people of Newport conducted effigies of three obnoxious persons in a cart, with halters about their necks, to a gallows near the town house, where they were hung, and after a while cut down and burnt amidst the acclamations of thousands. On the last day of October, a body of people from the country, approached the town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in the apprehension that the stamps would

be distributed; but on receiving assurance that there was no such intention, they quietly returned. All the bells in Portsmouth, Newcastle, and Greenland, were tolled, to denote the decease of Liberty; and in the course of the day, notice was given to her friends to attend her funeral. A coffin, neatly ornamented, and inscribed with "LIBERTY, aged CXLV. years," was prepared for the funeral procession, which began from the state house, attended with two unbraced drums; minute guns were fired until the corpse arrived at the grave, when an oration was pronounced in honor of the deceased; but scarcely was the oration concluded, when, some remains of life having been discovered, the corpse was taken up; and the inscription on the lid of the coffin was immediately altered to "LIBERTY REVIVED;" the bells suddenly struck a cheerful sound, and joy appeared again in every countenance. In Connecticut, Mr. Ingersoll, the constituted distributor of stamps, was exhibited and burnt in effigy in the month of August; and the resentment at length became so general and alarming, that he resigned his office.

In the midst of this wide-spread excitement, on the 7th of October, committees from nine of the colonies
1765. assembled in New York. Assurances of support and co-operation were received from other colonies, not represented by committees at the Congress. Timothy Ruggles, of Massachusetts, was appointed president, and among the members were Otis, Johnson, Dickinson, Gadsden, etc., all subsequently distinguished in the history of the

Revolution. "In the course of a three weeks' session," says Mr. Hildreth, "a Declaration of the rights and grievances of the colonies was agreed to. All the privileges of Englishmen were claimed by this declaration, as the birthright of the colonists—among the rest, the right of being taxed only by their own consent. Since distance and local circumstances made a representation in the British Parliament impossible, these representatives, it was maintained, could be no other than the several colonial legislatures. Thus was given a flat negative to a scheme lately broached in England by Pownall and others, for allowing to the colonies a representation in Parliament, a project to which both Otis and Franklin seemed at first to have leaned. A petition to the king, and memorials to each house of Parliament was also prepared, in which the cause of the colonies was eloquently pleaded. Ruggles refused to sign these papers, on the ground that they ought first to be approved by the several Assemblies, and should be forwarded to England as their acts. Ogden, one of the New Jersey delegates, withheld his signature on the same plea. The delegates from New York did not sign, because they had no special authority for their attendance; nor did those of Connecticut or South Carolina, their commissions restricting them to a report to their respective Assemblies. The petition and memorials, signed by the other delegates, were transmitted, early in November, to England for presentation. The several colonial Assemblies, at their earliest sessions, gave to the proceedings a cordial approval.

The conduct of Ruggles, in refusing his signature, was severely censured by the Massachusetts representatives. Ogden was burned in effigy by the people of New Jersey.*

The first of November was the day appointed for the Stamp Act to go in operation; but no stamps were anywhere to be seen on that day. The stamp distributor in New York had resigned, and the obnoxious act was contemptuously cried about the streets, labelled, "*The Folly of England and Ruin of America!*" Lieut.-Governor Colden took every precaution to secure the stamp papers, but many of the inhabitants of the city, offended at the conduct and disliking the political sentiments of the governor, having assembled on the evening of November 1st, broke open his stable, and took out his coach; and after carrying it through the principal streets of the city, marched to the common, where a gallows was erected, on one end of which they suspended his effigy, with a stamped bill of lading in one hand, and a figure of the devil in the other. When the effigy had hung a considerable time, they carried it in procession, suspended to the gallows, to the gate of the fort, whence it was removed to the bowling green, under the very muzzles of the guns, and a bonfire made, in which everything, including the coach, was consumed, amidst the acclamations of several thousand spectators. The next day, the people insisting upon having the stamps, it was agreed that they

should be delivered to the corporation, and they were deposited in the city hall. Ten boxes of stamps, which arrived subsequently, were committed to the flames. Satirical pamphlets and cutting articles in the journals, constantly added fresh fuel to the flame. One of those published at Boston bore for its title, "*The Constitutional Courier, or Considerations important to Liberty, without being contrary to Loyalty.*" But the device adopted was most original, representing a serpent cut into eight pieces, the head bearing the initials of New England, and the other pieces those of the other colonies as far as Carolina, the whole being surmounted by the significant inscription, in large letters, "UNITE OR DIE." Similar striking demonstrations of the popular feeling in regard to the stamp tax, occurred in Philadelphia, and in Maryland and Virginia.

Notwithstanding the Stamp Act was to go into operation on the first of November, yet legal proceedings were carried on in the courts just the same as before. Vessels entered and left the ports without stamped papers. The printers boldly issued their newspapers, and found a sufficient number of readers, though they used common paper, in defiance of the act of Parliament. In most departments, by common consent, business was carried on as though no Stamp Act had existed. This was accompanied by spirited resolutions to risk all consequences, rather than submit to use the paper required by law. While these matters were in agitation, the colonists entered into associations, against importing British

* Hildreth's "*History of the United States,*" vol. ii., p. 530.

manufactures till the Stamp Act should be repealed. In this manner British liberty was made to operate against British tyranny. Agreeably to the free constitution of Great Britain, the subject was at liberty to buy, or not to buy, as he pleased. By suspending their future purchases till the repeal of the Stamp Act, the colonists made it the interest of merchants and manufacturers to solicit for that repeal. They had usually purchased so great a proportion of British manufactures, that the sudden stoppage of all their orders, amounting annually to several millions sterling, threw some thousands in England out of employment, and induced them, from a regard to their own interest, to advocate the measures wished for by America. The petitions from the colonies were seconded by petitions from the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain. What the former prayed for as a matter of right, the latter solicited from motives of interest. The colonists showed their spirit by encouraging domestic manufactures. Coarse, common cloths came into use in preference to those imported from the mother country. Foreign elegancies were dispensed with. The zeal of the women surpassed that of the men, and they agreed to forego ornaments and luxuries to support the good cause. This was bringing the question to a point; the English artisans and others felt the effect immediately, and many of them were reduced to great distress by there being no work for them to do. The Sons of Liberty entered into an agreement by which they bound themselves "to

march with the utmost expedition, at their own proper cost and expense, with their whole force, to the relief of those that should be in danger from the Stamp Act, or its promoters and abettors, or anything relative to it, on account of anything that may have been done in opposition to its obtaining."

A change in the English ministry took place in July of this year, the news of which encouraged the Americans in the stand they had taken. The Marquis of Rockingham became the new prime minister, and was liberally disposed. Parliament met in January, 1766, and the colonial affairs at once occupied its attention. In the speech from the throne the king declared "his firm confidence in the wisdom and zeal of the members, which would, he doubted not, guide them to such sound and prudent resolutions as might tend at once to preserve the constitutional rights of the British legislature over the colonies, and to restore to them that harmony and tranquillity which had lately been interrupted by disorders of the most dangerous nature." The correspondence of the colonial governors, and other papers, were produced. Numerous petitions also from British merchants were presented to the two Houses. The ex-ministers, who were now in the opposition, defended their line of policy and their acts. Pitt, who was not connected with either the Grenville or the Rockingham ministry, and who had taken but little part of late in public affairs, owing to ill health, now appeared in his place in the House

and strongly advocated the repeal of the Stamp Act.

"It is a long time, Mr. Speaker," he said, "since I have attended in Parliament when the resolution was taken in this House to tax America, I was ill in bed. If I could have endured to have been carried in my bed, so great was the agitation of my mind for the consequences, I would have solicited some kind hand to have laid me down on this floor to have borne my testimony against it. It is my opinion that this kingdom has no right to lay a tax upon the colonies. At the same time, I assert the authority of this kingdom to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislature whatsoever. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power; and taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the commons alone. The concurrence of the peers and of the crown is necessary only as a form of law. This House represents the commons of Great Britain. When in this House we give and grant, therefore, we give and grant what is our own; but can we give and grant the property of the commons of America? It is an absurdity in terms. There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in this House. I would fain know by whom? The idea of virtual representation is the most contemptible that ever entered into the head of man; it does not deserve a serious refutation. The commons in America, represented in their several Assemblies, have invariably exercised this constitutional right of giving and granting their own money; they would

have been slaves if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time this kingdom has ever possessed the power of legislative and commercial control. The colonies acknowledge your authority in all things, with the sole exception that you shall not take their money out of their pockets without their consent. Here would I draw the line—*quam ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*"

A profound silence succeeded these words, and for a time no one seemed disposed to advocate the cause of the late ministry. At length, Grenville* himself, a man of no mean powers, rose and said: "protection and obedience are reciprocal; Great Britain protects America, America is therefore bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when were the Americans emancipated?" Looking significantly at Mr. Pitt, he exclaimed, "The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this house! Gentlemen are careless what they say, provided it serves the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience: what is this but telling America to

* Grenville was the brother-in-law of Pitt, and received at his hands a *sobriquet* that annoyed him not a little. On one occasion, in the course of debate, he had called on the gentleman opposite to him to say where an additional tax could be laid. "Let them tell me where," he repeated, fretfully. "I say, sir, let them tell me where. I repeat it, sir, I am entitled to say to them, tell me where." Pitt, who was in the House that evening, in a whining tone, resembling Grenville's, hummed a line of a well-known song, "Gentle shepherd, tell me where." Grenville was in a rage, but the House laughed heartily. The nickname, *Gentle Shepherd*, stuck to him, and it was long before it was forgotten.

stand out against the law? to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support here? Ungrateful people of America! The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection; bounties have been extended to them; in their favor the Act of Navigation, that palladium of British commerce, has been relaxed; and now that they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense, they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might almost say, into open rebellion!"

The insinuation was not to be borne for an instant. Every one yielded at once to Pitt, who repelled the attack with characteristic intrepidity. "Sir, a charge is brought against gentlemen sitting in this House of giving birth to sedition in America. The freedom with which they have spoken their sentiments against this unhappy Act is imputed to them as a crime; but the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty which I hope no gentleman will be afraid to exercise; it is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. We are told America is obstinate—America is almost in open rebellion. Sir, *I rejoice America has resisted*; three millions of people so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of all the rest. I came not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of Parliament, with the statute book doubled down in dogs-ears, to defend the cause of liberty; but for the defence of lib-

erty upon a general constitutional principle, it is a ground on which I dare meet any man. I will not debate points of law; but what, after all, do the cases of Chester and Durham prove, but that under the most arbitrary reigns Parliament were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives? A higher and better example might have been taken from Wales; that principality was never taxed by Parliament till it was incorporated with England. We are told of many classes of persons in this kingdom not represented in Parliament; but are they not all virtually represented as Englishmen within the realm? Have they not the option, many of them at least, of becoming themselves electors? Every inhabitant of this kingdom is necessarily included in the general system of representation. *It is a misfortune that more are not actually represented.* The honorable gentleman boasts of his bounties to America. Are not these bounties intended finally for the benefit of this kingdom? If they are not, he has misapplied the national treasures. I am no courtier of America. I maintain that Parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. The honorable gentleman tells us he understands not the difference between internal and external taxation; but surely there is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purpose of raising a revenue and duties imposed for the regulation of commerce. 'When,' said the honorable gentleman, 'were the colonies emancipated?' At

what time, say I, in answer, were they made slaves? I speak from actual knowledge when I say that the profit to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, is two millions per annum. This is the fund that carried you triumphantly through the war; this is the price America pays you for her protection; and shall a miserable financier come with a boast that he can fetch a peppercorn into the exchequer at the loss of millions to the nation? I know the valor of your troops, I know the skill of your officers, I know the force of this country; but in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like a strong man: she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution with her. Is this your boasted peace? not to sheathe the sword in the scabbard, but to sheathe it in the bowels of your countrymen? The Americans have been wronged, they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? No, let this country be the first to resume its prudence and temper; I will pledge myself for the colonies, that, on their part, animosity and resentment will cease. Upon the whole, I will beg leave to tell the house in a few words what is really my opinion. It is that the Stamp Act be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately. At the same time let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation whatsoever; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufac-

tures, and exercise any power whatsoever, except that of taking their money out of their pockets without their consent."

It was while this important debate was going on, that Franklin, early in February,* was summoned to give his evidence before the House of Commons. Franklin's fame induced an unusual attendance in the galleries, and his replies to the questions propounded had an important bearing upon the final settlement of the matter before Parliament. He was asked whether, in his opinion, the people of America would submit to the stamp duty if it was moderated: he answered emphatically, "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms." To the question, "What was the temper of America

* About a month previous to this, Franklin, writing from London to a friend, thus expresses himself: "In my own private judgment, I think an immediate repeal of the Stamp Act would be the best measure for *this* country; but a suspension of it for three years, the best for *that*. The *repeal* would fill them with joy and gratitude, re-establish their respect and veneration for Parliament, restore at once their ancient and natural love for this country, and their regard for every thing that comes from it hence; the trade would be renewed in all its branches; they would again indulge in all the expensive superfluities you supply them with, and their own new assumed home industry would languish. But the *suspension*, though it might continue their fears and anxieties, would at the same time keep up their resolutions of industry and frugality, which, in two or three years, would grow into habits, to their lasting advantage. However, as the repeal will probably not now be agreed to, from what I now think, a mistaken opinion, that the honor and dignity of government is better supported by persisting in a wrong measure once entered into, than by rectifying an error as soon as it is discovered: we must allow the next best thing for the advantage of both countries, is, the *suspension*. For, as to executing the act by force, it is madness, and will be ruin to the whole."

towards Great Britain, before the year 1763?" he replied, "The best in the world. They submitted willingly to the government of the crown, and paid, in their courts, obedience to acts of Parliament. Numerous as the people are in the several old provinces, they cost you nothing in forts, citadels, garrisons, or armies, to keep them in subjection. They were governed by this country at the expense only of a little pen, ink, and paper; they were led by a thread. They had not only a respect, but an affection for Great Britain,—for its laws, its customs, and manners,—and even a fondness for its fashions, that greatly increased the commerce. Natives of Britain were always treated with particular regard; to be an *Old England man* was, of itself, a character of some respect, and gave a kind of rank among us."—"And what is their temper now?" it was asked. "O, very much altered," he replied. "Did you ever hear the authority of Parliament to make laws for America questioned till lately?" "The authority of Parliament," said he, "was allowed to be valid in all laws, except such as should lay internal taxes. It was never disputed in laying duties to regulate commerce." To the question, "Can you name any act of Assembly, or public act of any of your governments, that made such distinction?" he replied, "I do not know that there was any; I think there was never an occasion to make such an act, till now that you have attempted to tax us; *that* has occasioned resolutions of Assembly, declaring the distinction, in which I think every Assembly on the continent, and

every member in every Assembly, have been unanimous."*

The sentiments of Washington were in accordance with those expressed by Franklin. He spoke of the Stamp Act as "unconstitutional, and a direful attack on the liberties of the colonists." And not long after, when the obnoxious act had been repealed, he thus wrote in a letter to a friend: "The repeal of the Stamp Act, to whatever cause owing, ought much to be rejoiced at; for, had the Parliament of Great Britain resolved upon enforcing it, the consequences, I conceive, would have been more direful than is generally apprehended, both to the mother country and her colonies. All, therefore, who were instrumental in procuring the repeal, are entitled to the thanks of every British subject, and have mine cordially."†

On the 22d of February, General Conway, who had opposed from the first, the attempt to enforce the Stamp Act, now brought in a bill for its total repeal. The debate upon it was long and interesting; but, as **1766.** Burke said afterwards, "the House, by an independent, noble-spirited, and unexpected majority, in the teeth of all the old mercenary *Swiss* of the state, in despite of all the speculators and augurs of political events, in defiance of the whole embattled legion of veteran pensioners and practised instruments of court, gave a total repeal to the Stamp Act, and if the scheme of taxing the colonies had been totally abandoned, there would have been a lasting

* Franklin's *Works*, vol. iv., p. 109.

† Sparks's "*Life of Washington*," p. 107

peace to the whole empire." The motion was carried by two hundred and seventy-five against one hundred and sixty-seven. During the debate, as this eloquent advocate of the repeal of the Stamp Act further says, "the trading interest of the empire crammed into the lobbies of the House of Commons with a trembling and anxious expectation, and waited, almost to a winter's return of light, their fate from the resolution of the House. When, at length, that had determined in their favor, and the doors thrown open, showed them the figure of their deliverer in the well-earned triumph of his important victory, from the whole of that grave multitude there arose an involuntary burst of gratitude and transport. They jumped upon him like children on a long absent father. They clung about him as captives about their redeemer. All England joined in his applause. Nor did he seem insensible to the best of all earthly rewards, the love and admiration of his fellow-citizens. Hope elevated and joy brightened his crest."

The ministry, however, were by no means disposed to go the length of Pitt on this point. They placed the repeal on the ground of expediency, not of right and justice, and they caused another bill to be previously passed, in which it was declared, that "Parliament had, and of right ought to have, power to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever."

In the House of Lords, the highest legal authorities differed on the question. The celebrated Lord Mansfield maintained that the sovereign power of Parliament included the right of

taxation: on the other hand, Lord Camden, formerly chief-justice Pratt, expressed himself in these strong words: "My position is this—I repeat it; I will maintain it to the last hour—taxation and representation are inseparable. The position is founded in the law of nature. It is more; it is itself an eternal law of nature. For whatsoever is a man's own, it is absolutely his own. No man has a right to take it from him without his consent. Whoever attempts to do it, attempts an injury. Whoever does it, commits a robbery."*

The king was opposed to the repeal, but was loth to proceed to force: others of the peers, including, it is said, most of the bishops, were in favor of compelling obedience at all hazards. The bill was finally passed, by a vote of a hundred and five against seventy one. On the 19th of March, the king, having repaired to the House of Peers, gave his assent to the Act of Repeal, and that of the Dependence of the colonies towards Great Britain. The American merchants at that time in London, went, in a body, to testify their joy and gratitude upon this occasion. The ships which lay at anchor in the Thames, displayed their colors in token of felicitation. The houses were illuminated in all parts of the city; salutes were heard, and bonfires were kindled in all quarters. In a word, none of the public demonstrations, usual on similar occurrences, were omitted, to celebrate the goodness of the king, and the wisdom of Parliament.

1766.

* See Bancroft, vol. v., p. 446-8.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER X.

I.—FRANKLIN'S LETTER TO W. ALEXANDER.

DEAR SIR,

PASSY, *March 12th, 1778.*

In the pamphlet you were so kind as to lend me, there is one important fact mis-stated, apparently from the writer's not having been furnished with good information; it is the transaction between Mr. Grenville and the colonies, wherein he understands that Mr. Grenville demanded of them a specific sum, that they refused to grant any thing, and that it was on their refusal only that he made a motion for the *Stamp Act*. No one of these particulars is true. The fact was this:—

Some time in the winter of 1763-4, Mr. Grenville called together the agents of the several colonies, and told them that he purposed to draw a revenue from America, and to that end his intention was to levy a stamp duty on the colonies by act of Parliament in the ensuing session, of which he thought it fit that they should be immediately acquainted, that they might have time to consider, and if any other duty equally productive would be more agreeable to them, they might let him know it. The agents were therefore directed to write this to their respective Assemblies, and communicate to him the answers they should receive: the agents wrote accordingly.

I was a member in the Assembly of Pennsylvania, when this notification came to hand. The observations there made upon it were, that the ancient, established, and regular method of drawing aids from the colonies was this. The occasion was always first considered by their sovereign in his privy council, by whose sage advice, he directed his secretary of state to write circular letters to the several governors, who were directed to lay them before their Assemblies. In those letters the occasion was explained for their satisfaction, with gracious expressions of his majesty's confidence in their known duty and affection, on which he relied, that they would grant such sums as

should be suitable to their abilities, loyalty, and zeal for his service. That the colonies had always granted liberally on such requisitions, and so liberally during the late war, that the king, sensible they had granted much more than their proportion, had recommended it to Parliament, five years successively, to make them some compensation, and the Parliament accordingly returned them two hundred thousand pounds a-year to be divided among them. That the proposition of taxing them in Parliament was therefore both cruel and unjust.* That by the constitution of the colonies their business was with the king in matters of aid; they had nothing to do with any financier, nor he with them; nor were the agents the proper channels through which requisitions should be made; it was therefore improper for them to enter into any stipulation, or make any proposition to Mr. Grenville about laying taxes on their constituents by Parliament, which had really no right at all to tax them, especially as the notice he had sent them did not appear to be by the king's order, and perhaps was without his knowledge; as the king, when he would obtain any thing from them, always accompanied his requisition with good words; but this gentleman, instead of a decent demand sent them a menace, that they should certainly be taxed, and only left them the choice of the manner. But all this notwithstanding, they were so far from refusing to grant money, that they resolved to the following purpose: "That they always had, so they always should, think it their duty to grant aid to the crown, according to their abilities, whenever required of them in the usual constitutional manner." I went soon after to England, and took with me

* "There is neither king, nor sovereign lord on earth, who has beyond his own domain, power to lay one farthing on the subjects, without the grant and consent of those who pay it; unless he does it by tyranny and violence."—*Philippe de Commines*, Chap. 103.

an authentic copy of this resolution, which I presented to Mr. Grenville before he brought in the Stamp Act. I asserted in the House of Commons (Mr. Grenville being present) that I had done so, and he did not deny it. Other colonies made similar resolutions. And had Mr. Grenville, instead of that act, applied to the king in council for such requisitional letters to be circulated by the secretary of state, I am sure he would have obtained more money from the colonies by their voluntary grants, than he himself expected from his stamps. But he chose compulsion rather than persuasion, and would not receive from their good-will what he thought he could obtain without it. And thus the golden bridge which the ingenious author thinks the Americans unwisely and unbecomingly refused to hold out to the minister and Parliament, was actually held out to them, but they refused to walk over it. This is the true history of that transaction; and as it is probable there may be another edition of that excellent pamphlet, I wish this may be communicated to the candid author, who I doubt not will correct that error.

I am ever, with sincere esteem, dear sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

B. FRANKLIN.

II.—THE STAMP ACT.

WHEREAS, by an act made in the last session of Parliament, several duties were granted, continued, and appropriated towards defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the British colonies and plantations in America; and whereas it is first necessary, that provision be made for raising a further revenue within your majesty's dominions in America, towards defraying the said expenses; we, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, *the Commons of Great Britain*, in Parliament assembled, have therefore resolved to give and grant unto your majesty the several rights and duties hereinafter mentioned; and do most humbly beseech your majesty that it may be enacted, And be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, That from and after the first day of November, one thousand

seven hundred and sixty-five, there shall be raised, levied, collected, and paid unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, throughout the colonies and plantations in America, which now are, or hereafter may be, under the dominion of his majesty, his heirs and successors,

1. For every skin of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any declaration, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, or any copy thereof, in any court of law within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of three pence.

2. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any special bail, and appearance upon such bail in any such court, a stamp duty of two shillings.

3. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which may be engrossed, written or printed, any petition, bill or answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading in any court of chancery or equity within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling and sixpence.

4. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any copy of any petition, bill, answer, claim, plea, replication, rejoinder, demurrer, or other pleading, in any such court, a stamp duty of three pence.

5. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any monition, libel, answer, allegation, inventory, or renunciation in ecclesiastical matters, in any court of probate, court of the ordinary, or other court exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling.

6. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any copy of any will, (other than the probate thereof,) monition, libel, answer, allegation, inventory, or renunciation, in ecclesiastical matters, in any such court, a stamp duty of sixpence.

7. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written or printed, any donation,

presentation, collation, or institution, of or to any benefice, or any writ or instrument for the like purpose, any register, entry, testimonial, or certificate of any degree taken in any university, academy, college, or seminary of learning, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two pounds.

8. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any monition, libel, claim, answer, allegation, information, letter of request, execution, renunciation, inventory, or other pleading in any admiralty court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling.

9. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any copy of any such monition, libel, claim, answer, allegation, information, letter of request, execution, renunciation, inventory, or other pleading shall be engrossed, written, or printed, a stamp duty of sixpence.

10. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any appeal, writ of error, writ of dower, *ad quod damnum*, certiorari, statute merchant, statute staple, attestation, or certificate, by any officer, or exemplification of any record or proceeding, in any court whatsoever, within the said colonies and plantations, (except appeals, writs of error, certiorari, attestations, certificates, and exemplifications, for, or relating to, the removal of any proceedings from before a single justice of the peace,) a stamp duty of ten shillings.

11. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any writ of covenant, for levying fines, writ of entry for suffering a common recovery, or attachment issuing out of or returnable into any court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of five shillings.

12. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any judgment, decree, or sentence, or dimission, or any record of *nisi prius* or *postea*, in any court within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four shillings.

13. For every skin or piece of vellum or parch-

ment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any affidavit, common bail, or appearance, interrogatory, deposition, rule, order or warrant of any court, or any *dedimus potestatem*, *capias*, *subpoena*, summons, compulsory citation, commission, recognizance, or any other writ, process, or mandate, issuing out of, or returnable into, any court, or any office belonging thereto, or any other proceedings therein whatsoever, or any copy thereof, or of any record not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, (except warrants relating to criminal matters, and proceedings thereon, or relating thereto,) a stamp duty of one shilling.

14. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any note or bill of lading, which shall be signed for any kind of goods, wares, or merchandise, to be exported from, or any cocket or clearance granted within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four pence.

15. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, letters of mark or commission for private ships of war, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of twenty shillings.

16. For every skin or piece of vellum, or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any grant, appointment, or admission of or to any public beneficial office or employment, for the space of one year, or any lesser time, or of above twenty pounds per annum, sterling money, in salary, fees, and perquisites within the said colonies and plantations, (except commissions and appointments of officers of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, of judges, and of justices of the peace,) a stamp duty of ten shillings.

17. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any grant of any liberty, privilege, or franchise, under the seal or sign manual of any governor, proprietor, or public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, or any exemplification of the same, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of six pounds.

18. For every skin or piece of vellum or parch-

ment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of spirituous liquors, to be granted to any person who shall take out the same, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of twenty shillings.

19. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of wine, to be granted to any person who shall not take out a license for retailing of spirituous liquors, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four pounds.

20. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any license for retailing of wine, to be granted to any person who shall take out a license for retailing of spirituous liquors, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of three pounds.

21. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any probate of will, letters of administration or of guardianship for any estate above the value of twenty pounds sterling money, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, a stamp duty of five shillings.

22. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such probate, letters of administration or of guardianship, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of ten shillings.

23. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money, not exceeding the sum of ten pounds, sterling money, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, a stamp duty of sixpence.

24. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money above ten pounds, and not exceeding twenty pounds, sterling money, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of one shilling.

25. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any bond for securing the payment of any sum of money above twenty pounds, and not exceeding forty pounds, sterling money, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of one shilling and sixpence.

26. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, issued by any governor, proprietor, or any public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of sixpence.

27. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling.

28. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such order or warrant for surveying or setting out any quantity of land above two hundred and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, and in proportion for every such order or warrant for surveying or setting out every other three hundred and twenty acres, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of one shilling and sixpence.

29. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any original grant or any deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within the British colonies and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, (except leases for any term not exceeding the term of twenty-one years) a stamp duty of one shilling and sixpence.

30. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or

other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within such colonies, plantations and islands, a stamp duty of two shillings.

31. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above two hundred, and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, and in proportion for every such grant, deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument, granting, conveying, or assigning, every other three hundred and twenty acres, within such colonies, plantations, and islands, a stamp duty of two shillings and sixpence.

32. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, not exceeding one hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of three shillings.

33. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above one hundred and not exceeding two hundred acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, within the same parts of the said dominions, a stamp duty of four shillings.

34. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such original grant, or any such deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument whatsoever, by which any quantity of land, above two hundred and not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres, shall be granted, conveyed, or assigned, and in proportion for every such grant, deed, mesne conveyance, or other instrument, granting, conveying, or assigning every other three hundred and twenty acres, within the same parts of the said dominions, a stamp duty of five shillings.

35. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall

be engrossed, written, or printed, any grant, appointment, or admission, of or to any beneficial office or employment, not herein before charged, above the value of twenty pounds per annum sterling money, in salary, fees, and perquisites, or any exemption of the same, within the British colonies, and plantations upon the continent of America, the islands belonging thereto, and the Bermuda and Bahama islands, (except commissions of officers of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, and of justices of the peace,) a stamp duty of four pounds.

36. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any such grant, appointment, or admission, of or to any such public beneficial office or employment, or any exemption of the same, within all other parts of the British dominions in America, a stamp duty of six pounds.

37. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any indenture, lease, conveyance, contract, stipulation, bill of sale, charter party, protest, articles of apprenticeship, or covenant, (except for the hire of servants not apprentices, and also except such other matters as herein before charged,) within the British colonies and plantations in America, a stamp duty of two shillings and sixpence.

38. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any warrant or order for auditing any public accounts, beneficial warrant, order, grant, or certificate, under any public seal, or under the seal or sign manual of any governor, proprietor, or public officer, alone, or in conjunction with any other person or persons, or with any council, or any council and assembly, not herein before charged, or any passport or letpass, surrender of office, or policy of assurance, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, (except warrants or orders for the service of the army, navy, ordnance, or militia, and grants of offices under twenty pounds per annum, in salary, fees, and perquisites,) a stamp duty of five shillings.

39. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any notarial act, bond, deed, letter of attorney, procurement,

mortgage, release, or other obligatory instrument, not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two shillings and three pence.

40. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any register, entry, or enrollment of any grant, deed, or other instrument whatsoever, herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of three pence.

41. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which shall be engrossed, written, or printed, any register, entry, or enrollment of any grant, deed, or other instrument whatsoever, not herein before charged, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two shillings.

42. And for and upon every pack of playing cards, and all dice, which shall be sold or used within the said colonies and plantations, the several stamp duties following ; (that is to say;)

43. For every pack of such cards, one shilling.

44. And for every pair of such dice, ten shillings.

45. And for and upon every paper called a pamphlet, and upon every newspaper, containing public news, or occurrences, which shall be printed, dispersed, and made public, within any of the said colonies and plantations, and for and upon such advertisements as are hereinafter mentioned, the respective duties following ; (that is to say;)

46. For every such pamphlet and paper, contained in a half sheet, or any lesser piece of paper, which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one half-penny for every printed copy thereof.

47. For every such pamphlet and paper, (being larger than half a sheet, and not exceeding one whole sheet,) which shall be so printed, a stamp duty of one penny for every printed copy thereof.

48. For every pamphlet and paper, being larger than one whole sheet, and not exceeding six sheets in octavo, or in a lesser page, or not exceeding twelve sheets in quarto, or twenty sheets in folio, which shall be so printed, a duty after the rate of one shilling for every sheet of any kind of paper which shall be contained in one printed copy thereof.

49. For every advertisement to be contained in any gazette, newspaper, or other paper, or any pamphlet which shall be so printed, a duty of two shillings.

50. For every almanac or calendar for any one particular year, or for any time less than a year, which shall be written or printed on one side only of any one sheet, skin or piece of paper, parchment, or vellum, within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of two pence.

51. For every other almanac, or calendar, for any one particular year, which shall be written or printed within the said colonies and plantations, a stamp duty of four pence.

52. And for every almanac or calendar, written or printed in the said colonies and plantations, to serve for several years, duties to the same amount respectively shall be paid for every such year.

53. For every skin or piece of vellum or parchment, or sheet or piece of paper, on which any instrument, proceeding, or other matter or thing aforesaid, shall be engrossed, written, or printed, within the said colonies and plantations, in any other than the English language, a stamp duty of double the amount of the respective duties before charged thereon.

54. And there shall be also paid, in the said colonies and plantations, a duty of sixpence for every twenty shillings, in any sum not exceeding fifty pounds sterling money, which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with or in relation to any clerk, or apprentice, which shall be put or placed to or with any master or mistress, to learn any profession, trade, or employment. II. And also a duty of one shilling for every twenty shillings, in any sum exceeding fifty pounds which shall be given, paid, contracted, or agreed for, with, or in relation to, any such clerk or apprentice.

55. Finally the produce of all the aforementioned duties shall be paid into his majesty's treasury ; and there held in reserve, to be used, from time to time, by the Parliament, for the purpose of defraying the expenses necessary for the defence, protection, and security of the said colonies and plantations.

CHAPTER XI.

1766—1774.

PROGRESS OF THE CONTEST.

News of the repeal of the Stamp Act received in America with joy — Conway's circular letter — Governor Bernard's offensive course — Change of feeling in America — Grievances not redressed — Feeling on both sides — Eminent statesmen and orators of the day — Pendleton, Bland, Wythe, R. H. Lee, Jefferson, in Virginia — S. Adams, Hancock, Cushing, Bowdoin, Quincy, Paine, in Massachusetts — Rutledge, Gadsden, Laurens, Ramsay, in South Carolina — Change in the English ministry — Townshend urged on by Grenville to tax America — His scheme — M. Guizot's statements — Dickinson's "Letters of a Farmer" — General Court in Massachusetts — Petition to the king — The ministry dread united action among Americans — Bernard's course — Spirit of the Assembly — Similar spirit in the other colonies — Case of the sloop Liberty — Excitement in Boston caused by impressment — Public convention held — Its acts — Arrival of the troops — Indignation of the Bostonians — Offensive action of Parliament resented in America — The General Court refuse to act in the midst of an armed force — Progress of the dispute with Bernard — Course pursued by other colonies — Proposal to take off the duty on certain articles — Right of taxation still maintained — Vacillating course of the English ministry — Reconciliation hardly possible — The "Boston Massacre" — Trial of Preston and the soldiers — Noble course of Quincy and Adams — Action of the Assembly — Lord North's proposal — Pownall's views — Salaries of the Governor and judges of Massachusetts to be paid by the crown — Very offensive to the people — Case of the Gaspé — Hutchinson's letters — Excitement caused by these — Franklin's share in the matter — Action in Virginia — A crisis at hand — Determination that the tea should not be landed — What was done in Boston — The famous "Boston Tea Party" — What was done elsewhere — Progress of settlement in the north-west — Insurrection in North Carolina — Daniel Boone and his adventures — Emigration to America — War with the Ohio Indians — Speech of Logan — Religious sects and influence — Colleges in America.

THE news of the repeal of the Stamp Act was received in America with great joy and satisfaction. All the usual demonstrations of popular rejoicing were indulged in; thanksgivings were offered in the churches; the bells were rung; cannon were fired; and the ships were decked out in gala costume. Statues were voted to the king in Virginia and New York; portraits of Camden, Barré and Conway, were placed in Faneuil Hall; and Pitt's name was held in universal veneration and esteem. Whatever was obnoxious in his views, as to restrictions on trade and commerce, was forgotten, and he became the popular idol in America.

Mr. Secretary Conway, in June, 1766,

addressed a circular letter to the governors of the colonies. In this letter he informed them that 1766. the king and Parliament "seemed disposed not only to *forgive* but to *forget* those most unjustifiable marks of an undutiful disposition, too frequent in the late transactions of these colonies;" but at the same time required them strongly to recommend to the Assemblies to make full and ample compensation to those who had suffered "for their deference to the act of the British legislature." The transactions referred to in the secretary's letter were those which took place in Boston and New York, in the summer of 1765.

This letter of the secretary was laid

before the Assembly of Massachusetts, by Governor Bernard, a man of morose haughty temper, and specially out of place just at this juncture in Massachusetts. Mr. Grahame characterizes his course towards the Assembly, as insolent and overbearing; the Assembly, of course, could not submit to anything of the kind. The language of Bernard's communication in regard to the voting money to the sufferers by the late disturbances was: "The justice and humanity of this *requisition* is so forcible, that it cannot be controverted; the authority with which it is introduced should preclude all disputation about it." In reply to language of this kind, the House observed, "That it was conceived in much higher and stronger terms in the speech than in the letter of the secretary. Whether in thus exceeding, your excellency speaks by your own authority, or a higher, is not with us to determine. However, if this recommendation, which your excellency terms a *requisition*, be founded on so much justice and humanity that it cannot be controverted; if the authority with which it is introduced should preclude all disputation about complying with it, we should be glad to know *what freedom* we have in the case." Compensation was not made to the sufferers in Massachusetts until December, 1766; and then in a manner and on conditions highly displeasing to the British government; the act for that purpose also containing "free and general pardon, indemnity, and oblivion, to all offenders in the late times." In New York, the Legislature, by a voluntary act, granted compensation to those

who had suffered a loss of property in their adherence to the Stamp Act; but they refused to carry into execution the act of Parliament for quartering his majesty's troops upon them, on account of a clause which they declared involved the principle of taxation.

The exultation in America over the repeal of the Stamp Act soon subsided. Men began to scan more narrowly the meaning of that fatal clause declaring the absolute power of Parliament over the colonies, and they began to remember afresh the causes of grievance which had led to the late disturbances. Heretofore they had not been called upon to take *united* action in any great matter in which the interests of each and every colony were concerned: previous to this date, there had been no widespread *agitation* on topics of common importance to all; and the fires of popular eloquence had not been kindled and fanned into a blaze of light, until the attempt had been made to coerce the colonies into submission to taxation without representation. Disputes and dissensions between those nearly and closely allied, almost always leave rankling hurts in the minds of both parties, even after the fullest reconciliation; for the nature of man is such, that he is very likely to brood over the causes of complaint which before existed, and, thinking that perhaps he has not after all received quite his due, he is ready without much persuasion, with only a slight moving cause, to renew the dispute even more fiercely than ever. England had acted foolishly and ignorantly; the colonies had resisted determinedly; England gave

way; but she did it very ungraciously, and deprived her relinquishment of the present claim to impose a tax of all its real value by coupling with it an assertion of the absolute power of Parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. The Americans could not but notice this, and the popular leaders were far too astute not to point out the discrepancy between giving up a claim and asserting a power to maintain this same claim at any moment Parliament chose.

The influence exerted by many eminent statesmen and orators of the day will justify our speaking of them more fully in this place; and in doing so, we shall use the language of Mr. Grahame, who writes with mingled enthusiasm and admiration of our patriot sires.

The most remarkable of the political leaders and orators who sprung up at this period were natives of Virginia, Massachusetts, and South Carolina. In Virginia, there were particularly distinguished, after Patrick Henry, whom we have already repeatedly noticed, and who held the first place as a popular champion and favorite, Edmund Pendleton, a graceful and persuasive speaker, a subtle and dexterous politician, energetic and indefatigable in the conduct of business; Richard Bland, celebrated for the extent and accuracy of his knowledge, unrivalled among his contemporaries as a logician, and who published this year an *Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies*, in which the recent claims of America were defended with much cogency of reasoning; George Wythe, not more admired for the strength of his capacity

and the elegance of his wit, than respected for the simplicity and integrity of his character; Peyton Randolph, whose high repute and influence with his countrymen, unaided by the captivation of eloquence, was founded on qualities more honorable both to him and to them, the solid powers of his understanding and the sterling virtues of his heart; and Richard Henry Lee, one of the most accomplished scholars and orators in America, and who was commonly styled the Virginian Cicero. Washington, who, since the reduction of Fort Duquesne, in 1758, had withdrawn from military life, and never quitted his domestic scene but to discharge the duties of a member of the Virginia Assembly, now calmly but firmly espoused the cause of his native country in opposition to the pretensions of the British Government; nor was there an individual more respected in Virginia, or more generally known and esteemed by all America, than himself; but, devoid of oratorical powers, tranquil, sedate, prudent, dignified, and reserved, he was little qualified by genius or habit to make a brilliant figure as a provincial politician, and waited the development of a grander scene of counsel and action, more adapted to the illustration of his majestic wisdom and superior sense. Various other individuals, who have gained renown as defenders of the liberty and founders of the independence of America, began, shortly after this period, to be distinguished in the list of Virginian politicians; of whom the most remarkable was Thomas Jefferson, preëminent as a statesman, scholar, and philosopher; a

forcible, perspicuous, and elegant writer; an intrepid and enterprising patriot; and an ardent and inflexible asserter of republican sentiments and the principles of purest democracy. None of his contemporaries exceeded him in politeness and benignity of manner; and few approached him in earnestness of temper and firmness of purpose. This rare combination of moral qualities enhanced the efficacy of his talent and genius, and greatly contributed to the ascendant he obtained over the minds of his countrymen. From the very dawn of the controversy between Britain and America, Jefferson, and his friend and patron, Wythe, outstripped the political views of most of the contemporary American patriots, and embraced the doctrine which ascribed indeed to the crown some prerogative, but denied to the Parliament any degree or species of legitimate control over America. Arthur, the brother of Richard Henry Lee, and afterwards ambassador from America to France, was at this time pursuing the study of the law in London, but more actively engaged, as a gratuitous coadjutor of Dr. Franklin, in watching the measures of the British government; and rendered important service to his countrymen by transmitting early intelligence of the ministerial plans and purposes.

In Massachusetts, at the present epoch, the most distinguished popular leaders and champions of the cause of America were James Otis, who has already engaged our observation; Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Thomas Cushing, and James Bowdoin, merchants; Samuel Cooper, a clergyman; Josiah

Quincy, Jr., and Robert Treat Paine, lawyers; and John Winthrop, Professor of Mathematics in Harvard College. Samuel Adams was one of the most perfect models of disinterested patriotism, and of republican genius and character in all its severity and simplicity that any age or country has ever produced. At Harvard College, in the year 1743, he made an early display of those political sentiments which he cherished through life, by maintaining, in the thesis which gained him his literary degree, that "it is lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." A sincere and devout Puritan in religion, grave in his manners, austere-ly pure in his morals, simple, frugal, and unambitious in his tastes, habits, and desires; zealously, and incorruptibly devoted to the defence of American liberty, and the improvement of American character; endowed with a strong, manly understanding, an unrelaxing earnestness and inflexible firmness of will and purpose, a capacity of patient and intense application which no labor could exhaust, and a calm and determined courage which no danger could daunt and no disaster depress,—he rendered his virtues more efficacious by the instrumentality of great powers of reasoning and eloquence, and altogether supported a part and exhibited a character of which every description, even the most frigid that has been preserved, wears the air of panegyric. He defended the liberty of his countrymen against the tyranny of England, and their religious principles against the impious sophistry of Paine. His moral

sentiments ever mingled with his political views and opinions; and his constant aim was rather to deserve the esteem of mankind by honesty and virtue, than to obtain it by supple compliance and flattery. Poor without desiring to be rich, he subsequently filled the highest offices in the State of Massachusetts, without making the slightest augmentation to his fortune; and after an active, useful, and illustrious life, in which all the interests of the individual were merged in regard and care for the community, he died without obtaining or desiring any other reward than the consciousness of virtue and integrity, the contemplation of his country's happiness, and the respect and veneration of his fellow-citizens. It has been censoriously remarked of him by the severer critics of his history—and the censure is the more interesting from the rarity of its application to the statesmen of modern times,—that his character was superior to his genius, and that his mind was much more elevated and firm than liberal and expansive. In all his sentiments, religious and political, no doubt, there appeared some tincture of those peculiar principles and qualities which formed the original and distinctive character of the people of New England; and he was much more impressed with the worth and piety, than sensible of or superior to the narrow, punctilious bigotry and stubborn self-will of his provincial ancestors.

Hancock differed widely from Adams in manners, character, and condition. He was possessed of an ample fortune, and maintained a splendid equipage;

yet he ruled the wealth which commonly rules its possessors; for, while he indulged a gay disposition in elegant and expensive pleasures, he manifested a generous liberality in the most munificent contributions to every charitable and patriotic purpose; insomuch that his fellow-citizens declared of him, that he plainly preferred their favor to great riches, and embarked his fortune in the cause of his country. Courteous and graceful in his address, eager and enthusiastic in his disposition, endowed with a prompt and lively eloquence, which was supported by considerable abilities, though not united with brilliant genius or commanding capacity, he embraced the popular cause with the most unbridled ardor; and leaving to more philosophical patriots the guardianship of public virtue and the control of popular license, he devoted himself exclusively to the promotion of whatever objects tended immediately to gratify the wishes of the majority of the people. He continued to hope for a reconciliation with Britain much longer than Adams, who, after the promulgation of the Stamp Act, neither expected nor desired such an issue; but when, in consequence of the final rupture between the two countries, and the overthrow of regal dominion in America, a republican constitution was to be composed,—Adams showed himself the more desirous to secure an energetic government, in which the magistrates, though appointed by the choice of the people, should be invested with force enough to withstand unreasonable or unrighteous movements of popular passion and caprice,—while Hancock

preferably advocated an unbounded scope to democratical principle, or rather license, in a government pliable to every gust of popular will. Adams was termed the *Cato*, and Hancock the *Incellus*, of New England. Among the first generations of the inhabitants of this country, the severer virtue of Adams, in competition with the gayer character of Hancock, would have carried almost all the suffrages of their fellow-citizens; and even at no distant date retrospective from the present era, the manners of Hancock would have been rather tolerated and pardoned, than generally approved. But a change, gradually arising in the taste and opinion of the public, had latterly been so widely developped, that Hancock was now by far the most popular character in Massachusetts. He was, indeed, the idol of the great mass of the people, and openly preferred to Adams by all but a small minority of the community, consisting of stanch Puritans and stern republicans.

Cushing was less distinguished by energy or talent than by his descent from a family renowned in New England for ardent piety and liberal politics. Bowdoin, one of the wealthiest persons in Massachusetts, was also a man of great information and ability, regulated by strong good sense; liberal, honorable, and upright; a prudent and moderate, but firm and consistent patriot. Cooper, pious, eloquent, and accomplished, was first prompted to unite the character of a politician with the office of a minister of the Gospel by the tidings of the Stamp Act, which suggested to him, he declared, that tyranny

was opposed not more to civil than to religious liberty. From that period, he took an active part in behalf of the liberties of his country, both as a contributor of political essays to the periodical publications of Boston, and as a correspondent of Dr. Franklin. He was eminent as a scholar, and ardent as a patron and coadjutor of every institution for the advancement of learning, liberty, piety, or virtue; and, doubtless, his previous character as a divine contributed to promote the efficacy of his exertions as a politician. Quincy, a distinguished lawyer and orator, the descendant of one of those English barons who extorted from King John the signature of *Magna Charta*, showed that the spirit displayed by his ancestor at Runnymede was transmitted to him, unimpaired by the eclipse of family grandeur and the lapse of five centuries. He was the protomartyr of American liberty, in defence of which, both with his tongue and pen, he exerted an energy so disproportioned to his bodily strength, as to occasion his death a short time previous to the Declaration of American Independence. Robert Treat Paine, one of the most eminent lawyers in Massachusetts, held a high place in the public estimation for intelligence, firmness, and zeal. Ever prompt, active, and decided as a champion of American liberty, he was universally admired for the brilliancy of his wit, and respected even by his political opponents for his pure and inflexible uprightness. Winthrop, who inherited one of the most venerable names in New England, revived its ancient honor and still farther

embellished it by the highest attainments in science and literature, by a character adorned with religion and virtue, and by a firm and courageous devotion to the liberty of his country. It was in the present year that the Assembly of Massachusetts, whether with a view of enhancing or of gratifying the popular interest in its proceedings, adopted a resolution, which was instantly carried into effect, that its debates should be open to the public, and that a gallery should be erected for the accommodation of the audience. The orators of the popular party derived new courage and animation from the looks of their listening countrymen, who, in turn, were inspired with the generous ardor which their presence promoted. Eloquence, like music, is often more powerful than reason and honor in imparting the height of noblest temper to human courage and resolution.

In South Carolina, among many bold and able champions of their country's rights, the most notable were John Rutledge, a man endowed with very extraordinary powers of mind,—prompt, penetrating, energetic, and decisive; and, in oratory, the rival, or, as some accounted, the superior, of Patrick Henry;—Christopher Gadsden, a frank, fearless, intrepid, upright,* and determined republican;—Henry Laurens, a zealous patriot and enlightened

politician, afterwards highly distinguished by the dignity which he achieved, and the talent and fortitude which he exerted, in the service of America;—Edward Rutledge, the brother of John, and whose eloquence was as graceful and insinuating as his brother's was impetuous and commanding;—and David Ramsay, a learned and ingenious man, sincerely religious, austere moral, and warmly patriotic. a forcible speaker, and an elegant writer. At an early stage of the controversy with Britain, Ramsay was an advocate for the immediate assertion of American independence; and after bravely and ably contributing to the attainment of this object, he related the struggle by which it was won, in one of the best and most impartial histories that have been composed of the Revolutionary War.*

The short lived administration of the Marquis of Rockingham, came to an end in July, 1766, and a new **1766.** ministry was formed under the nominal headship of Pitt, now created Earl of Chatham, who was, however, prevented by illness from taking any great part in the measures. Lord Shelburne and General Conway became secretaries of state; Camden, lord chancellor; Charles Townshend, chancellor of the Exchequer. This administration was of so chequered a character, that it was sharply described by Burke as "a piece of diversified Mosaic, a tessellated pavement without cement, here a bit of black stone, there a bit of white,

* When the Revolutionary War broke out, Boone, the royal governor of South Carolina, observed—"God knows how this unhappy contest will end, or what the popular leaders of South Carolina can be aiming at;—but Gadsden I know to be an honest man—he means well."

* Grahame's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii., pp. 416–20.

patriots and courtiers, king's friends and republicans, Whigs and Tories, treacherous friends and open enemies,—a very curious show, but utterly unsafe to touch, and unsure to stand upon." The contumacy of the colonists greatly annoyed the king and ministry, as well as the people at large, and it became the general impression, fortified by the representations of the colonial governors, that it was necessary to display more determination, in order to bring the refractory colonists to a proper submission. At the very first session of Parliament, after the formation of this new ministry,—January, 1767—Town-

1767. hend, a man of brilliant parts, but no well-settled principles, brought forward a new scheme of raising a revenue in America. He had been urged on to this step by the pertinacious attacks of Grenville, who felt far from comfortable under his defeat in regard to the Stamp Act. "You are cowards!" was his language to the new ministry; "you are afraid of the Americans; you dare not tax America!" Taunts of this kind roused up Townshend's blood: "Fear! fear! cowards! *dare* not tax America! I dare tax America." "Dare you?" said Grenville; "dare you tax America? I wish to God I could see it." "I will," said Townshend; "I will."

Townshend's scheme was based upon that distinction which Pitt had maintained between a direct tax and commercial imposts for regulating trade. Hence, he proposed to lay a duty upon teas imported into America, together with paints, paper, glass, and lead, which were articles of British produce;

its alleged object being to raise a revenue for the support of the civil government, for the expense of a standing army, and for giving permanent salaries to the royal governors, with a view to render them independent of the colonial Assemblies. Pitt was at the time confined by sickness in the country, and the bill passed with very little opposition, and on the 29th of June, received the royal assent. In order to enforce the new act, and those already in existence, which, odious as they were to the Americans, had hitherto been continually evaded by them, a Board of Revenue Commissioners was to be established at Boston. Indignant, moreover, at the recent refusal of the New York Assembly to comply with the provisions of the act for quartering soldiers, notwithstanding their personal remonstrances, the ministers passed an act restraining that body from any further legislative proceedings until they had submitted.

These acts for imposing new taxes were received with no favor in America, and the excitement in all parts of the country was rekindled. Possibly, under other circumstances, this plan of taxation might have been submitted to, but the exasperated state of feeling in the colonies, led them to view with deep suspicion, and to resist, every scheme of taxing them in a way which they declared to be in violation of their rights as British freemen. "When George III. and his Parliament," as M. Guizot says, "rather in a spirit of pride, and to prevent the loss of absolute power by long disuse, than to derive any advantage from its exercise, undertook to tax

the colonies without their consent, a powerful, numerous, and enthusiastic party,—the national party,—immediately sprang into being, ready to resist, in the name of right and of national honor. It was indeed a question of right and of honor, and not of interest or physical well-being. The taxes were light, and imposed no burden upon the colonists. But they belonged to that class of men who feel most keenly the wrongs which affect the mind alone, and who can find no repose while honor is unsatisfied. ‘For, sir, what is it we are contending against? Is it against paying the duty of three pence per pound on tea, because burdensome? No; it is the *right* only, that we have all along disputed.*’ Such was, at the commencement of the quarrel, the language of Washington himself, and such was the public sentiment—a sentiment founded in sound policy, as well as moral sense, and manifesting as much judgment as virtue.” But the English ministry, with a fatuity which seems wonderful, were determined to pursue the line of policy they had marked out, despite the consequences. The colonists were every day searching deeper and deeper into the foundations of the questions agitating the whole country, and were every day becoming less and less disposed to submit to the control of Parliament. Dickinson’s “Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies,” discussed the subject of the new taxes laid upon the people, and denied the right of Parliamentary taxation in any way whatever.

Franklin caused these “Letters” to be reprinted in London: they were extensively read, and exercised a powerful influence in setting forth the injustice and unconstitutionality of the attempt thus to impose taxes upon America. The colonial newspapers, likewise, now numbering twenty-five or more, began to teem with essays on colonial rights.

Bernard refused to call a special session of the General Court to take the new acts into consideration; a public meeting was held in the latter part of October, and it was **1767.** proposed to both encourage domestic manufactures and industry, and to discontinue the importation of British goods. The example of Massachusetts was followed in Connecticut, New York, and Philadelphia.

The General Court met December 30th, and a large committee was appointed to consider the state of the provinces. A letter of instructions was presently dispatched to Dennis de Berdt, agent for the colony, in London, and a petition to the king, in **1768.** which they dwell upon the grant of their original charter, “with the conditions of which they had fully complied, till in an unhappy time it was vacated.” They next allude to the subsequent and modified charter, granted by William and Mary, confirming the same fundamental liberties secured to them by the first. Acknowledging indeed, the superintending authority of Parliament, in all cases that can consist with the fundamental rights of nature and the constitution, they proceed as follows: “It is with the deepest concern that your humble suppliants would

* “*Writings of Washington,*” vol. ii., p. 392.

represent to your Majesty, that your Parliament, the rectitude of whose intentions is never to be questioned, has thought proper to pass divers acts imposing taxes on your subjects in America, with the sole and express purpose of raising a revenue. If your Majesty's subjects here shall be deprived of the honor and privilege of voluntarily contributing their aid to your Majesty, in supporting your government and authority in the province, and defending and securing your rights and territories in America, which they have always hitherto done with the utmost cheerfulness; if these acts of Parliament shall remain in force, and your Majesty's Commons in Great Britain shall continue to exercise the power of granting the property of their fellow subjects in this province; your people must then regret their unhappy fate in having only the name left of free subjects. With all humility we conceive that a representation of this province in Parliament, considering their local circumstances, is utterly impracticable. Your Majesty has therefore been graciously pleased to order your requisitions to be laid before the representatives of your people in the General Assembly, who have never failed to afford the necessary aid, to the extent of their ability, and sometimes beyond it, and it would be ever grievous to your Majesty's faithful subjects, to be called upon in a way that should appear to them to imply a distrust of their most ready and willing compliance." Besides this petition to the king, they sent letters to Lord Shelburne, General Conway, the Mar-

quis of Rockingham, Lords Camden and Chatham, and the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. They also, in February, 1768, issued a circular letter to the rest of the colonies, inviting them to engage in a common defence of their rights, concluding the letter with an expression of their "firm confidence in the king, their common head and father, and that the united and dutiful supplications of his distressed American subjects will meet with his royal and favorable acceptance."

The English ministry naturally dreaded any step which seemed to lead to a prospect of union of action on the part of the colonies. Hence Lord Hillsborough, recently appointed Secretary for the Colonies, directed Governor Bernard to press upon the House of Representatives the propriety of rescinding this circular as "rash and hasty," and artfully procured by surprise against the general sense of the Assembly, and to dissolve that body in case of refusal. He also addressed a circular with the same instructions to the rest of the royal governors. "As his Majesty considers this measure," it observed, "to be of the most dangerous and factious tendency, calculated to inflame the minds of his good subjects in the colonies, and promote an unwarrantable combination, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you should exert your utmost influence to defeat this flagitious attempt to disturb the public peace, by prevailing upon the Assembly of your province to take no notice of it, which will be treating it with the contempt it deserves." When Bernard communicated this message to the new Assembly,

in July, they denied that the circular to the colonies had been unfairly passed, and positively refused to comply with the minister's wishes. "If," they observed, "by the word *rescinding* is intended the passing a vote in direct and express disapprobation of the measure taken by the former House, we must take the liberty to declare that we hold it to be the native right of the subject to petition the king for the redress of grievances. If the votes of the House are to be controlled by the direction of a minister, we have left us but a vain semblance of liberty. We have now only to inform you that this House have voted *not to rescind*, and that on a division on the question there were ninety-two nays and seventeen yeas." The seventeen "rescind-ers," as they were termed, became objects of public odium. On the question to rescind, Mr. Otis, in his usually bold manner, said: "When Lord Hillsborough knows that we will not rescind our acts, let him apply to Parliament to rescind theirs. Let Britons rescind their measures, or they are lost for ever." The next day, the House of Representatives was dissolved by Bernard.

In the other colonies, the requisitions of the ministry were equally disregarded. When Governor Sharpe
1768. communicated Lord Hillsborough's letter to the Assembly of Maryland, their language in reply was fearless and independent. "We cannot," say they, "but view this as an attempt, in some of his Majesty's ministers, to suppress all communication of sentiments between the colonies, and to prevent the united supplications of

America from reaching the royal ear. We have the warmest and most affectionate attachment to our most gracious sovereign, and shall ever pay the readiest and most respectful regard to the just and constitutional power of the British Parliament; but we shall not be intimidated by a few high-sounding expressions from doing what we think is right." The Assemblies of New York, Delaware, Virginia, and Georgia, expressed similar sentiments, in language more or less decided; and, under instructions from the home government, they were dissolved by the royal governors.

The presence of the newly-appointed officers for collecting the custom house duties, did not tend to make matters more quiet, or to allay the excitement in the public mind. On the contrary, it was evident that collision might at any time be expected; and in fact, it occurred very soon. The sloop *Liberty*, belonging to Hancock, had been seized on the charge of smuggling. This was early in June, 1768. The *Liberty* was boarded by the officers, who, apprehensive of trouble, had solicited aid from the commander of a ship of war in the harbor, and by his advice had ordered the sloop to be brought under the guns of his ship. A riot broke out immediately; a mob collected; the custom-house officers, after being severely handled, narrowly escaped with their lives, while their houses were attacked, and their boat dragged through the town, and afterwards burned upon the common. The governor, unable to protect the officers, advised them to remove from Boston; they consequently

retired, first on board the Romney man-of-war, and then to Castle William. A committee of the Council, in their report on this subject, say, that, although the extraordinary circumstances attending the seizure of the sloop, might, in some measure, extenuate the criminality of the riotous proceedings in consequence of it, yet, being of a very criminal nature, they declared their abhorrence of them, and requested that the governor would direct prosecutions against the offenders. This report was accepted by the Council, but in consequence of the dissolution of the Assembly, was not acted upon by the House. Such, however, was the state of public feeling, that no prosecutions could be successfully carried on.

The excitement at Boston was greatly increased about this time by the impressment of some seamen belonging to that town, by order of the officers of

the Romney, in direct violation
1768. of an act of Parliament, (the 6th Anne,) which declared, that "no mariner, or other person, who shall serve on board, or be retained to serve on board any privateer, or trading ship, or vessel, that shall be employed in America, nor any mariner or person, being on shore in any part thereof, shall be liable to be impressed or taken away by any officer or officers of, or belonging to, her majesty's ships of war."

The inhabitants of Boston were assembled on this occasion, and their petition to the governor, praying his interference to prevent such outrages for the future, shows to what a con-

dition of alarm, anxiety, and even despair, they were then reduced. They state that, while waiting for a gracious answer to their petitions to the king, they were invaded with an armed force, impressing and imprisoning the persons of their fellow-subjects, contrary to an express act of Parliament; that menaces had been thrown out fit only for barbarians, affecting them in the most sensible manner, and that, "on account of the obstruction of their navigation, the situation of the town was nearly such as if war had been formally declared against it. To contend," they said, "against our parent state, is, in our idea, the most shocking and dreadful extremity; but tamely to relinquish the only security we and our posterity retain for the enjoyment of our lives and properties without one struggle, is so humiliating and base, that we cannot support the reflection."*

News having reached Boston that two regiments were on their way from Halifax for that city, and an officer having been sent by General Gage from New York to provide quarters for these troops, a town meeting was held,
1768. September 12th, and Governor Bernard was urgently asked to summon a new General Court. Acting under instructions, the governor refused. It was thereupon proposed to hold a convention in Boston—"in consequence of prevailing apprehensions of a war with France"—so they phrased the reason of calling the convention, and the

* Pitkin's "*Political and Civil History of the United States*," vol. i., p. 229.

meeting advised, significantly enough, all persons to provide themselves with firearms at the earliest moment, and to observe a day of fasting and prayer. Delegates from more than a hundred towns met accordingly on the 22d of September, and petitioned the governor to summon a General Court. Bernard refused peremptorily, and besides, denounced their meeting as treasonable. Disclaiming all pretensions to political authority, the convention, after a four days' session, agreed upon a petition to the king, and sent a letter to the agent in England, to defend themselves against the charge of a rebellious spirit. "Such," says Mr. Hildreth, "was the first of those popular conventions, destined within a few years to assume the whole political authority of the colonies."*

The day after the convention broke up, the troops from Halifax arrived. The Council refused to take any steps for providing quarters, and it was even feared that the landing of the soldiers might be opposed by the people. The guns of the ships were accordingly pointed on the town, and under their cover the troops were set ashore, and with muskets charged, bayonets fixed, and a train of artillery, they marched into Boston. The overseers refused to appoint them quarters, but a temporary shelter was afforded to one regiment in Faneuil Hall, while the other pitched their tents on the Common. Next morning the governor ordered a portion to occupy the state-

house, with the exception of the council-chamber alone, the main guard with two field-pieces being stationed at the front. It was the Lord's Day, and such a one as had never before been known in Boston. The place looked like a town in a state of siege. All the public buildings were filled with soldiers; sentinels were stationed in the streets, and the people were challenged as they passed to and from church. What wonder that they felt such a proceeding to be a bitter and unprovoked insult? What wonder that they were roused to stern and nervous resistance?

At the opening of the new Parliament, the papers relating to the colonies, and particularly to the recent proceedings in Boston, were laid before the two Houses. Under strong excitement of feeling, as if the Americans were in some sort slaves, and had no rights to contend for, both Houses of Parliament, in a joint address to the king, recommended vigorous measures in order to enforce obedience; and even went so far as to beseech the king to direct the governor of Massachusetts to make strict inquiries as to all treasons committed in that province since the year 1767, in order that the persons most active in committing them might be sent to England for trial. This proposal, as a matter of course, gave great offence to the colonists.

The Legislature of Massachusetts was not in session when the news of this address reached America; but the House of Burgesses in Virginia, which met shortly afterwards, in May, were not tardy in expressing their sense of

* Hildreth's *History of the United States*, vol. ii., p. 547.

it. They passed several spirited resolutions, declaring their exclusive right to tax themselves, and denying the right of the king to remove an offender out of the colony for trial. An address to his majesty was also agreed on, which stated, in a style of loyalty and real attachment to the crown, the deep conviction of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, that the complaints of the colonists were well founded. When the intelligence of these proceedings reached the governor, Lord Botetourt, he suddenly dissolved the Assembly. But the current of opposition was too strong to be resisted. The members assembled at a private house, elected their speaker, Peyton Randolph, Esq., moderator; and proceeded to pass resolutions against importing British goods. Their example was followed by other colonies; and non-importation agreements, which had before been entered into by Boston, Salem, the city of New York, and the colony of Connecticut, now became very general.

The General Court met in Boston, May 31st, and immediately resolved that it was improper for them to hold a session in the midst of an armed force. The governor, on their requesting the removal of the troops, declared that he had no authority over the troops. The House then determined that they would not enter upon any business, or vote supplies, until their wishes were ac-

1769.

ceeded to. The governor, June 13th, adjourned the refractory House to Cambridge. Bernard informing them that he was about to go to England, the House unanimously

voted a petition that he be removed from his office as governor, and were roused to a high pitch of indignation by being called upon, not only to refund expenses incurred in finding quarters for the troops, but also to provide for the future in this respect. "General discontent," such is their language, "on account of the Revenue Acts, the expectation of a sudden arrival of a military power to enforce them, an apprehension of the troops being quartered upon the inhabitants, and the General Court dissolved, the governor refusing to call a new one, and the people reduced almost to a state of despair, rendered it highly expedient and necessary for the people to convene by their committees, to associate and consult upon the best means to promote peace and good order, to present their united complaints to the throne, and pray for the royal interposition in favor of their violated rights; nor can this proceeding possibly be illegal, as they expressly disclaim all governmental acts. That the establishment of a standing army in the colony in time of peace is an invasion of their natural rights; that a standing army is no part of the British constitution; and that to send an armed force among them under pretence of assisting the civil authority, is highly dangerous to the people, and both unprecedented and unconstitutional."

The governor, on the 12th of July, calling upon them to declare positively whether they would, or would not, make provision for the troops, they boldly spoke out as follows: "Of all the new regulations, the Stamp Act not excepted, this under consideration is

most excessively unreasonable. Your Excellency must therefore excuse us in this express declaration, that, as we cannot consistently with our honor and interest, much less with the duty we owe to our constituents, so we never will make provision for the purposes in your several messages above mentioned." The governor thereupon prorogued the Court until the 10th of January, and early in August left for England. The administration of affairs for the time being, came into the hands of Lieutenant-governor Hutchinson. Bernard's unpopularity in Massachusetts did not prevent his being knighted at home, as a reward for his zeal and devotion to the views of the ministry.

It must not be supposed that Virginia and Massachusetts stood alone in their sturdy resistance to the course of the English ministry. On the contrary, there was a universal sentiment prevailing, that the colonies must defend their rights at all hazards. "Party lines, too, throughout the colonies began now to be strictly drawn. The partizans of the mother country were stigmatized as *Tories*, while the opponents of Parliamentary taxation took the name of *Whigs*—old names lately applied in England as designations for the king's friends and their opponents." In New York alone was a temporizing spirit at all manifested. For two years there had been no Assembly; and a great effort having been made
1769. by men disposed to more moderate measures, they obtained a majority in the newly elected Assembly, in September. Great offence was given

to the more ardent patriots by the Assembly's yielding the point of dispute, and providing quarters for the troops. Alexander M'Dougall, one of the "Sons of Liberty," took the lead in denouncing this conduct, for which offensive action he was imprisoned by order of the Assembly. It must also be stated, to the honor of the women of those days, that they were not a whit behind the men in being willing to make sacrifices for the common cause.

It having become evident that great loss was the consequence of the attempted taxation, Lord Hillsborough addressed a circular to the colonial governors, announcing the intention of the ministry to repeal all the clauses of Townshend's act, which imposed duties on British goods, such duties being, it was said, "contrary to the true principles of commerce." But as the duty on tea, and the right of Parliamentary taxation were still maintained, the announcement produced no favorable effect. The repeal of only part of the act was unanimously resolved, by the merchants met together in Boston, to be a measure intended merely to quiet the manufacturers in Great Britain, and to prevent the setting up of manufactures in the colonies, and one that would by no means relieve trade from its difficulties. It was, therefore, further resolved, to send for no more goods from Great Britain, a few specified articles excepted, unless the revenue acts should be repealed. A committee was appointed to procure a written pledge from the inhabitants of the town not to purchase any goods from persons who have imported them, or who shall

import them, contrary to the late agreement; and another committee to inspect the manifests of the cargoes of all vessels arriving from Great Britain, and to publish the names of all importers, unless they immediately delivered their goods into the hands of a committee appointed to receive them.

The vacillating course of the English ministry deserves to be specially noted. Weakness and folly seemed to characterize most of their plans with regard to America. Steadily bent upon obtaining revenue from the colonies, Parliament, at one moment, were for enforcing their laws; at the next, they gave way for their repeal. Doing and undoing, threatening and retracting, straining and relaxing, followed one after the other as occasion required. Anxious to establish the supremacy of Parliament, but afraid to stem the vigorous opposition of the colonies, they endeavored to pass such laws as would meet the wishes of the government, without rousing the resistance of the colonists. Had the British ministry been magnanimous enough to frankly and fully yield the point in dispute, as to the right of taxation without representation, the colonies, we doubt not, would have met them in the same spirit with which they proposed to settle the matter. On the other hand, if England seriously contemplated the use of force, nothing could have been more unwise and inexpedient than to make partial concessions, to hesitate, and to employ only a show of force which irritated, without compelling obedience or even respect.

Possibly the differences between the

parties might now have been amicably settled; but it was only a bare possibility; neither side was disposed to yield, and the Americans were every day becoming less and less inclined to be in subjection to, and dependent upon, a government three thousand miles removed from them and their interests. The natural and inalienable rights of men began more and more to be inquired into. Reflections and discussions on this subject produced a high sense of the value of liberty, and a general conviction that there could be no security for their property, if they were to be taxed at the discretion of a British Parliament, in which they were unrepresented, and over which they had no control. A determination not only to oppose the claim of taxation, but to keep a strict watch, lest it might be established in some disguised form, took possession of the public mind.

The presence of the military in Boston was a perpetual source of irritation and excitement, and it was hardly possible but that collision must soon take place. The soldiers looked on the people as turbulent, factious, and needing discipline; the people **1770.** regarded the soldiers as instruments of tyranny and outrage. Mutual insults and provocations were the result. At last a serious collision took place on the evening of March 5th. An excited mob, smarting under a sense of defeat in a street fight a few days before, armed themselves with clubs and began to abuse the soldiers in the grossest manner; these, on their part, were with difficulty restrained from marching out and falling on the mob. The



Engraved and colored by W. H. Chapman. After a sketch by Johnson & Fry, Esq., in the streets of the District, near the western Market, N.Y.

BOSTON MASSACHUSETTS

confusion and noise became terrible. A sentinel at the custom house, alarmed for his life, cried out to the main guard for assistance, and a picket of eight men with unloaded muskets was despatched by Captain Preston to his relief. At this sight the fury of the mob increased to the highest pitch, they received the soldiers with a torrent of abusive epithets, and pelted them with stones covered with snow, dared them to fire, and completely surrounding them, pressed up to the very point of their bayonets. The soldiers loaded their muskets, but one Attucks, a powerful mulatto, at the head of a body of sailors, urged on the mob to exterminate the handful of military, and struck upon the bayonets with their clubs. "Come on," he exclaimed; "don't be afraid of them—they dare not fire—knock 'em over, kill 'em." Captain Preston coming up at this moment, was received by Attucks with a violent blow. The Captain parried it with his arm, but it knocked the bayonet out of one of the soldier's hands, which was instantly seized by Attucks, and a struggle took place, in the midst of which some of those behind called out, "Why don't you fire, why don't you fire?" whereupon the soldier, suddenly springing to his legs, shot Attucks dead upon the spot. Five other soldiers immediately fired, when three men were killed, five seriously wounded, and a few others slightly hurt. The mob fell back awhile, and carried off the dead and wounded.

The tumult became fearful; at ten o'clock the alarm bell began to toll, and drums to beat; the cry was, "*The*

soldiers are risen," and thousands of citizens flew to arms in all directions. Some people ran hastily to summon the lieutenant-governor, who hurried to the spot, and reproached Preston with firing on the people without an order from the magistrates. "To the town house! to the town house!" exclaimed some; and such was the pressure of the mob, that Hutchinson was fairly driven before it up the stairs into the council-chamber. Here a demand was made of him that he would order the troops to retire to their barracks, which he refused to do, but stepping forth to the balcony, assured the people of his great concern at the unhappy event, that a rigorous inquiry about it should take place, and entreated them to retire to their homes. Upon this there was a cry of "Home, home," and the greater part separated peaceably. The troops returned to the barracks. A warrant was then issued against Preston, who, surrendering himself, was committed to prison to take his trial, together with several of the soldiers.

Early the next morning, the people resolved to insist upon the immediate removal of the soldiers, and a committee was appointed, with Samuel Adams at their head, to wait upon the governor, and inform him and the royal commander, that the troops *must* leave Boston, or a fearful collision would be certain to ensue. After much hesitation and unwillingness on the part of Hutchinson and Colonel Dalrymple, the soldiers retired to Castle William. The "Boston Massacre," as it was then termed, caused wide-spread excitement, and the funeral of those who had been

killed was celebrated with great display. The anniversary of the event was also kept up for a long time afterwards, as marking the period when the first blood was shed in the dispute with England.

It is greatly to the honor of those patriots, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., that they had the courage and disposition to act as counsel in the trial of Captain Preston and the soldiers, which took place in October, 1770. Equally honorable also is the issue of the trial to the character and independence of the judiciary. For, it will be remembered, that it was at the risk of reputation and good standing in the community that the counsel ventured to take the step they so nobly took, and the voice of public clamor was so loud and stern that it might well have influenced any court in the world to lean to the side of what the people hoarsely cried for. Six whole days were patiently devoted to the case in court; Preston and six of the soldiers were acquitted; two only were convicted of manslaughter, and these were not severely punished. Even the judge is reported to have said: "I feel myself deeply affected that this affair turns out so much to the shame of the town in general." Adams also writes in his Diary, that it was insinuated that he had been bribed to undertake the case; but, in fact, as he says: "Twenty guineas was all I ever received for fourteen or fifteen days' labor in the most exhausting and fatiguing cause I ever tried, for hazarding a popularity very general and very hardy earned, and for incurring a

clamor, popular suspicions, and prejudices, which are not yet worn out, and never will be forgotten as long as the history of this period is read. Although the clamor has been long and loud among some sorts of people, it has been a great consolation to me, through life, that I acted in this business with steady impartiality, and conducted it to so happy an issue."*

The Assembly, meanwhile, had met at Cambridge, where Hutchinson had convened them. They protested against this as in violation of their rights, and at the same time took high ground in asserting the necessity of some radical change in the management of public affairs, and the settlement of grievances under which the people were groaning. The General Court closed its session in November by prorogation, after having resolved, among other things, to promote industry and frugality, and to encourage the use of domestic manufactures throughout the province; and having appointed a committee of correspondence to communicate with the agents in Great Britain, and with the committees of the colonies.† The first of these resolutions of the Massachusetts Assembly, namely, to discourage the use of foreign articles, had been adopted in consequence of a determi-

* See "*Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*," p. 31-66.

† According to Mr. Hildreth, the exports to Great Britain, for the year 1770, from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia, were—£1,014,725—\$4,493,150. The imports from Great Britain for the same year from the same provinces, were—£1,925,570—\$8,549,749. The surplus of imports was paid for by the profits of the trade with Spain, Portugal, and the West Indies.

nation of the merchants of Boston, made during the present session, by which they agreed to alter their non-importation agreement, and to adopt the plan which had been for some time followed in New York and in Philadelphia, of importing all the usual articles of trade, except tea, which it was unanimously agreed should not be brought into the country, unless it could be smuggled.

Lord North, recently appointed prime minister, on the very night of the Boston massacre, as it happened, brought forward a motion to repeal the whole of Townshend's act, except the duty on tea. This was retained in

1770. order to let it be seen that the right of taxation was never to be given up; and it was—not wisely—supposed, that as the Americans would in fact be the gainers by the arrangement, buying their tea nine pence per pound less than it was sold in England, they would be glad to yield, and thus the contest would be ended. Pownall, however, who knew his countrymen better, asserted that they would not be satisfied in such a way: even the repeal of all the obnoxious acts might not be sufficient to quiet them. "The Americans," he observed, "think that they have, in return to all their applications, experienced a temper and disposition that is unfriendly, and that the enjoyment and exercise of the common rights of freemen have been refused to them. Never, with these views, will they solicit the *favor* of this House, never more will they wish to bring before Parliament the grievances under which they conceive themselves to labor."

The year 1771 was not marked by events of special moment in the colonies. Hutchinson was appointed governor of Massachusetts, in the spring of this year; and when the Assembly met, in 1772, he informed them that thenceforth his salary 1772. would be paid by the crown, and so he should not need any appropriation from them. This, by stirring up the old controversy, roused their ire to a high pitch, and they signified to the governor that they considered this to be a violation of the charter. Hutchinson repudiated their views in an elaborate paper, which he sent to them; to which a reply was prepared, by appointment of a town meeting, held in October, after the adjournment of the Assembly. This reply to Hutchinson, at first drafted by Samuel Adams, embodied the usual popular arguments, and it is supposed was afterwards revised in committee by John Adams himself; in this way placed, by his skill as a jurist, upon legal and constitutional grounds, it forms one of the most celebrated state papers of revolutionary days. It was prefaced by an address, and sent to the various towns; and Franklin caused this address and the report of the committee to be republished in London, with a preface from his skilful hand.*

* Hutchinson, in his History, states that he was greatly alarmed with so sudden and unexpected a change in the state of affairs; and he was greatly perplexed with doubts concerning his own conduct upon the occasion. He had avoided engaging in a dispute upon the authority of Parliament, having good reason to think, that the administration in England expected that the colonies would return to their former state of submission to this authority, by len-

The case of the armed revenue schooner the *Gaspé*, excited fresh animosity. This vessel had proved very active in enforcing the revenue laws, and was consequently a source of annoyance to the shipping employed in Narragansett Bay. It was determined to destroy this vessel, and when a favorable opportunity offered, she was boarded—June 10th—while aground in a shoal place, and burned, by a party from Providence. Although a reward of £600 was offered for the discovery of the perpetrators of this outrage, and a free pardon to any accomplice, no evidence could be obtained against the parties concerned; a fact which shows, significantly enough, that opposition to the measures and policy of the English government was a settled matter on the part of the colonists.

The unpopularity of Hutchinson was not a little increased by a rather remarkable incident which occurred at this time. Franklin, who was now agent of Massachusetts, had had put into his hands, in some unexplained way, certain letters of Hutchinson and Oliver, written to a member of Parlia-

ment, since deceased. In these letters, Hutchinson had spoken very freely of the character and conduct of the popular leaders, and of the necessity of energetic measures being adopted to prevent the progress of "what are called English liberties." Franklin sent these letters to Massachusetts, with the express injunction under which he had laid himself, that they should not be copied or published. The effect produced, by these letters, on the public mind, when, soon after, they had found their way into print, 1773. was tremendous, and the General Court, in June, addressed a petition to the king for Hutchinson's speedy removal. Franklin, in the summer of the following year, was violently assailed before the privy council, by Wedderburne, the advocate for Hutchinson, and was charged with being a man of letters indeed, a *homo trium literarum!* the sting of which biting sarcasm for a long time rankled in the philosopher's mind. The petition for Hutchinson's removal was voted scandalous and vexatious, and Franklin was dismissed from his office of postmaster general.*

ient measures, without discussing points of right; and he knew that great pains had been taken to persuade the people in England, as well as the ministry, that this was all the people in America expected or desired; and that suspicions of other views, either in the body of the people, or in men who had influence over them, were groundless, and had been caused by misrepresentations of governors, and other crown officers in the colonies, in order to promote their own sinister views. But now, a measure was engaged in, which, if pursued to effect, must cause, not a return of the colonies to their former submission, but a total separation from the kingdom, by their independency upon Parliament, the only band which could keep them united to it.—*History of Massachusetts,* p. 370.

* Dr. Hosack, in his "Biographical Memoir of Hugh Williamson, M. D.," read before the New York Historical Society, November, 1819, states that Dr. Williamson was the person who obtained these letters by his bold address, and conveyed them to Franklin. Mr. Sparks, however, is not convinced of the accuracy of this statement. He gives it as his opinion that Dr. Williamson could *not* have been the person who got possession of the letters, and declares that "the manner in which the letters fell into Franklin's hands was never explained." Franklin never divulged the secret. For a full consideration of the whole matter, see Dr. Franklin's own account, and Mr. Sparks's note upon it, in "*Writings of Franklin,*" vol. iv., p. 441, etc. Also, consult Bancroft, vol. vi., p. 435, 490-500.

The Virginia House of Burgesses, stimulated by the zeal of such men as Henry, Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee and others, had vigorously seconded the action of the Massachusetts General Court, and a committee was appointed to obtain intelligence as to all such acts of Parliament, or the ministry, as might affect the rights of the colonists. Lord Dunmore, the governor, dissolved the House; but that did not prevent action by the committee, who dispatched a circular letter to the speakers of the popular branch of the several colonial Assemblies. Not only Massachusetts, but New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, and Maryland responded cordially, and appointed similar committees; thus taking the first steps towards the political union of the colonies.

The injustice and insults heaped upon Franklin; the making the governor and judges independent of the province by receiving their salaries from the crown; the irritating course pursued by the English ministry; the excitement kept up among the people by popular meetings and discussions; all tended to urge on the Americans to proceed to extremities. The attempt to force upon the colonies cargoes of tea, brought matters to a crisis. This article had largely accumulated in the warehouses, in England, of the East India Company; and, as we have before stated, it was hoped that the export duty being taken off, the colonists would not object to the odious imposition of three pence per pound, seeing that they in fact obtained the tea nine pence per pound cheaper than it was sold in England.

But in this they reckoned without their host; and the colonists unanimously resolved not only not to use the tea at all, but also not even to permit it to be landed in America.

A public meeting was held in Philadelphia, October the 2d, at which a protest, in eight resolutions, was adopted against taxation by **1773.** Parliament; and "whosoever shall aid, or abet, in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea," was denounced as an enemy to his country. The gentlemen who were reputed to be the consignees of the expected cargo of tea were waited upon by a committee: one firm complied at once with the request to resign the obnoxious appointment; another refusing, was greeted with hisses and groans.

In Boston, an anonymous notice was sent to the persons rumored as consignees of the tea, to repair at an appointed hour to the "Liberty **1773.** Tree," in order to surrender their commissions. Several hundred persons assembled, November 3d, to see the result; but, as might be expected, the consignees treated the whole affair with contempt. Two days after, by a call of the selectmen, a town meeting was held, at which Hancock presided, who sent a second committee to summon the consignees, among whom were two of the governor's sons, to resign their posts. This, however, to the great indignation of the meeting, they declined to do, at least until they had received advices from England. As the ships were shortly to be expected, another town meeting was held (November 18th,) when a final

summons was sent to the consignees, to know definitely whether they would or would not resign. Upon their positive refusal to do so, the meeting retired without a word. The evening before, the house of Clarke, one of the consignees, having been mobbed, the consignees petitioned to place themselves and the tea under the protection of the governor and council. The council, led by Bowdoin, declined interfering, and refused to render themselves in any way responsible for the safety of the tea. Meanwhile, the first cargo arrived. A mass meeting was assembled, November 29th, in Faneuil Hall, at which it was resolved, that the ship should be moored at a certain wharf, and a guard of twenty-five volunteers should keep watch upon her. The captain was ordered not to attempt, at his peril, to unlade the ship. A similar assemblage taking place on the morrow, the governor declared it illegal, and required it to disperse; but to no purpose; and the cadets, who were commanded by Hancock, were not to be depended upon for any service adverse to liberty. The consignees promised, if the tea were allowed to be landed, that they would keep it in their cellars until they could receive fresh orders from England, but the people demanded the immediate return of the ships without unloading. The custom officers refused to grant the necessary clearance without the cargo was landed; and thus the time passed away until the arrival of two other tea ships, early in December. Provoked at the delay, the mass of the people now resolved to act, promptly and effectively

On the 16th of December, a town meeting was held in the old South Meeting-house. The owner of the ships was sent for, and requested to obtain from the collector the necessary clearance for their departure, but that officer refused to comply. He was next sent to the governor, then at his country house, at Milton, a few miles from the city, for the same purpose. Late in the afternoon he returned and announced the governor's refusal. The three ships were moored near each other at Griffin's wharf. Josiah Quincy harangued the crowded and excited assembly with much solemnity of manner, and in his peculiarly fervid style of eloquence. "It is not," he said, "the spirit that vapors within these walls that must stand us in stead. The exertions of this day will call forth events which will make a very different spirit necessary for our salvation. Look to the end. Whoever supposes that shouts and hosannas will terminate the trials of this day, entertains a childish fancy. We must be grossly ignorant of the importance and value of the prize for which we contend;—we must be equally ignorant of the power of those who have combined against us;—we must be blind to that malice, inveteracy, and insatiable revenge which actuates our enemies public and private, abroad and in our bosoms, to hope that we shall end this controversy without the sharpest—the sharpest conflicts; to flatter ourselves that popular resolves, popular harangues, popular acclamations, and popular vapor will vanquish our foes. Let us consider the issue. Let us look to the

end. Let us weigh and consider before we advance to those measures which must bring on the most trying and terrible struggle this country ever saw.* Roused by such an appeal, the question was put to the assembled multitude—"Will you abide by your former resolutions with respect to not suffering the tea to be landed?" A unanimous shout was the reply, and the excitement attained its utmost pitch. It was growing dark, and there was a cry for candles, when a man disguised as a Mohawk Indian raised the war-whoop in the gallery, which was responded to in the street without. Another voice suddenly shouted, "Boston harbor a teapot to-night! Hurra for Griffin's wharf!" The meeting instantly adjourned, and the people hurried down to the harbor to see the result. It was now six o'clock, but a fine still evening. Some fifty men, in the guise of Mohawks, boarded the tea vessels, and while the dense crowd silently watched the proceeding, they drew up from the holds of the vessels three hundred and forty-two chests of tea, deliberately broke them open, and emptied their contents into the water. This occupied between two and three hours. No damage was done to anything else, and when the tea had been destroyed, the crowd dispersed, without further noise or trouble, to their homes.† Singularly enough, the naval and military force was entirely apathetic, and did not at all interfere to prevent the destruction of

the tea; probably they were not very sorry at being relieved from the necessity of attempting to force the obnoxious article on shore. Admiral Montague, it is related, was, on the evening of the 16th, at the house of a friend, and as the party marched from the wharf, he raised the window, and said, "Well, boys, you've had a fine night for your Indian caper, hav'n't you? But mind, you've got to pay the fiddler yet." "O, never mind," shouted Pitt, one of the leaders, "never mind, squire! just come out here, if you please, and we'll settle the bill in two minutes!" The admiral wisely shut down the window, while the crowd went on its way, without further demonstration of popular feeling.*

In New York, November 25th, the consignees of the expected tea, declined to act in that capacity, having been

* "Last night," says John Adams, in his Diary, "three cargoes of Bohea tea were emptied into the sea. This morning a man-of-war sails. This is the most magnificent movement of all. There is a dignity, a majesty, a sublimity, in this last effort of the patriots, that I greatly admire. The people should never rise without doing something to be remembered, something notable and striking. This destruction of the tea is so bold, so daring, so firm, intrepid, and inflexible, and it must have such important consequences, and so lasting, that I cannot but consider it as an epoch in history. . . . This, however, is but an attack upon property. Another similar exertion of popular power may produce the destruction of lives. Many persons wish that as many dead carcasses were floating in the harbor, as there are chests of tea. A much less number of lives, however, would remove the causes of all our calamities. The malicious pleasure with which Hutehinson, the governor, the consignees of the tea, and the officers of the customs, have stood and looked upon the distresses of the people, and their struggles to get the tea back to London, and at last the destruction of it, is amazing. 'Tis hard to believe persons so hardened and abandoned."

* *Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*, p. 266, 267.

† Consult Mr. Bancroft's account of the famous "Boston Tea Party," vol. vi. pp. 465-489.

urged to this step by the demand made of them at a popular meeting.

1773. Governor Tryon, thereupon issued orders to receive the tea into the barracks. Driven by stress of weather into the West Indies, it was not till April of the next year, that the vessel arrived at Sandy Hook. The pilots, under instructions from a "Committee of Vigilance," refused to bring the ship up, until assured that there was no tea on board. It having been discovered, however, that there were some eighteen chests on board, they were thrown into the river, and the captain was coolly put on board his ship, the anchors were weighed, and he was sent to find his way back again to England.

The ship bound for Philadelphia, was stopped four miles below the city,

1773. December 25th. News having arrived of the destruction of the tea at Boston, the captain judged it most prudent not to attempt to land his obnoxious cargo, and so he set sail for home. The Charleston tea ship reached that city the same day that the

1774. New York vessel reached the Hook. The teas were landed, but care was taken to store them in damp cellars, where they were soon spoiled.

It will be convenient at this point, before proceeding farther with the narrative, to give some attention to matters which we have passed over, so as not to interrupt the exciting story of ante-revolutionary days.

Peace having been concluded with the Indians in the north-west, a great impulse was thereby given to emigration. Cupidity, however, and a lawless

state of morals and manners, soon led to great injustice being done to the Indians; and the consequence was, ere long, a collision between them and the white men. The more daring and reckless portion of the settlers continued to advance, and settle down upon Indian lands, without even the shadow of a right. Against these continual encroachments, sustained as they were by force and outrage, the Indians had repeatedly remonstrated to the local governments, but to little or no purpose. At length, on the 6th of May, 1768, a deputation from the Six Nations repaired to Fort Pitt, **1768.**

to present a remonstrance, which was forwarded to the Assembly of Virginia. The president of the Council in his message declared, "that a set of men, regardless of the laws of natural justice, unmindful of the duties they owe to society, and in contempt of the royal proclamations, have dared to settle themselves upon the lands near Redstone Creek and Cheat River, which are the property of the Indians, and, notwithstanding the repeated warnings of the danger of such lawless proceedings, they still remain unmoved, and seem to defy the orders and even the powers of the government." The royal government was at length compelled to interfere, by ordering Sir William Johnson to purchase from the Six Nations the lands already thus occupied, as well as to obtain a further grant; and accordingly, by a treaty at Fort Stanwix, large bodies of land extending to the Ohio, were, as it was said, ceded by the Indians, but, as they persisted in declaring, were obtained by mingled

fraud and cunning, on the part of the white men.

North Carolina, to use the language of Mr. Grahame, had been for some time past convulsed with disorders, which at length broke out in an insurrection so completely disconnected with the general agitation by which America was pervaded, that the insurgents afterwards formed one of the strongest bodies of royalist partisans, who, dissenting from their countrymen in general, adhered to and supported the pretensions of Britain. And yet, in reality, it was the corruption or incapacity of functionaries of the British government that produced the very evils of which those persons now complained. We have formerly remarked the abuses which prevailed in the civil administration of this province, and which the appointment of Tryon to be its governor was expected to cure. This expectation was disappointed. One of the most irritating abuses was the exaction of exorbitant fees by public officers on all legal proceedings, and particularly on all deeds and ceremonies requisite by law to the validity of sales and acquisitions of landed property. Tryon, in conformity with his instructions, issued a proclamation against this abuse; but, as he either negligently or corruptly confined himself to proclaiming, without attempting to execute, a purposed reform, his conduct served only to sanction, without curing or alleviating, the general discontent. In addition to this grievance, a number of the sheriffs and of the receivers of the provincial taxes were suffered to continue long indebted to the provincial

treasury for a heavy arrear of public moneys which they had collected, but delayed to account for; and it was not unreasonably surmised that the weight of the taxes was aggravated by this misapplication of their produce. An association was gradually formed by a great number of poor colonists, who assumed the title of *Regulators*, and who entered into a compact, which they ratified by oath, to pay no taxes whatever, till all exorbitant fees were abolished, and official embezzlement punished and prevented. The general ill-humor was increased by a vote of the Assembly of a large sum of money to build a palace for the governor, as an expression of public gratitude for the repeal of the Stamp Act; and also by the imposition for this purpose of a tax, which began to operate at the very time when the parliamentary impost on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colors was promulgated. Tryon with great difficulty pacified the Regulators by promises which were only delusively fulfilled. Fanning, one of the recorders of conveyances of land, was tried on six indictments for extortion, and found guilty in every instance. The royal judges, however, sentenced him to pay only the fine of one penny,—a sentence more insulting to the people than would have been the boldest injustice in openly absolving him.

This, and other similar transactions, revived the association of the Regulators, who, incensed and blinded with indignation and ignorance, easily became the dupes of leaders of whom some were madmen and others knaves. One of those leaders, named Few, whose

life was afterwards vindictively shortened by the executioner, instead of being charitably prolonged in a lunatic asylum, alleged that he was commissioned by Heaven to deliver the whole world from oppression, and specially directed to commence his work in North Carolina. After various outrages, the Regulators, assembling in the present year to the number of two thousand, declared their purpose of abolishing courts of justice, exterminating all lawyers and public officers, and prostrating the provincial government itself beneath some wild and indeterminate scheme of democracy, which, doubtless, its abettors as little comprehended as they were qualified to accomplish. All the sober and respectable part of the community perceived the necessity of defending themselves against the folly and fury of the insurgents, whom Tryon was soon enabled to oppose with eleven hundred of the provincial militia.

1771. In a battle at Almansee, May 16th, the Regulators were completely defeated, with the loss of three hundred of their number, who were found dead on the field. Seventy of the militia were killed or wounded. Twelve of the defeated insurgents were afterwards tried and condemned to die for high treason, in June; six of these were executed; the rest of the fugitives, except some of their leaders who escaped from the province, submitted to the government and took the oath of allegiance.

Tryon, though he had dissolved an Assembly for imitating the Virginian resolutions in 1769, was yet in the main popular with all the most substantial

and respectable inhabitants of North Carolina. This advantage he owed to the diligence with which he avoided to provoke or aggravate disputes with the Assembly, and to the zeal with which he opposed a proposition of Lord Charles Montague, the governor of South Carolina, for establishing a boundary line very unfavorable to the northern province. Nevertheless, only a short time after he had suppressed the insurrection of the Regulators, Tryon was removed to the government of New York, and succeeded in North Carolina by Josiah Martin, a vain, weak, and insolent man, who endeavored to lower the character of his predecessor by defending and countenancing all who were supposed to have aided or befriended the Regulators; and to recommend himself to the British ministry by seizing every opportunity of disputing with and complaining of the provincial Assembly.*

Notwithstanding the active hostility of the Indians, there were daring men on the frontiers who persisted in exploring farther and farther into the unsettled regions of western districts. Daniel Boone was such a one, and by long residence in the woods, he had become excellently fitted for the toil and privation of a pioneer life. Attracted by the descriptions of John Finley, a trader, who had already caught a glimpse of the land of promise, Boone eagerly joined in an exploring expedition in company with Finley, John Stuart, and three other companions.

* Grahame's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii. pp. 465-7.

When they had advanced two hundred miles to the west, the party divided,

and Boone and Stuart proceeded
1769. ed in company, until, in the beautiful month of May, from a lofty eminence they saw the fertile plain of Kentucky, and its river rolling at their feet. Hardly had this splendid prospect opened before them, when they were surprised by a party of Indians, from whom they eventually succeeded in making their escape, and forming a hunting camp, the proceeds of which were sent to an eastern mart. During the year, Boone and Stuart remained the sole occupants of the "forbidden ground" of Kentucky, eluding the constant pursuit of the Indians, until the former returned to conduct a colony
1773. thither, but was attacked and driven back by the Indians.

A treaty for the cession of the lands south of Kentucky now being at length accomplished, Boone set off with a party, and opened the first "*blazed trace*," or outline of a road to the banks of the Kentucky river, where, early in 1775, he laid the foundation of *Boonesborough*.

The subsequent career of Daniel Boone, deserves a word or two of notice. During the Revolution, he was taken prisoner by the Indians, and became such a favorite, that he was adopted into their tribe as *a brave*; but on learning that a body of British and Indians had assembled for the invasion of Kentucky and the destruction of his darling Boonesborough, he suddenly decamped, and with a single meal in his pocket, across the wilderness, accomplishing a hundred and fifty miles

in six days, and gave such timely notice to his fellow-citizens as set aside the threatened attack. At the end of the war, he settled down as a farmer, but found that the lands which he had himself first discovered, had been granted away to some land-speculator in an eastern city. Thus driven away, he retired in disgust beyond the Mississippi, and sought a last resting-place on the banks of the Missouri, beyond the extreme verge of civilization; and here the old hunter was quietly gathered to his fathers. His grateful fellow-citizens have since removed his bones into Kentucky, and buried them with those of his wife, in a common sepulchre.

During the whole period of her controversy with Britain, says Mr. Grahame, America derived increased strength from domestic growth and from the flow of European emigration. Her territories presented varieties of human condition and diversified attractions adapted to almost every imaginable peculiarity of human taste,—from scenes of peace and repose, to circumstances of romantic adventure and interesting danger,—from the rudeness, the silence, and solitude of the forest, to the refinements of cultivated life, and the busy hum of men in flourishing, populous, and improved societies,—from the lawless liberty of the back settlements, to the dominion of the most austere moral legislation that ever prevailed among mankind. No complete memorial has been transmitted of the particulars of the emigrations that took place from Europe to America at this period; but (from the few illustrative facts that are actually preserved) they seem to have been

amazingly copious. In the years 1771 and 1772, the number of emigrants to America from the North of Ireland alone amounted to 17,350, almost all of whom emigrated at their own charge; a great majority consisting of persons employed in the linen manufacture, or farmers, and possessed of some property which they converted into money and carried with them. Within the first fortnight of August, 1773, there arrived at Philadelphia three thousand five hundred emigrants from Ireland; and from the same document which has recorded this circumstance it appears that vessels were arriving every month, freighted with emigrants from Holland, Germany, and especially from Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland. About seven hundred Irish settlers repaired to the Carolinas in the autumn of 1773; and, in the course of the same season, no fewer than ten vessels sailed from Britain with Scottish Highlanders emigrating to the American States. As most of the emigrants, and particularly those from Ireland and Scotland, were persons discontented with their condition or treatment in Europe, their accession to the colonial population, it might reasonably be supposed, had no tendency to diminish or counteract the hostile sentiments towards Britain which were daily gathering force in America. And yet these persons, especially the Scotch, were in general extremely averse to an entire and abrupt rejection of British authority. Their patriotic attachment, enhanced as usual by distance from its object, always resisted and sometimes prevailed over their more rational and prudent con-

victions; and more than once, in the final struggle, were the interests of British prerogative espoused and supported by men who had been originally driven by hardship and ill usage from Britain to America. Among other emigrants doubtless cherishing little reverence for their native country, whom Britain continued to discharge upon her colonies, were numbers of convicted felons, who were conveyed in general to the States in which tobacco was cultivated, and labored during the allotted period of their exile with the negro slaves. Of these persons, the most abandoned characters generally found their way back to England; but many contracted improved habits, and remained in America. All enlightened and patriotic Americans resented as an indignity, and all the wealthy slave-owners detested as a political mischief, this practice of the parent state,—of which the last instance seems to have occurred in the course of the present year. In England, many persons were so unjust and unreasonable as to make the conduct of their government in this respect a matter of insult and reproach to the Americans,—as if the production of crime were not a circumstance more truly disgraceful to a people than their casual and involuntary association with criminals.

A convention was held this year in Georgia, by Sir James Wright, the governor of the colony, with a numerous deputation of the chiefs of the Creek and Cherokee tribes, who willingly ceded to the British king several millions of acres of valuable land, in the

most fertile and salubrious part of the country, for the payment of debts which they owed to European merchants who had traded with them. A transaction of very different character occurred at the same time in Virginia, where a war broke out with the Ohio Indians, in consequence of a series of reciprocal injuries, wherein the European colonists, if not the aggressors (which, however, there is reason to suppose they were), at least merited the reproach of exceeding their savage antagonists in the inflictions of summary, indiscriminate, and disproportioned revenge. The Virginia government despatched a strong body of militia, under the command of Colonel Lewis, to oppose the enemy; and after a bloody engagement in the woods, in which the colonial troops repulsed the Indians, but with great difficulty, and the loss of several hundred men on their own side, the quarrel was adjusted and peace again restored.*

In connection with what has just been quoted from Mr. Grahame's work, we think that the speech of Logan, one of the greatest sufferers from the indiscriminate slaughter set on foot by the whites, ought to be preserved. It was made to General Gibson, and was by him to be transmitted to Lord Dunmore, the Governor of Virginia. "I appeal to any white man to say if ever he entered Logan's cabin hungry, and he gave him nothing to eat; if ever he came cold and naked, and he clothed him not.

1774. During the course of the last long and bloody war, Logan re-

mained idle in his cabin an advocate for peace. Such was my love for the whites, that my countrymen pointed at me as they passed and said, '*Logan is the friend of white men.*' I had even thought to have lived with you, but for the injuries of one man. Captain Cresap, the last spring, in cold blood, and unprovoked, murdered all the relations of Logan, *sparing not even my women and children.* There runs not a drop of my blood in any living creature. This called on me for revenge: I have sought it; I have killed many; I have fully glutted my vengeance. For my country, I rejoice at the beams of peace; but do not harbor a thought that mine is the joy of fear. Logan never felt fear. He will not turn on his heel to save his life. Who is there to mourn for Logan? Not one!"

War and politics had engrossed public attention quite largely since the "Great Revival," thirty years before. The stern, rugged system of Puritanism had, to a considerable extent, given way before the progress of latitudinarian ideas and sentiments. Whitfield died in Massachusetts, in 1770, and the views which he had so zealously advocated were widely spread and influential in the community. The Wesleyan branch of the Methodists, however, had not met with much success in America as yet, owing to the fact that in general they were warm loyalists. The Universalists took their rise in America about this date, and the spread of their peculiar tenets helped to produce a change in the New England people. "But the armed contest with the mother country," as Mr. Hildreth remarks,

* Grahame's "*History of the United States*," vol. ii., p. 481, 2.

"which soon engrossed the public mind, the strong passions which revolution and war of necessity arouse, operated as a sudden and severe check to the intellectual development of the people, or, rather, turned that development almost exclusively into military and political channels. Of statesmen and soldiers, men great in action, we shall presently find enough. Thinkers are the product of quieter times."*

* Hildreth's *History of the United States*, vol. ii. p. 579.

The College of Rhode Island, now known as Brown University, originally established at Warren in 1764, was, in 1770, removed to Providence.

Rutger's College, established in 1776, and Dartmouth College, established in 1771, made up the number of nine colleges of which the colonies boasted at the time of the Revolution. Three of these were controlled by Episcopalians, three by Congregationalists, and one each by the Presbyterians, by the Dutch Reformed and by the Baptists.

CHAPTER XII.

1774—1775.

AMERICA RESISTS AGGRESSION—THE CRISIS.

Collision inevitable—Ignorance in England of the spirit and energy of Americans—Anger of the Ministry at what was done in Boston—The King's message—The Boston Port Bill—Boston to be summarily punished—Bill for regulating government of Massachusetts—Other coercive Acts adopted—Chatham and Burke's opposition—Gage Governor of Massachusetts—Views of a town meeting held in Boston—Quincy's "Observations on the Boston Port Bill"—Trying moment to Boston—Action of the Virginia House of Burgesses—Washington's views and course—A General Congress recommended—Action in the other colonies—The General Court's recommendation to the people—Delegates to General Congress appointed—Court dissolved—Port of Boston closed on 1st of June—"Solemn League and Covenant"—Noble conduct of Salem and Marblehead people—Fast day in Virginia—Other coercive measures put in force—Preparation for probable collision—Troops increased in Boston—Gage fortifies Boston Neck—Effect of certain rumors on the people—Recent acts virtually nullified—The Suffolk Convention—Meeting of the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS—Illustrious men among its Members—Henry's and Lee's speeches—Prayers daily—The "Declaration of Colonial Rights"—Measures resolved upon by Congress—"American Association"—Addresses prepared and adopted—Difference of opinion—Ability of the papers issued by Congress—Action in Massachusetts—Preparation for war—Boston at this time—Proceedings of Congress generally approved—Lord North's course—Silly braggadoec—Compulsion thought to be best—The King's feelings—Chatham's eloquent speech—Course pursued by Parliament—North's conciliatory plan—Burke's and Hartley's plans—Gage's course—His force in Boston—His rash procedure—Battle of Lexington. APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.—I. An Association signed by eighty-nine members of the late House of Burgesses. II. Address to the People of Great Britain. III. Address to the Inhabitants of the Anglo-American Colonies. IV. Petition to the King.

It was a very bold and decided step which the people of Boston had just taken in regard to the ships laden with tea, and, as they had been forewarned, the immediate effect of it must be to bring them into direct collision with the mother country. Heretofore there had been much discussion as to questions

of right and chartered privilege, and on both sides strong language had been used, as to what would be the result in case force had to be resorted to. It was now to be seen how far words were to be supported by deeds. The spirit of the colonists was roused, and they waited the issue with unyielding determination to resist the high-handed measures of the government. If blood *must* be shed, they were ready for even that last and searching appeal. "The king was obstinate, had no one near him to explain the true state of things in America, and admitted no misgivings except for not having sooner enforced the claims of authority. On the fourth day of February, he consulted the American commander-in-chief, who had recently returned from New York. 'I am willing to go back at a day's notice,' said Gage, 'if coercive measures are adopted. They will be lions while we are lambs; but, if we take the resolute part, they will undoubtedly prove very meek. Four regiments sent to Boston will be sufficient to prevent any disturbance.'"³ So little did George III. and his advisers understand or appreciate the spirit and energy of the Americans!

When, early in March, the news of the proceedings in Boston reached England, the ministry were excited to a high state of indignation, and seemed to come to the conclusion at once, that no measures short of actual force would be sufficient to reduce the refractory colonists to submission. Boston, which had rendered itself especially obnoxious,

was to be summarily punished, and it was thought that its fate would prove a significant warning to others, before they should venture upon acts of daring resistance to authority. On the 7th of March, Lord North presented a message from the king to both Houses of Parliament, in which it was stated, that "in consequence of the unwarrantable practices carried on in North America, and particularly of the violent and outrageous proceedings at the town and port of Boston, with a view of obstructing the commerce of this kingdom, and upon grounds and pretences immediately subversive of its constitution, it was thought fit to lay the whole matter before Parliament, recommending it to their serious consideration, what further regulations or permanent provisions might be necessary to be established, for securing the execution of the laws, and the just dependence of the colonies upon the crown and Parliament of Great Britain." On presenting these papers, his lordship remarked, "that the utmost lenity on the part of the governor, perhaps too much, had been already shown; and that this town, by its late proceedings, had left government perfectly at liberty to adopt any measures they should think convenient, not only for redressing the wrong sustained by the East India Company, but for inflicting such punishment as their factious and criminal conduct merited; and that the aid of Parliament would be resorted to for this purpose, and for vindicating the honor of the crown, so daringly and wantonly attacked and contemned." In reply to the royal message, the House voted, "that an ad-

* Bancroft. vol. vi. p. 501.

1774.

dress of thanks should be presented to the king, assuring his majesty that they would not fail to exert every means in their power of effectually providing for the due execution of the laws, and securing the dependence of the colonies upon the crown and Parliament of Great Britain." On the 14th of March, a bill was introduced "for the immediate removal of the officers concerned in the collection of his majesty's customs from the town of Boston, and to discontinue the landing and discharging, lading and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the said town, or within the harbor thereof."

The proposal of Lord North encountered but little opposition. The warmest advocates of the colonies were unable to justify the daring conduct of the Bostonians in destroying the tea, and even Barré and Conway were in favor of passing the bill. On its final reading, it was opposed by Burke, but it passed nevertheless with very few negatives. A few of the peers protested against the measure, but the House of Lords voted its adoption immediately, and on the 31st of March it received the royal assent.

Another bill was soon after proposed by the irate minister. It was
1774. entitled "for better regulating the government of Massachusetts Bay;" but it was equivalent to a complete abrogation of the charter. By this bill, the royal governor was empowered to appoint all the civil authorities whatever, who were also to have the nomination of juries, functions hitherto vested in the people themselves; and as their town meetings had proved the nursery

of opposition to government, they were now entirely prohibited, except for the purpose of electing representatives. A third bill, ostensibly designed "for the more impartial administration of justice," provided—in view of such cases as that of Captain Preston—that "any person indicted for murder, or any other capital offence, committed in aiding the magistracy, the governor might send the person so indicted to another colony, or to Great Britain, for trial." These bills were opposed by Barré, Conway, Johnstone, Burke, Fox, and others. Barré, with his usual directness and force, speaking of the third bill, said to the members of the House, "You may think, that a law founded on this motion will be a protection to the soldier who imbrues his hand in the blood of his fellow subjects. I am mistaken if it will. Who is to execute it? He must be a bold man indeed who will make the attempt. If the people are so exasperated that it is unsafe to bring the man who has injured them to trial, let the governor who withdraws him from justice look to himself. The people will not endure it; they would no longer deserve the reputation of being descended from the loins of Englishmen if they did endure it. You have changed your ground. You are becoming the aggressors, and offering the last of human outrages to the people of America, by submitting them to military execution. Instead of sending them the olive branch, you have sent the naked sword. By the olive branch, I mean a repeal of all the late laws, fruitless to you, and oppressive to them. Ask their aid in a constitutional manner,

and they will give it to the utmost of their ability. Your journals bear the recorded acknowledgments of the zeal with which they have contributed to the general necessities of the state. What madness is it that prompts you to attempt obtaining that by force which you may more certainly obtain by requisition? They may be flattered into any thing, but they are too much like yourselves to be driven. Respect their sturdy English virtue: retract your odious exertions of authority; and remember that the first step towards making them contribute to your wants is to reconcile them to your government." Despite all opposition, the bill passed by a majority of four to one.

A fourth bill, for quartering troops in America, being the former act revised, was shortly added to the others; on which occasion Lord Chatham, who, owing to his declining health could take but a small part in the debates, opposed the ministerial policy with his usual animation. "I condemn," he said, "in the severest manner, the turbulent and unwarrantable conduct of the Americans in some instances, particularly in the late riots at Boston; but, my Lords, the mode which has been pursued to bring them back to a sense of their duty is so diametrically opposed to every principle of sound policy, as to excite my utmost astonishment. You have involved the guilty and the innocent in one common punishment, and avenge the crime of a few lawless depredators upon the whole body of the inhabitants. My Lords, it has always been my fixed and unalterable opinion, I will carry it with me to the grave, that this country

has no right under heaven to tax America. It is contrary to all the principles of justice and civil policy, it is contrary to that essential, unalterable right ingrafted into the British constitution as a fundamental law, that what a man has honestly acquired is absolutely his own, which he may freely give, but which cannot be taken away from him without his consent." Burke also raised his eloquent voice against the ministerial measures; but all opposition was vain. The supporters of the ministry were in so large a majority that they carried every thing before them.

A fifth act, known as the Quebec Act, was designed to conciliate the Canadians in case the colonies should venture to proceed to extremities. This act wisely placed the Roman Catholics and Protestants on an equality, confirmed to the Roman Catholic clergy their extensive landed property, allowed the administration of justice to be carried on by the old French law, created a legislative council to be named by the crown, and enlarged the boundaries of the province southward as far as the Ohio. It was owing to these judicious measures, probably, that the Canadians declined taking part subsequently in the open resistance which the other colonies organized against England.

General Gage, in addition to his being commander-in-chief of the royal forces, was appointed governor of Massachusetts in the place of Hutchinson, an appointment which seemed to show that the ministry were prepared to use force if necessary. Gage arrived in Boston, May 13th, and although the news of the closing of the

port had reached the town some days before, and although the feelings of the people were highly excited by that measure, there was no want of proper respect towards the new governor. He was received with all the distinction due to his rank and character. But it soon became evident, that neither the extensive powers committed to him, nor the array of military force by which he was supported, operated in the slightest degree to intimidate the people. Hutchinson, before his departure, having dissolved the General Court, a town meeting was held in Boston the day after Gage's arrival. It was numerously attended, and the subject of the port bill was fully considered. "The impolicy, injustice, inhumanity, and cruelty of the act,"—such was their earnest language—"exceed all our powers of expression; and, therefore, we leave it to the censure of others, and appeal to God and the world." They also declared it as their opinion, that, "if the other colonies come into a joint resolution to stop all importations from, and exportation to, Great Britain, and every part of the West Indies, till the act be repealed, the same would prove the salvation of North America and her liberties." Josiah Quincy, too, in his celebrated "Observations on the Boston Port Bill," issued at this very time, burst forth in fervid tones of remonstrance:—"Whence arose this extraordinary stride of legislation? What is it that the town of Boston hath done? What new and unheard of crime have the inhabitants committed, to justify the enacting of such disabilities, forfeitures, pains and

penalties? Punishments that descend indiscriminately on all, ought to have the sanction of unerring wisdom and almighty power, or it will be questioned, if not opposed. The present vengeance falls indiscriminately on the acknowledged innocent, as well as the supposed guilty. Surely, the evil is of a very malignant and terrible nature that can require such an extraordinary remedy. Admit for a moment, that the inhabitants of Boston were charged as high criminals; the highest criminals are not punishable till arraigned before disinterested judges, heard in defence, and found guilty of the charge. But so far from all this, a whole people are accused; prosecuted by, they know not whom; tried, they know not when; proved guilty, they know not how; and sentenced in a mode which, for number of calamities, extent and duration of severity, exceeds the annals of past ages, and we presume, in pity to mankind, will not mark any future era in the world.*"

It may well be believed that this was a trying moment to the patriots of Boston. Would they who had taken the first resolute step in the struggle, be left to maintain it single-handed, or would their countrymen come forward to strengthen their resistance and mitigate the sufferings they were called upon to endure? Every means was immediately taken to obtain the sympathy of their fellow colonists. The bill, printed on

* See "*Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*," p. 376. The "Observations," which constitute the chief political work of Mr. Quincy, are appended in full to the Memoir. They are well worth reading even at this date.

black-edged paper, adorned with a death's head and cross-bones, was hawked about, coupled with the epithets of "cruel, barbarous, bloody, and inhuman murder," and solemnly burned by the assembled populace. Agents were sent to the other colonies to engage them in the common cause. Numbers of the clergy, from their pulpits, animated the people to resistance, while the press teemed with the most moving and vigorous appeals to their feelings. The news of the injury inflicted on Boston, produced throughout the colonies a general and spontaneous feeling of indignation.

The House of Burgesses in Virginia, was in session when the bill for closing the port of Boston arrived. They immediately proceeded to pass the following order, May 24th, 1774: "This House being deeply impressed with apprehension of the great dangers to be derived to British America, from the hostile invasion of the city of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, whose commerce and harbor are, on the first day of June next, to be stopped by an armed force, deem it highly necessary that the said first day of June next be set apart by the members of this House, as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, devoutly to implore the Divine interposition for averting the heavy calamity which threatens destruction to our civil rights, and the evils of civil war; to give us one heart and one mind, firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights; and that the minds of his Majesty and his Parliament may be inspired from above with wisdom, moderation, and justice,

to remove from the loyal people of America all cause of danger, from a continued pursuit of measures pregnant with their ruin. Ordered, therefore, That the members of this house do attend in their places, at the hour of ten in the forenoon, on the said first day of June next, in order to proceed with the speaker and the mace to the church in this city, for the purposes aforesaid; and that the Rev. Mr. Price be appointed to read prayers, and to preach a sermon suitable to the occasion." For this independent conduct the House was dissolved the next day by Lord Dunmore, the governor. The members thereupon withdrew to a convenient place in the vicinity, formed themselves into a vigilance committee, and adopted a spirited declaration of their views, in which a GENERAL CONGRESS was strongly urged.* Washington was at his post as a member of the House, and took his full share in its patriotic proceedings. He was no idle spectator of the progress of events. Although on intimate terms with Lord Dunmore, the governor, his whole soul was deeply interested in the momentous questions at issue, and he was prepared to go the full length with his countrymen in resisting the tyrannous course of Parliament. "For my own part," he says, in one of his letters, "I shall not undertake to say where the line between Great Britain and the colonies should be drawn, but I am clearly of opinion that one ought to be drawn, and our rights clearly ascertained. I could wish, I own, that the dispute had

* See Appendix I., at the end of the present chapter.

been left for posterity to determine, but the crisis is arrived when we must assert our rights, or submit to every imposition that can be heaped upon us, till custom shall make us tame and abject slaves."

Delegates from the several counties assembled at Williamsburgh, on the 1st of August. They were six days in session, and appointed Washington, Randolph, Henry, and others, as delegates to represent Virginia in the General Congress.

Strong expressions of determined opposition to the port bill, and assurances of support to the disfranchised citizens of Boston, were made wherever the act became known. At New York there was a considerable struggle between the friends of the administration and the friends of liberty, but the latter at length prevailed by the influence and management of those patriotic individuals, who had on several occasions manifested great activity and zeal in their opposition to the obnoxious measures of the ministry. Addresses were also sent from Connecticut, Pennsylvania, the Carolinas, and other colonies, to the committee in Boston, assuring them of support, and declaring that they considered the cause of Boston as the common cause of the country.*

* In an able article in the *NEW YORK REVIEW* for April, 1839, on "The Congress of 1774," there is collected from the *American Archives*, a summary of the earliest dates in which, in each colony, the subject of a General Congress was acted upon by any public assemblage:—

	1774.
"By a town-meeting in Providence, Rhode Island,	May 17.
By the committee of a town-meeting in Philadelphia,	" 21.
By the committee of a town-meeting in New York,	" 23

The General Court met, May 25th, not without heavy foreboding as to what was before them. 1774.

General Gage's first official act did not tend to remove their apprehensions, for he went to the very extent of his authority under the charter, in rejecting thirteen out of the twenty-eight elected counsellors. But the Representatives of the people did not lose heart: they persevered in the work which they had in hand. The governor adjourned the court to Salem, an offensive act on his part; but the members remained steadfast to their purpose. They adopted

	1774.
By the Members of the dissolved House of Burgesses of Virginia, and others at Williamsburgh,	May 27.
By a county-meeting in Baltimore,	" 31.
By a town-meeting in Norwich, Connecticut,	June 6
By a county-meeting in Newark, New-Jersey,	" 11.
By the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and by a town-meeting in Faneuil Hall, the same day,	" 17
By a county-meeting in Newcastle, Delaware,	" 29.
By the committee of correspondence in Portsmouth, New Hampshire,	July 6.
By a general province-meeting in Charleston, S. C.,	July 6, 7, 8.
By a district-meeting at Wilmington, N. C.,	July 21.

"A comparison of these dates will at once show how strong was the instinct of union, which, at this period, pervaded the country, and how prompt the colonies were in adopting that principle of combination which served as the direct antagonist to the policy of the British ministry, designed as it was, by confining its obnoxious measures to one colony, to diminish the probability of a united resistance. In looking to these dates, it should also be remembered that the colonial action, in some instances, was independent of that of an earlier date in other colonies. In Virginia, the recommendation of a Congress was adopted two days before the intelligence was received of a similar measure, several days earlier, both in Philadelphia and in New York."

resolutions, recommending to the citizens of Boston to be firm and patient, to the people through the province to assist their brethren in the metropolis, and to all to refrain entirely from the use of British goods, and of other foreign articles subject to a duty; conceiving this to be a lawful and most efficient means of convincing the parent government of their opposition to the recent oppressive measures, and of prevailing on ministers to relax in their arbitrary and severe conduct towards Massachusetts. They also requested the governor to appoint a day for public religious worship and prayer. And as he declined doing it, they themselves recommended the observance of a particular day for that solemn service. But the most important measure adopted at this eventful period, and in preparing which a large committee was occupied through the greater part of the session, was that of choosing five members of the House as delegates to a General Continental Congress; and of giving immediate information thereof to all the other colonies, with a request that they would appoint deputies for the same purpose. The preamble to the resolution for choosing delegates to meet in a General Congress—which was adopted by a vote of a hundred and sixteen to twelve—states concisely the reason which induced the House to adopt this important measure. It was as follows:—

“This House, having duly considered, and being deeply affected with the unhappy differences which have long subsisted and are increasing between Great Britain and the American colonies, are

of opinion, that a meeting of committees from the several colonies on this continent is highly expedient and necessary, to consult upon the present state of the country, and the miseries to which we are and must be reduced by the operation of certain acts of Parliament; and to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures, to be by them recommended to all the colonies, for the recovery and establishment of our just rights and liberties, civil and religious; and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and America, which is most ardently desired by all good men.”*

Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine, James Bowdoin, and John Adams, were appointed delegates on the part of Massachusetts, to meet similar delegates from the other colonies, in Philadelphia, on the first of September. Gage, ascertaining what was going on, sent his secretary to dissolve the House: that officer, finding the door locked, read the proclamation of the governor on the steps leading to the chamber. This was the last session of the House under royal authority. The members, however, continued in

* Professor Smyth, in his valuable *Lectures on Modern History*, gives what he conceives were the causes that led to the war being prosecuted as it was against the American Colonies:—1st, a deplorable ignorance of or inattention to the great leading principles of political economy; 2d, a blind, disgraceful selfishness in regard to mere matters of money and taxes; 3d, an overweening national pride; 4th, very high principles of government; 5th, a certain vulgarity of thinking on political subjects. “These discreditably causes may be said, in a general way, to have led to the destruction of the British empire in America, as far as the legislators and people of England were concerned.”—Smyth’s “*Lectures on Modern History*,” p. 558, 59

session till their business was completed.

On the first of June, the day designated for the closing the port of Boston and erecting Salem into the metropolis, all business was finished at twelve o'clock, at noon, and the harbor was shut up against all vessels. As that seaport was entirely dependent upon commerce, the ministerial measure cut off at once the means of subsistence of a great part of its citizens. The Bostonians, however, endured their sufferings with the most inflexible fortitude. The non-importation agreement was revived and extended, and the significant title was adopted, "A Solemn League and Covenant." Gage issued a proclamation against this compact as illegal and even treasonable. But he was not able to prevent the spread of the "league." Addresses and congratulations poured in upon them from all sides, and they received more substantial proofs of the sympathy of their fellow colonists, in contributions raised for their relief, which, only very partially mitigated the severity of their distress. If the English government, whose policy was always to foment a collision of interests between the different colonists, flattered themselves that the inhabitants of Salem would secretly rejoice at a measure that promised to enrich them on the ruin of Boston, they were speedily disabused. The inhabitants of that port concluded an address to General Gage in terms most honorable to their patriotic sympathy:—"By shutting up the port of Boston, some imagine that the course of trade might be turned

hither, and for our benefit, but nature, in the formation of our harbor, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce to that convenient mart; and were it otherwise, we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to every feeling of humanity, could we indulge one thought to seize on wealth, and raise ourselves on the ruins of our suffering neighbors." The inhabitants of Marblehead also generously offered to the Boston merchants the free use of their wharves and warehouses, and their personal attendance upon the lading and unloading of their goods. In Virginia, the first of June was observed with all due solemnity, and Washington notes in his diary, that he fasted rigidly, and attended the services appointed in the church. Similar manifestations of public grief took place in most of the cities. A stillness reigned over Philadelphia, and the whole city exhibited signs of deep distress.

Late in the summer, the second and third of the coercive enactments of Parliament reached Boston. In accordance with the terms of the former, a list of the civil officers appointed by the governor, was soon made known, and gave great dissatisfaction, as they were among the most unpopular characters in the province. To add to the anxiety which now pervaded every breast, a large military force was ordered into the province, an act of Parliament having been passed, which directed the governor to provide quarters for them in any town he might choose. "Thus the charter," as Bradford forcibly remarks, "the palladium of their rights and privileges

under the shelter of which they had formerly felt themselves safe, at least from systematic tyranny, was wantonly violated by the arbitrary will of a favorite minister. They were to be governed entirely by strangers, and those in whom they had no confidence; and foreign mercenaries were provided to stifle the murmurs occasioned by oppression, and to check the efforts of a generous patriotism, which ministerial threats had not been able to silence or prevent. The intelligent citizens who composed the committees of correspondence, and others distinguished by their activity and firmness, were openly threatened by the servile tools of despotism, and marked out as victims to appease a tyrannical administration. But, happily for their countrymen, and happily for posterity, they were not moved from their high purpose by the menaces of the corrupt or powerful. Satisfied of the justice of their cause, they resolved to attempt every thing, and hazard every thing, for its support."

The people, as if by instinct, seemed to apprehend that the result must lead to a contest of force against force. Nothing, says Botta, was heard but the din of arms, or the sound of fifes and of drums; everywhere multitudes were intent upon learning the military exercise and evolutions; young and old, fathers and sons, and even the gentle sex, bent their steps towards these martial scenes; some to acquire instruction, others to animate and encourage. The casting of balls, and making of cartridges were becoming ordinary occupations. War, with all its severity, seemed to be at hand. The troops of

General Gage had been quartered in the city of Boston; they were reinforced by several regiments, coming from Ireland, from New York, from Halifax, and from Quebec; all directed upon this point, to smother the kindling conflagration. The inhabitants beheld this with incredible jealousy, which was still increased by an order of the general, to place a guard upon Boston Neck. The pretext assigned was, to prevent the desertion of the soldiers, but the real motive of this step was to intimidate the inhabitants, that they might not so freely as they had done heretofore, transport arms from the city into the country. Every day gave birth to new causes of contention between the soldiers and the citizens. Popular rumors were circulated rapidly, and heard with avidity; and the people assembled frequently, as ready at any moment for open revolt. Gage resolved to fortify Boston Neck, a measure which still further exasperated the people; and, as if this was not enough, he sent to Charlestown, and seized upon a quantity of powder in the magazine there. The people of the neighboring towns flew to arms, and agreed on Cambridge as a general rendezvous; and it was with great difficulty that they were dissuaded, by their more prudent leaders, from marching at once to Boston, to require the restoration of the powder, or, in case of refusal, to attack the garrison. Their presence at Cambridge, however, induced several gentlemen to resign their appointments as counsellors under the late act of Parliament, and to declare they would not take any part in carrying into execution the obnox-

ious measures of the ministry. Before the agitation occasioned by this movement was tranquilized, a rumor was, probably not without design, rapidly circulated throughout the whole province, that the garrison and fleet were firing on the town of Boston; and in a few hours some thirty thousand men, under arms, set out for Boston. When satisfied that the report was without foundation, they quietly dispersed: yet it must have been a significant indication to General Gage, who had used such valorous language to the king, that the people would not shrink from the use of arms, if they felt it necessary, in order to defend their hearths and homes.

The governor was virtually blockaded in Boston, with hardly a shadow of power, the real administration of the province having been assumed by a popular convention. The recent acts were completely nullified. Juries refused to serve under a system which they denounced as a violation of the charter, and the judges often made matters worse by attempting to decide causes without the aid of juries. This served to aggravate the people, who asserted "that they knew no court independent of the ancient laws of their country, and none other would they acknowledge." Every day the feeling of hatred and revenge seemed to acquire strength,—sad precursor of the blood and carnage of a civil war!

Early in September, in defiance of the act of Parliament, and the governor's proclamation founded upon it, prohibiting public Assemblies, the county of Suffolk, of which Boston was the

capital, elected delegates to meet for the purpose of taking into consideration the most proper course to be adopted in the present state of affairs. With a boldness and decision surpassing that of any former Assembly, they passed resolutions declaring themselves constitutionally exempt from all obedience to the late measures of the British Parliament, that the government of the province was in fact dissolved, and that they should consider all persons who dared to act in any official capacity under the new regulations, as open enemies of their country. They sent a copy of their resolutions, and of their letter to the governor, with his answer, to the Continental Congress which had just commenced its session.

This illustrious body of patriots assembled on the 5th of September, in the city of Philadelphia. Fifty-three delegates appeared from twelve of the colonies, Georgia alone being un-
1774.
represented.* Generally the delegates had been elected by the authority of the State legislatures; but, in some instances, a different system had been pursued. In New Jersey, and Maryland, the elections were made by a committee chosen in the several counties for that particular purpose; and, in New York, where the royal party was very strong, and where it is probable no legislative act, authorizing an election of members to represent that colony in Congress, could have been obtained, the people themselves assembled in those places where the spirit of

* The delegates from North Carolina did not arrive until the 14th of September.

opposition to the claims of Parliament prevailed, and elected deputies, who were readily received into Congress. The powers, too, with which the representatives of the several colonies were invested, were not only variously expressed but of various extent.

The venerable Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, was elected president, and Charles Thomson, of Philadelphia, secretary. A delicate question immediately arose as to the mode of proceeding to be adopted by Congress, as to how the members should vote, etc. After some discussion it was determined, with great discretion, that each colony should have only one vote, whatever number of delegates might be present. Congress then proceeded to business.

"The most eminent men of the various colonies," says Mr. Wirt, writing from traditionary information, "were now, for the first time, brought together. They were known to each other by fame; but they were personally strangers. The meeting was awfully solemn. The object which had called them together was of incalculable magnitude. The liberties of no less than three millions of people, with that of all their posterity, was staked on the wisdom and energy of their counsels. No wonder, then, at the long and deep silence which is said to have followed upon their organization; at the anxiety with which the members looked around upon each other; and the reluctance which every individual felt to open a business so fearfully momentous. In the midst of this deep and death-like silence, and just when it was beginning to become

painfully embarrassing, Mr. Henry arose slowly, as if borne down by the weight of the subject. After faltering, according to his habit, through a most impressive exordium, in which he merely echoed back the consciousness of every other heart, in deploring his inability to do justice to the occasion, he launched gradually into a recital of the colonial wrongs. Rising, as he advanced, with the grandeur of his subject, and glowing, at length, with all the majesty and expectation of the occasion, his speech seemed more than that of mortal man. . . . He sat down amidst murmurs of astonishment and applause; and, as he had before been proclaimed the greatest orator of Virginia, he was now, on every hand, admitted to be the first orator of America."* Henry was followed by Richard Henry Lee, in a speech scarcely less powerful, and still more replete with classic eloquence. One spirit of ardent love of liberty pervaded every breast, and produced a unanimity as advantageous to the cause they advocated as it was unexpected and appalling to their adversaries. But it was only in debate that these great orators seemed to surpass their fellow members: when matters requiring clear solid sense, discretion, and judgment, were before Congress, Henry and Lee found their equals and superiors.

To give proper dignity and solemnity to the proceedings of Congress, a motion was made on the following morning, that each day's session should be opened with prayer. Samuel Ad-

* Wirt's "*Life of Patrick Henry*," p. 124.

ams, although a decided Congregationalist himself, declared that he was ready to join in prayer with any gentleman of piety and virtue, whatever might be his cloth, provided he was a friend to his country; and he thereupon moved that the Rev. Jacob Duché, rector of Christ church, Philadelphia, be invited to officiate as chaplain. Mr. Duché accepted the invitation, and officiated in his robes, using the service of the Episcopal Church. Washington, following the custom of the church of which he was a member, knelt in prayer with great seriousness and devotion.

This scene is so graphically depicted in a letter from John Adams to his wife, September 16th, 1774, that we cannot forbear to quote it for the gratification of the reader. Having stated that Mr. Duché appeared "with his clerk and pontificals," Adams goes on to relate, that he "read several prayers in the established form, and then read the Collect (the Psalter) for the seventh day of September, which was the thirty-fifth Psalm. You must remember this was the next morning after we heard the horrible rumor of the cannonade of Boston. I never saw a greater effect upon an audience. It seems as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning. After this, Mr. Duché, unexpectedly to everybody, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such earnestness and pathos, and in language so elegant and

sublime—for America, for the Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially the town of Boston. It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here. I must beg you to read that Psalm. If there was any faith in the Sortes Virgilianæ, or Sortes Homericæ, or especially in the Sortes Biblicæ, it would be thought providential. Mr. Duché is one of the most ingenious men, and best characters, and greatest orators, in the Episcopal order, upon this continent—yet a zealous friend of liberty and his country."^{*}

Congress having resolved to sit with closed doors, the world has been deprived of the eloquent and wise words which fell from various members during its discussions. Their action is all that is on record. A committee of two from each colony was appointed to examine into the rights of the colonies and the instances in which they had been violated, as well as to suggest the most suitable means for obtaining redress. A "Declaration of Colonial Rights," was agreed upon with great unanimity. This document is worthy careful perusal, and is as follows:—

"Whereas, since the close of the last war, the British Parliament, claiming a power of right to bind the people of America by statutes in all cases whatsoever, hath in some acts expressly imposed taxes on them; and in others, under various pretences, but in fact for the purpose of raising a revenue, hath

* Some three years later, when the British were in possession of Philadelphia, Duché's timidity overcame him, and he wrote a letter to Washington, urging him to give up the cause of independence. This led to his leaving America, to which, however, he returned in 1790.

imposed rates and duties payable in these colonies, established a board of commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extended the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the said duties, but for the trial of causes merely arising within the body of a county:

“And whereas, in consequence of other statutes, judges, who before held only estates at will in their offices, have been made dependent on the crown alone for their salaries, and standing armies kept in times of peace: and whereas it has lately been resolved in Parliament, that by force of a statute made in the 35th year of the reign of Henry VII., colonists may be transported to England, and tried there, upon accusations for treason, and misprisions and concealment of treasons committed in the colonies; and by a late statute, such trials have been directed in cases therein mentioned:

“And whereas, in the last session of Parliament three statutes were made; one entitled ‘An act to discontinue in such manner and for such time as are therein mentioned, the landing and discharging, lading or shipping of goods, wares and merchandise, at the town and within the harbor of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, in North America;’ another, entitled ‘An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England;’ and another act, entitled ‘An act for the impartial administration of justice in the cases of persons questioned for any act done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults

in the province of Massachusetts Bay in New England:’ and another statute was then made for making more effectual provision for the government of the province of Quebec, etc.: all which statutes are impolitic, unjust and cruel, as well as unconstitutional, and most dangerous and destructive of American rights:

“And whereas, Assemblies have been frequently dissolved, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances; and their dutiful, humble, loyal and reasonable petitions to the crown for redress, have been repeatedly treated with contempt by his majesty’s ministers of state: the good people of the several colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Newcastle, Kent and Sussex on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina,—justly alarmed at the arbitrary proceedings of Parliament and administrations, have severally elected, constituted and appointed deputies to meet and sit in general Congress, in the city of Philadelphia, in order to obtain such establishment, as that their religion, laws and liberties may not be subverted: whereupon, the deputies so appointed being now assembled in a full and free representation of these colonies, taking into their most serious consideration the best means of attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place, as Englishmen, their ancestors, in like cases have usually done for asserting and vindicating their rights and liberties, declare, that the inhabitants

of the English colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following rights:—

“*Resolved unanimously*,—1st, That they are entitled to life, liberty and property; and they have never ceded to any sovereign whatsoever, a right to dispose of either without their consent.

“*Resolved*,—2d, That our ancestors, who first settled these colonies, were, at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free and natural-born subjects within the realm of England.

“*Resolved*,—3d, That by such emigration, they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights, but that they were, and their descendants now are, entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them as their local and other circumstances enabled them to exercise and enjoy.

“*Resolved*,—4th, That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free government, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative councils; and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British Parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed; but from the necessity of

the case, and a regard to the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British Parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, external or internal, for raising a revenue on the subjects of America, without their consent.

“*Resolved*,—5th, That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

“*Resolved*,—6th, That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization; and which they have, by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

“*Resolved*,—7th, That these, his majesty's colonies are likewise entitled to all the privileges and immunities granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

“*Resolved*,—8th, That they have a right peaceably to assemble, consider of their grievances, and petition the king; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments, for the same, are illegal.

“*Resolved*,—9th, That the keeping a standing army in these colonies in

times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

“*Resolved*,—10th, It is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other; that, therefore, the exercise of legislative power in several colonies, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, is unconstitutional, dangerous, and destructive to the freedom of American legislation.

“All and each of which the aforesaid deputies, in behalf of themselves and their constituents, do claim, demand, and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered, or abridged by any power whatever, without their own consent, by their representatives in their several provincial legislatures. In the course of our inquiry, we find many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which, from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the last war, which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

“*Resolved*,—That the following acts of Parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonists; and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great Britain and the American colonies, viz., the several acts of 4 Geo. III., ch. 15 and 34; 5 Geo. III., ch. 25; 6 Geo. III., ch. 52; 7 Geo.

III., ch. 41, and ch. 46; 8 Geo. III., ch. 22, which impose duties for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, extend the power of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits, deprive the American subject of trial by jury, authorize the judge's certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to, requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property, and are subversive of American rights.

“Also, 12 Geo. III., ch. 24, entitled ‘An act for the better securing his majesty's dock yards, magazines, ships, ammunition and, stores,’ which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subject, of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorizing the trial of any person, charged with the committing any of fence described in the said act, out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same, in any shire or county within the realm.

“Also, the three acts passed in the last session of Parliament, for stopping the port and blocking up the harbor of Boston, for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay, and that which is entitled ‘An act for the better administration of justice, etc.’

“Also, the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, abolishing the equitable system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there, to the great danger, (from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law and government,) of the neighboring British

colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure the said country was conquered from France.

“Also, the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty’s service, in North America.

“Also, that the keeping a standing army in several of these colonies, in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

“To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit; but in hopes their fellow subjects in Great Britain will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state, in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have, for the present, only resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures: 1. To enter into a non-importation association. 2. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America: and 3. To prepare a loyal address to his majesty, agreeably to resolutions already entered into.”

Congress prepared and adopted an agreement for strictly abstaining from all commercial intercourse with Britain, and recommended Americans universally to carry out the same. It was also advised that the names of all persons rejecting or violating this agreement should be publicly proclaimed as enemies to the rights of America. Following the instructions of many of their constituents, they denounced the slave trade as injurious and pernicious to the best interests of America.

The “Address to the People of

Great Britain” was drawn up by John Jay, and justly deserved admiration for its manliness and dignity of tone and expression. Richard Henry Lee drafted the “Address to the Inhabitants of British America.” Patrick Henry was charged with the preparing the Petition to the King; but the draft presented by him did not give satisfaction, and Dickinson drew up another which Congress approved. Dickinson also prepared the “Address to the Inhabitants of Canada;” but for reasons alluded to on a previous page, it did not produce any effect towards inducing them to join with the colonies represented in the Continental Congress. 1774.

We shall not attempt to give an abstract of these able documents; we prefer to let the reader have the opportunity of judging for himself, by a careful perusal of them. He will find them in the Appendix to the present chapter.

In this connection Mr. Curtis well remarks, that “an examination of the relations of the first Congress to the colonies which instituted it, will not enable us to assign to it the character of a government. Its members were not elected for the express purpose of making a revolution. It was an Assembly convened from separate colonies, each of which had causes of complaint against the imperial government, to which it acknowledged its allegiance to be due, and each of which regarded it as essential to its own interests, to make common cause with the others, for the purpose of obtaining redress of its own grievances. The idea of separating themselves from the mother country

had not been generally entertained by the people of any of the colonies. All their public proceedings, from the commencement of the disputes down to the election of delegates to the first Congress, including the instructions given to those delegates, proves, as we have seen, that they looked for redress and relief to means which they regarded as entirely consistent with the principles of the British constitution. Still, although this Congress did not take upon themselves the functions of a government, or propose revolution as a remedy for the wrongs of their constituents, they regarded and styled themselves as 'the guardians of the rights and liberties of the colonies;' and in that capacity they proceeded to declare the causes of complaint, and to take the necessary steps to obtain redress, in what they believed to be a constitutional mode. These steps, however, although not directly revolutionary, had a revolutionary tendency.*

It must not be supposed that there was no opposition to the measures finally determined upon by Congress. On the contrary, there were many wealthy and influential men, who both doubted the propriety of the steps resolved upon, and dreaded the prospect of an open rupture with the mother country. "Men of very different dispositions," as M. Guizot well says, had here "met together. Some, full of respect and attachment to the mother country, others passionately absorbed in that American fatherland which was

rising under their eyes and by their hands; the former grieved and anxious, the latter daring and confident, but all governed and united by the same feeling of dignity, a like resolve of resistance, giving free play to the variety of their ideas and fancies, without any lasting or wide division occurring between them. On the contrary, respecting one another in their reciprocal liberty, and discussing the great affair of the country together with conscientious respect, with that spirit of mutual deference and of justice, which assures success and makes its purchase less costly." Whatever differences existed among the members they were not known to the public, who looked with confiding trust to the combined wisdom and patriotism of the country there assembled to consider upon what ought to be done in a crisis of so great magnitude.

Just at the close of October, after a session of fifty-one days, Congress adjourned, having previously made provision for another Congress to meet the May following. Every subject was discussed fully and fairly, and the papers issued by this Congress 1774. have been pronounced masterpieces of political wisdom and truth.* Of Wash-

* Curtis's "*History of the Constitution*" vol. i., p. 17-20.

* The eulogium of Lord Chatham on these state papers deserves to be quoted here: "When your lordships have perused the papers transmitted to us from America, when you consider the dignity, the firmness, and the wisdom with which Americans have acted, you cannot but respect their cause. History, my lords, has been my favorite study, and in the celebrated writings of antiquity, I have often admired the patriotism of Greece and Rome; but, my lords, I must declare and avow that, in the master states of the world, I know not the people, nor the senate who, in such a conplotiation of difficult circumstances,

ington's share in the debates we have no means of knowing, but there can be no doubt that he exercised a powerful influence; for it is related that shortly after the return of the members, Patrick Henry was asked whom he thought the greatest man in Congress. "If you speak of eloquence," he replied, "Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

Affairs in Massachusetts, meanwhile, were becoming more and more critical. General Gage had issued writs in August for a meeting of the General Court, at Salem, on the 5th of October; but, alarmed at the appearance of things, he thought it expedient to countermand the writs by a proclamation suspending the meeting of the House. The representatives, however, to the number of ninety, assembled at the time specified, denying the legality of the governor's proclamation; and as Gage did not appear, they resolved themselves into a provincial Congress, and adjourned to Concord. Hancock was chosen president, and a remonstrance was sent to the governor against all his recent measures, requesting also that he would desist from erecting fortifications on Boston Neck. Gage replied, that he was only doing what was necessary for the safety and comfort of

can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in general Congress at Philadelphia. I trust it is obvious to your lordships, that all attempts to impose servitude upon such men, to establish despotism over such a mighty continental nation, must be in vain—must be futile."

the troops, and warned the members of the House against the illegal course they were pursuing. But they boldly went forward to meet the emergency. A Committee was appointed to prepare a plan for the defence of the province; orders were issued for enlisting a body of men to be ready, *at a minute's warning*, to appear in arms; three generals, Preble, Ward, and Pomeroy, were appointed to command these *minute-men* and the militia who might be called into active service; and Committees of Safety and of Supplies were chosen. A few weeks later they determined that twelve thousand men should be raised and equipped, and, besides appointing Thomas and Heath as generals, they invited the co-operation of New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. "The events of this time," says Ramsay, "may be transmitted to posterity; but the agitation of the public mind can never be fully comprehended but by those who were witnesses of it."

Botta* gives a graphic account of the state of things in Boston at this time. The garrison was formidable; the fortifications were carried to perfection; and little hope remained that this city could be wrested from British domination. Nor could the citizens flatter themselves more with the hope of escaping by sea, as the port was blockaded by a squadron. Thus confined amidst an irritated soldiery, the Bostonians found themselves exposed to endure all the outrages to be apprehended from military license. Their

* "History of the War of Independence," vol. i. p. 272.

city had become a close prison, and themselves no better than hostages in the hands of the British commanders. This consideration alone sufficed greatly to impede all civil and military operations projected by the Americans. Various expedients were suggested, in order to extricate the Bostonians from this embarrassing situation; which, if they evinced no great prudence, certainly demonstrated no ordinary obstinacy. Some advised, that all the inhabitants of Boston should abandon the city, and take refuge in other places, where they should be succored at the public expense; but this design was totally impracticable; since it depended on General Gage to prevent its execution. Others recommended, that a valuation should be made of the houses and furniture belonging to the inhabitants, that the city should then be fired, and that all the losses should be reimbursed from the public treasure. After mature deliberation, this project was also pronounced not only very difficult, but absolutely impossible to be executed. Many inhabitants, however, left the city privately, and withdrew into the interior of the country; some, from disgust at this species of captivity; others, from fear of the approaching hostilities; and others, finally, from apprehensions of being questioned for acts against the government; but a great number, also, with a firm resolution, preferred to remain, and brave all consequences whatever. The soldiers of the garrison, weary of their long confinement, desired to sally forth, and drive away these rebels, who interrupted their provisions, and for whom they

cherished so profound a contempt. The inhabitants of Massachusetts, on the other hand, were proudly indignant at this opinion of their cowardice, entertained by the soldiers; and panted for an occasion to prove, by a signal vengeance, the falsehood of the reproach.

When the proceedings of Congress were made known, they were very generally and heartily approved, and the people everywhere began to make preparation for what might be the final issue, viz., resisting even unto blood. The New York Assembly, strongly under royalist influence, declined giving its sanction to the resolves and proceedings of Congress; and in other colonies, more or less dissatisfaction and doubt existed. But, notwithstanding these differences of sentiment in different parts of the country, the people, as a whole, were very decided: "It is the united voice of America," said Warren, in a letter to Quincy, "to preserve their freedom, or lose their lives in defence of it. Their resolutions are not the results of inconsiderate rashness, but the sound result of sober inquiry and deliberation. I am convinced that the true spirit of liberty was never so universally diffused through all ranks and orders of people, in any country on the face of the earth, as it now is through all North America."*

Strangely but grossly deceived by Tory representations, it was supposed by the English ministry, that coercive

* See "*Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*," p. 205.

measures, if firmly persisted in, would bring the Americans to submission, and prevent any thing like union and concert of action among them. It was

ascertained that a portion of
1774. the wealthy and aristocratic inhabitants favored decidedly the continuance of the supremacy of England; and it was thought, not unreasonably, that all the influence of the numerous sect of the Quakers, who were conscientiously opposed to bloodshed, and the no less powerful influence of the Episcopal clergy, on every account likely to favor the mother country, would be thrown on the royalist side, and against the various measures resorted to by the American Congress and its supporters. But, what seems the strangest of all, those in power in England, were willing to believe the silly braggarts who talked about the *cowardice* of the Americans! There were men who boasted, that with a few regiments, they could march from one end of America to the other, and that at the first fire the people would give way, and run for their lives! It is difficult to say which is most to be wondered at, the overweening pride and conceit, or the profound ignorance, of the men who could indulge in such language as the government was willing to listen to, and be guided by, in its course towards America.

In England there was a general sentiment in favor of compelling the colonists to submission. The king's personal feelings were well known, and
1774. the ministry were possessed of a large majority in Parliament. Early in November, after a six weeks'

passage, Josiah Quincy, Jr., arrived in England. His journey had been undertaken, partly on account of weak health, partly in behalf of his country's interests: his whole soul was filled with an ardent desire to do something for the good of his native land. Soon after, he had an interview with Lord North, as well as Lord Dartmouth, at their special request. The former, on the 19th of November, in conversation on the subject of American affairs, reminded Mr. Quincy of the power of Great Britain, and declared that they were determined "to exert it to the utmost, in order to effect the submission of the colonies." "We must try," said he, "what we can do to support the authority we claim over America. If we are defective in power, we must sit down contented, and make the best terms we can; and nobody can blame us, after we have done our utmost; but till we have tried what we can do, we can never be justified in receding. We ought, and we shall be very careful, not to judge a thing impossible, because it may be difficult; nay, we ought to try what we can effect, before we determine upon its impracticability." The language of concession was not to be expected from such a quarter. Mr. Quincy, however, from information obtained from other sources, as well as this conversation with the prime minister, was convinced that the Americans had nothing to hope but from forcible resistance. This conviction was
1774 communicated to some of his particular friends in America. "I cannot forbear telling you," he says, in a letter to Joseph Reed, under date of

December 17th, 1774, "that I look to my countrymen with the feelings of one who verily believes they must yet seal their faith and constancy to their liberties *with blood*. This is a distressing witness indeed! But hath not this ever been the lot of humanity? Hath not blood and treasure in all ages been the price of civil liberty? Can the Americans hope a reversal of the laws of our nature, and that the best of blessings will be obtained and secured without the sharpest trials?"* This ardent and pure-minded patriot, at the early age of thirty-one, April 26th, 1775, was removed from the scene of his labors, when the vessel on which he was returning home was in sight of his beloved country. Only a few hours after his death, the ship entered the harbor of Gloucester, Cape Ann, and Quincy's mortal remains were all that was left to his family and his native land.

Parliament met at the end of November, and the king took occasion to speak strongly of the rebellious conduct of Massachusetts and other colonies, and announced his determination to sustain the supreme authority of Parliament over all his dominions. An address proposed in the Commons, in answer to the king's speech, produced a warm debate; but it was carried by a large majority. A similar address was carried in the House of Lords, after a spirited discussion.

Parliament met, after the recess, on the 20th of January, 1775. On the

same day, Lord Chatham moved, in the House of Lords, "That an humble address be presented to his majesty, most humbly to advise and beseech his majesty, that, in order to open the way towards our happy settlement of the dangerous troubles in **1775.** America, by beginning to allay ferments and soften animosities there; and, above all, for preventing, in the meantime, any sudden and fatal catastrophe at Boston, now suffering under daily irritation of an army before their eyes, posted in their town; it may graciously please his majesty, that immediate orders may be dispatched to General Gage for removing his majesty's forces from the town of Boston, as soon as the rigor of the season, and other circumstances indispensable to the safety and accommodation of the said troops, may render the same practicable." In advocating this motion, Chatham exhibited all his ancient fire and eloquence, and showed how truly patriotic were the sentiments which ever actuated his course in regard to America. We give some extracts from his noble speech, which, even at this day, may be read with profit. "My lords, these papers from America, now laid by the administration for the first time before your lordships, have been, to my knowledge, five or six weeks in the pocket of the minister; and, notwithstanding the fate of this kingdom hangs upon the event of this great controversy, we are but this moment called to a consideration of this important subject. My lords, I do not wish to look into one of these papers; I know their contents well enough already; I know

* See "*Memoir of the Life of Josiah Quincy, Jr.*," pp. 233. 281.

that there is not a member in this house but is acquainted with their purport also. There ought, therefore, to be no delay in entering upon this matter; we ought to proceed to it immediately; we ought to seize the first moment to open the door of reconciliation. The Americans will never be in a temper or state to be reconciled; they ought not to be, till the troops are withdrawn. The troops are a perpetual irritation to those people; they are a bar to all confidence and all cordial reconciliation. The way must be immediately opened for reconciliation. It will soon be too late. I know not who advised the present measures; I know not who advises to a perseverance and enforcement of them; but this I will say, that whoever advises them ought to answer for it at his utmost peril. I know that no one will avow that he advised, or that he was the author of these measures; every one shrinks from the charge. But somebody has advised his majesty to these measures, and if he continues to hear such evil counsellors, his majesty will be undone; his majesty may indeed wear his crown, but, the American jewel out of it, it will not be worth the wearing. What more shall I say? I must not say the king is betrayed; but this I will say, the nation is ruined. What foundation have we for our claims over America? What is our right to persist in such cruel and vindictive measures against that loyal, respectable people? They say you have no right to tax them without their consent. They say truly. Representation and taxation must go together; they

are inseparable. Yet there is scarcely a man in our streets, though so poor as scarcely to be able to get his daily bread, but thinks he is the legislator of America. '*Our American subjects,*' is a common phrase in the mouths of the lowest orders of our citizens; but property, my lords, is the sole and entire dominion of the owner: it excludes all the world besides the owner. None can intermeddle with it. It is a unity, a mathematical point. It is an atom; untangible by any but the proprietor. Touch it, and the owner loses his whole property. The touch contaminates the whole mass, the whole property vanishes. The touch of another annihilates it; for whatever is a man's own, is absolutely and exclusively his own."

Having stated that the Americans had been shamefully abused by the course pursued towards them, he went on to ask, "How have this respectable people behaved under their grievances? With unexampled patience, with unparalleled wisdom. They chose delegates by their free suffrages. No bribery, no corruption, no influence there, my lords. Their representatives meet, with the sentiments and temper, and speak the sense of the continent. For genuine sagacity, for singular moderation, for solid wisdom, manly spirit, sublime sentiments, and simplicity of language, for every thing respectable and honorable, the Congress of Philadelphia shine unrivalled. This wise people speak out. They do not hold the language of slaves; they tell you what they mean. They do not ask you to repeal your laws as a favor; they claim it as a right—they demand

it. They tell you they will not submit to them; and I tell you the acts must be repealed; they will be repealed; you cannot enforce them. The ministry are checkmated; they have a move to make on the board; yet not a move, but they are ruined. Repeal, therefore, my lords, I say. But bare repeal will not satisfy this enlightened and spirited people. What! repeal a bit of paper! repeal a piece of parchment! That alone will not do, my lords. You must go through the work—you must declare you have no right to tax—then they may trust you; then they will have some confidence in you.”

The eloquent advocate of truth and justice concluded in these words: “My lords, deeply impressed with the importance of taking some healing measures at this most alarming, distracted state of our affairs, though bowed down with a cruel disease, I have crawled to this house, to give you my best counsel and experience; and my advice is, to beseech his majesty to withdraw his troops. This is the best I can think of. It will convince America that you mean to try her cause, in the spirit, and by the laws of freedom and fair inquiry, and not by codes of blood. How can she now trust you, with the bayonet at her breast? She has all the reason in the world now to believe you mean her death, or her bondage. Thus entered on the threshold of this business, I will knock at your gates for justice without ceasing, unless inveterate infirmities stay my hand. My lords, I pledge myself never to leave this business. I will pursue it to the end in every shape. I will never fail of my

attendance on it at every step and period of this great matter, unless nailed down to my bed by the severity of disease. My lords, there is no time to be lost; every moment is big with dangers. Nay, while I am now speaking, the decisive blow may be struck, and millions involved in the consequences. The very first drop of blood will make a wound that will not easily be skinned over. Years, perhaps ages, may not heal it. It will be *immedicabile vulnus*: a wound of that rancorous, malignant, corroding, festering nature, that, in all probability, it will mortify the whole body. Let us, then, my lords, set to this business in earnest; not take it up by bits and scraps as formerly, just as exigencies pressed, without any regard to general relations, connections, and dependencies. I would not, by any thing I have said, my lords, be thought to encourage America to proceed beyond the right line. I reprobate all acts of violence by her mobility. But when her inherent constitutional rights are invaded, those rights which she has an equitable claim to enjoy by the fundamental laws of the English constitution, and which are engrafted thereon by the unalterable laws of nature, then I own myself an American, and feeling myself such, shall, to the verge of my life, vindicate those rights against all men who strive to trample upon or oppose them.”

Mr. Josiah Quincy, who was in the gallery of the House at the time and heard this speech, speaks of it in rapturous terms: it is to him that we are indebted for the able manner in which it has been reported. Lord Camden

and several other noblemen supported the motion of Chatham, but the ministerial majority was very large against it. In the Commons the papers relating to America were referred to a committee of the whole. The petition to the king issued by the Continental Congress was among these papers. Franklin, Lee, and Bollan, as agents for the colonies, on the 26th of January, tendered a petition to the House, stating that they were directed by Congress to present a memorial from it to Parliament. They also prayed to be heard at the bar in support of the memorial. The House refused to grant the application, and the ministry derided the complaints of America as being *pretended* grievances.

At the beginning of February, Lord Chatham brought forward another bill "for settling the troubles, and for asserting the supreme legislative authority and superintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." Though this bill, as it contained a direct avowal of the *supreme authority* of Parliament over the colonies, in all cases except that of taxation, would probably never have received the assent of the Americans, yet as it expressly denied the Parliamentary power of taxing the colonies, without the consent of their Assemblies, and made other important concessions, it was *rejected* by a vote of two to one, without even the courtesy of a second reading. Lord Chatham, as Pitkin relates, had shown this bill to Dr. Franklin, before he submitted it to the House of Lords, but the latter had not an opportunity of proposing certain alterations which

he had sketched. Dr. Franklin, however, at the special request of Lord Chatham, was present at the debates upon it. Lord Dartmouth was at first disposed to have the bill lie upon the table; but Lord Sandwich opposed its being received, and moved that it be immediately "rejected with the contempt it deserved. He could never believe," he said, "that it was the production of a British peer; it appeared to him rather *the work of some American.*" Turning his face towards Dr. Franklin, then standing at the bar, "He fancied," he said, "he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies this country had ever known." To this part of the speech of Lord Sandwich, the great Chatham replied, by saying, "that it was entirely his own. This declaration," he said, "he thought himself the more obliged to make, as many of their lordships appeared to have so mean an opinion of it; for if it was so weak or so bad a thing, it was proper in him to take care that no other person should unjustly share in the censure it deserved. It had been heretofore reckoned his vice not to be apt to take advice; but he made no scruple to declare, that if he were the first minister of this country, and had the care of settling this momentous business, he should not be ashamed of publicly calling to his assistance a person so perfectly acquainted with the whole of American affairs, as the gentleman alluded to, and so injuriously reflected on; one whom all Europe held in estimation for his knowledge and wisdom, and ranked with our

Boyles and Newtons; who was an honor, not to the English nation only, but to human nature."*

Immediately after the failure of Chatham's efforts, a joint address was presented to the king on American affairs. In this address the Parliament declared, "that a REBELLION actually existed in the province of Massachusetts Bay, besought his majesty to adopt measures to enforce the authority of the supreme legislature, and solemnly assured him that it was their fixed resolution, at the hazard of their lives and properties, to stand by him against his rebellious subjects." Notwithstanding the eloquent opposition made to this address, it passed by a large majority. The king's reply was in perfect accordance with the tenor of that address, and showed how entirely he sanctioned the course pursued towards the Americans. On the 10th of February, Lord North introduced a bill restricting the commerce of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut, to Great Britain, Ireland, and the British West Indies, and prohibiting their carrying on any fisheries on the banks of Newfoundland, and other places, for a limited time; the same restrictions were subsequently extended to all the colonies represented in the Congress at Philadelphia, with the exception of New York and North Carolina. These bills were opposed by the minority in both houses, as unjust and cruel towards the colonists, involving the innocent with the guilty, and

unwise and impolitic in regard to the people of Great Britain. By the loss of their foreign trade and the fisheries, the colonists, it was said, particularly those of New England, would be unable to pay the large balances due from them to the British merchants. But every argument, however just or reasonable, was urged in vain against the measures proposed by the minister. An idea prevailed in Great Britain, that the people of New England were dependent on the fisheries for subsistence, and that, when deprived of these, they would be starved into obedience and submission.*

Lord North, who, in all personal relations, was an amiable and peace-loving man, ventured to propose a plan of conciliation, which, in its substance, did not differ much from that advocated by Lord Chatham. It provided, "that when the Governor, Council and Assembly, or General Court, of any of his majesty's colonies in America, shall propose to make provision, according to the condition, circumstances, and situation of such province or colony, for contributing their proportion for the common defence, (such proportion to be raised under the authority of the General Court or Assembly of such colony, and disposable by Parliament,) and shall engage to make provision also for the support of the civil government and the administration of justice in such colony, it will be

1775.

* Pitkin's *Civil and Political History of the United States*, vol. i. p. 312.

* The reader will be interested in examining the "Hints for conversation upon the subject of terms, that might probably produce a durable union between Great Britain and the colonies." See Franklin's *Autobiography*, pp. 283-94; 325, etc.

proper, if such proposal shall be approved by his majesty and the two Houses of Parliament, and for so long as such provision shall be made accordingly, to forbear, in respect to such colony, to levy any duty, tax, or assessment, except only such duties as it may be expedient to levy or impose for the regulation of commerce; the net proceeds of the duties last mentioned to be carried to the account of such colony respectively." Considerable surprise was excited by this movement on the part of the minister, and it was argued that he was giving up the very point in dispute. This led to his avowing that in reality nothing was meant to be conceded; he only hoped by this measure to divide the colonies and prevent their united opposition. With this explanation, it was adopted, but, as might have been expected, it was productive of none of the wished-for results in favor of the ministerial measures.

The adoption of the conciliatory scheme proposed by Lord North, did not prevent Mr. Burke and Mr. Hartley from presenting to the House their respective plans of reconciliation. That of the former, founded on the principle of expediency, was to permit the colonies to tax themselves in their Assemblies, according to ancient usage, and to repeal all acts of Parliament imposing duties in America. Mr. Hartley proposed, that, at the request of Parliament, the secretary of state should require a contribution from the colonies for the general expense of the empire, leaving the *amount* and *application* to the colonial Assemblies. These propositions, though supported by all the

eloquence and powerful talents of Mr. Burke, were rejected by the usual ministerial majorities.*

The Americans, meanwhile, were not idle. The provincial Congress of Massachusetts met, on the 1st of February, 1775, at Cambridge, and about the middle of the month, adjourned to Concord. They entered with

1775.

energy and spirit into measures and plans for resistance. They earnestly begged the militia, in general, and the minute-men, in particular, to be indefatigable in improving themselves in military discipline; they recommended the making of fire-arms and bayonets: and they dissuaded the people from supplying the troops in Boston with any thing necessary for military service. The Committee of Safety resolved to purchase powder, artillery, provisions, and other military stores, and to deposit them partly at Worcester, and partly at Concord.

General Gage was not an inattentive spectator of these proceedings. Having learned that some military stores of the colonists were deposited at Salem, he thought it his duty to send Colonel Leslie with a detachment of soldiers to seize them. This was on Sunday, the 26th of February. The troops landed at Marblehead, and proceeded to Salem; but not finding any thing there, they advanced along the road to Danvers, whither the stores had been removed,

* Burke, who was agent for New York, presented, towards the close of the session, a very strongly worded petition from the General Assembly of that province. This was quite unlooked for, and disappointed the ministry greatly. Lord North succeeded in preventing its being entertained by the House.

and reached the drawbridge across the river. Here the passage was disputed; but the dispute did not proceed to bloodshed, owing to the judicious interference of Barnard, one of the Congregational ministers of Salem. This attempt on the part of Gage, served to rouse the activity of the people to a high pitch; it was plain also that encounters of this kind must ere long result very differently.

The second Virginia Convention met at Richmond on the 20th of March. Washington was present as a delegate, and the proceedings of Congress were discussed and approved. Patrick Henry introduced resolutions setting forth the importance of embodying, arming, and disciplining the militia of the colony. Many of the members were startled at the proposition to prepare for a contest of arms, and the resolutions were opposed earnestly by some of the best men in Virginia, who still clung to the hope of reconciliation with the mother country. Henry, however, with impetuous eloquence, bore down all opposition, asserting boldly, "There is no longer any room for hope, we must fight!—I repeat it, sir; we must fight! An appeal to arms and the God of hosts, is all that is left us!" Henry's proposition was carried. Washington, also, was one of those who had lost all faith in the success of petitions. The Convention strongly urged the encouraging of domestic industry and arts and manufactures. At this date,* Washington wrote to his brother, that

it was his full intention to devote his life and fortune to the cause of his country, if it was required.

Little satisfied with the ill result of the previous attempt to seize upon the colonial stores, Gage determined upon a fresh movement, which, he hoped, would produce the desired effect. Aware that the Americans had collected together a quantity of military stores at Concord, about sixteen miles from Boston, he resolved to send a strong body of troops to seize upon and destroy the magazine. Great efforts were made to keep his intentions secret; but the Americans were ever on the alert, and news of the expedition was instantly circulated in every direction. At eleven o'clock at night, April 18th, Gage detached eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, the flower of the army, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Smith and
1775.
Major Pitcairn, to march secretly and expeditiously to Concord. They sailed up Charles River, landed at Phipp's farm, and advanced towards Concord. Of this movement some of the friends of the American cause got notice, just before the embarkation of the troops; and they instantly dispatched messengers by different routes, with the information. The troops soon perceived, by the ringing of bells and firing of musketry, that, notwithstanding the secrecy with which they had quitted Boston, they had been discovered, and that the alarm was fast spreading throughout the country. Between four and five o'clock, on the morning of the 19th of April, the detachment reached Lexington, thirteen miles from

* See Wirt's *Patrick Henry*, p. 132-142; Sparks's *Washington*, p. 124-5.

Boston. Here about seventy of the minute-men were assembled, and were standing near the road; but their number being so small, they had no intention of making any resistance to the military. Major Pitcairn, who had been sent forward with the light infantry, rode towards them, calling out, "Disperse, you rebels! throw down your arms and disperse!" The order was not instantly obeyed: Major Pitcairn advanced a little farther, fired his pistol, and flourished his sword, while his men began to fire, with a shout. Several Americans fell; the rest dispersed, but the firing on them was continued; and, on observing this, some of the retreating colonists returned the fire. Eight Americans remained dead on the field.

At the close of this encounter, the rest of the British detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Smith, came up; and the party, without farther delay, proceeded to Concord. On arriving at that place, they found a body of militia drawn up, who retreated across the bridge before the British light infantry. The main body of the royal troops entered the town, destroyed two pieces of cannon with their carriages, and a number of carriage-wheels; threw five hundred pounds of balls into the river and wells, and broke in pieces about sixty flour-barrels. These were all the stores they found.

While the main body of the troops was engaged in these operations, the light infantry kept possession of the bridge, the Americans having retired to wait for reinforcements. Reinforcements arrived; and Major Buttrick, of

Concord, who commanded the Americans, ordered his men to advance; but, ignorant of what had happened at Lexington, enjoined them not to fire, unless the troops fired first. The matter did not long remain in suspense. The Americans advanced; the troops fired on them; the Americans returned the fire; a smart skirmish ensued, and a number of men fell on each side.

The troops, having accomplished the object of their expedition, began to retire. But blood had been shed, and the aggressors were not to be allowed to escape with impunity. The country was alarmed; armed men crowded in from every quarter; and the retreating troops were assailed with an unceasing but irregular discharge of musketry. General Gage had early information that the country was rising in arms; and about eight in the morning, he dispatched nine hundred men, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of Lord Percy, to support his first party. According to Gordon, this detachment left Boston with their music playing *Yankee Doodle*, in derision of "the rebels," as they termed the colonists.

Lord Percy met Colonel Smith's retreating party, at Lexington, much exhausted; and, being provided with artillery, he was able to keep the Americans in check. The whole party rested on their arms till they took some refreshment, of which they stood much in need. But there was no time for delay; as the militia and minute-men were hastening in from all quarters to the scene of action. When the troops resumed their march, the attack was renewed; and Lord Percy continued the



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retreat under an incessant and galling fire of small-arms. By means of his field-pieces and musketry, however, he was able to keep the assailants at a respectful distance. The colonists were under no authority; but ran across the fields from one place to another, taking their station at the points from which they could fire on the troops with most safety and effect. Numbers of them, becoming weary of the pursuit, retired from the contest; but their place was supplied by new comers; so that, although not more than four or five hundred of the provincials were actually engaged at any one time, yet the conflict was continued without intermission, till the troops, in a state of great exhaustion, reached Bunker's Hill, a little after sunset, with only two or three rounds of cartridges each,

although they had thirty-six in the morning.* The loss of the British in this unfortunate expedition, was, sixty-five killed, one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners. Of the Americans engaged in the battle, fifty were killed, and thirty-four wounded.

Truly may it be said, in the words of Washington, in a letter in which he speaks of the necessity the British troops were under, to give way before the aroused people of Massachusetts,—“If the retreat had not been as precipitate as it was,—and God knows it could not well have been more so,—the ministerial troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off.”

* See “*History of the United States*,” in Lardner's Cabinet Cyclopædia, vol. i., p. 124.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.

I.—AN ASSOCIATION,

SIGNED BY EIGHTY-NINE MEMBERS OF THE LATE HOUSE OF BURGESSES.

WE, his majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the late representatives of the good people of this country, having been deprived, by the sudden interposition of the executive part of this government, from giving our countrymen the advice we wished to convey to them, in a legislative capacity, find ourselves under the hard necessity of adopting this, the only method we have left, of pointing out to our countrymen such measures as, in our opinion, are best fitted to secure our dear rights and liberty from destruction,

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by the heavy hand of power now lifted against North America. With much grief we find, that our dutiful applications to Great Britain for the security of our just, ancient, and constitutional rights, have been not only disregarded, but that a determined system is formed and pressed, for reducing the inhabitants of British America to slavery, by subjecting them to the payment of taxes, imposed without the consent of the people or their representatives; and that, in pursuit of this system, we find an act of the British Parliament, lately passed, for stopping the harbor and commerce of the town of Boston, in our sister colony of Massachusetts Bay, until the people

there submit to the payment of such unconstitutional taxes ; and which act most violently and arbitrarily deprives them of their property, in wharves erected by private persons, at their own great and proper expense ; which act is, in our opinion, a most dangerous attempt to destroy the constitutional liberty and rights of all North America. It is further our opinion, that as tea, on its importation into America, is charged with a duty imposed by Parliament, for the purpose of raising a revenue without the consent of the people, it ought not to be used by any person who wishes well to the constitutional rights and liberties of British America. And whereas the India Company have ungenerously attempted the ruin of America, by sending many ships loaded with tea into the colonies, thereby intending to fix a precedent in favor of arbitrary taxation, we deem it highly proper, and do accordingly recommend it strongly to our countrymen, not to purchase or use any kind of East India commodity whatsoever, except saltpetre and spices, until the grievances of America are redressed. We are further clearly of opinion, that an attack made on one of our sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America, and threatens ruin to the rights of all, unless the united wisdom of the whole be applied. And for this purpose it is recommended to the Committee of Correspondence, that they communicate with their several corresponding committees, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the several colonies of British America, *to meet in general congress*, at such place, annually, as shall be thought most convenient ; there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require. A tender regard for the interest of our fellow-subjects, the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevents us from going further at this time ; most earnestly hoping, that the unconstitutional principle of taxing the colonies without their consent will not be persisted in, thereby to compel us, against our will, to avoid all commercial intercourse with Britain. Wishing them and our people free and happy, we are their affectionate friends, the late Representatives of Virginia.

The 27th day of May 1774.

II.—ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GREAT BRITAIN.*

WHEN a nation, led to greatness by the hand of liberty, and possessed of all the glory that heroism, munificence, and humanity can bestow, descends to the ungrateful task of forging chains for her friends and children, and instead of giving support to freedom, turns advocate for slavery and oppression, there is reason to suspect she has ceased to be virtuous, or been extremely negligent in the appointment of her rulers.

In almost every age, in repeated conflicts, in long and bloody wars, as well civil as foreign, against many and powerful nations, against the open assaults of enemies, and the more dangerous treachery of friends, have the inhabitants of your island, your great and glorious ancestors, maintained their independence, and transmitted the rights of men, and the blessings of liberty, to you, their posterity.

Be not surprised, therefore, that we, who are descended from the same common ancestors ; that we, whose forefathers participated in all the rights, the liberties, and the constitutions you so justly boast of, and who have carefully conveyed the same fair inheritance to us, guaranteed by the plighted faith of government and the most solemn compacts with British sovereigns, should refuse to surrender them to men, who found their claims on no principles of reason, and who prosecute them with a design, that by having our lives and property in their power, they may, with the greatest facility, enslave you. The cause of America is now the object of universal attention : it has at length become very serious. This unhappy country has not only been oppressed, but abused and misrepresented ; and the duty we owe ourselves and posterity, to your interest, and the general welfare of the British empire, leads us to address you on this very important subject. *Know then*, That we consider ourselves, and do insist, that we are and ought to be, as free as our fellow subjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us, without our consent. That we claim all the benefits secured to its subjects by the English constitution, and particularly that inestimable one of trial by jury. That we hold it essential to English liberty, that

* Adopted October 21, 1774.

no man be condemned unheard, or punished for supposed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence. That we think the Legislature of Great Britain is not authorized, by the constitution, to establish a religion, fraught with sanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government, in any quarter of the globe. These rights we, as well as you, deem sacred; and yet, sacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated.

Are not the proprietors of the soil of Great Britain lords of their own property? Can it be taken from them without their consent? Will they yield it to the arbitrary disposal of any man, or number of men whatever? You know they will not. Why then are the proprietors of the soil in America less lords of their property than you are of yours? Or why should they submit it to the disposal of your Parliament, or of any other parliament or council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the sea that divides us, cause disparity in rights, or can any reason be given why English subjects who live three thousand miles from the royal palace, should enjoy less liberty than those who are three hundred miles distant from it?

Reason looks with indignation on such distinctions, and freemen can never perceive their propriety. And yet, however chimerical and unjust such discriminations are, the Parliament assert they have a right to bind us, in all cases, without exception, whether we consent or not; that they may take and use our property when and in what manner they please; that we are pensioners on their bounty, for all that we possess, and can hold it no longer than they vouchsafe to permit. Such declarations we consider as heresies in English politics; and which can no more operate to deprive us of our property, than the interdicts of the pope can divest kings of sceptres, which the laws of the land and the voice of the people have placed in their hands.

At the conclusion of the late war—a war rendered glorious by the abilities and integrity of a minister, to whose efforts the British empire owes its safety and its fame; at the conclusion of this war, which was succeeded by an inglorious peace, formed under the auspices of a minister of principles and of a family unfriendly to the Protestant cause, and inimical to liberty: we say, at

this period, and under the influence of that man, a plan for enslaving your fellow subjects in America was concerted, and has ever since been pertinaciously carrying into execution.

Prior to this era you were content with drawing from us the wealth produced by our commerce. You constrained our trade in every way that would conduce to your emoluments. You exercised unbounded sovereignty over the sea. You named the ports and nations to which alone our merchandise should be carried, and with whom alone we should trade: and though some of these restrictions were grievous, we nevertheless did not complain; we looked up to you as to our parent state, to which we were bound by the strongest ties, and were happy in being instrumental to your prosperity and your grandeur.

We call upon you yourselves, to witness our loyalty and attachment to the common interests of the whole empire: did we not, in the last war, add all the strength of this vast continent to the force which repelled our common enemy? Did we not leave our native shores, and meet disease and death, to promote the success of British arms in foreign climates? Did you not thank us for our zeal, and even reimburse us large sums of money, which you confessed we had advanced beyond our proportion and far beyond our abilities? You did.

To what causes, then, are we to attribute the sudden change of treatment, and that system of slavery which was prepared for us at the restoration of peace?

Before we had recovered from the distresses which ever attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money, by the oppressive Stamp Act. Paint, glass, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchase of other nations, were taxed; nay, although no wine is made in any country subject to the British state, you prohibited our procuring it of foreigners without paying a tax, imposed by your Parliament, on all we imported. These and many other impositions were laid upon us most unjustly and unconstitutionally for the express purpose of raising a revenue. In order to silence complaint it was, indeed, provided, that this revenue should be expended in America, for its protection and defence. These exactions, however, can receive no justification from a pretended necessity of protecting and defending us; they are lavishly

squandered on court favorites and ministerial dependents, generally avowed enemies to America, and employing themselves by partial representations to traduce and embroil the colonies. For the necessary support of government here we ever were and ever shall be ready to provide. And whenever the exigencies of the state may require it, we shall, as we have heretofore done, cheerfully contribute our full proportion of men and money. To enforce this unconstitutional and unjust scheme of taxation, every fence that the wisdom of our British ancestors had carefully erected against arbitrary power, has been violently thrown down in America, and the inestimable right of trial by jury taken away in cases that touch both life and property. It was ordained, that whenever offences should be committed in the colonies against particular acts, imposing various duties and restrictions upon trade, the prosecutor might bring his action for penalties in the courts of admiralty; by which means the subject lost the advantage of being tried by an honest uninfluenced jury of the vicinage, and was subjected to the sad necessity of being judged by a single man, a creature of the crown, and according to the course of a law, which exempted the prosecutor of the trouble of proving his accusation, and obliges the defender either to evince his innocence, or suffer. To give this new judiciary the greater importance, and as if with design to protect false accusers, it is further provided, that the judge's certificate of there having been probable causes of seizure and prosecution, shall protect the prosecutors from actions at common law for recovery of damages.

By the course of our laws, offences committed in such of the British dominions, in which courts are established and justice duly and regularly administered, shall be there tried by a jury of the vicinage. There the offenders and the witnesses are known, and the degree of credibility to be given to their testimony can be ascertained.

In all these colonies, justice is regularly and impartially administered, and yet, by the construction of some, and the direction of other acts of Parliament, offenders are to be taken by force, together with all such persons as may be pointed out as witnesses, and carried to England, there to be tried in a distant land, by a jury of strangers, and subject to all the disadvantages that result from want of friends, want of witnesses, and want of money.

When the design of raising a revenue, from the duties imposed on the importation of tea in America, had in a great measure been rendered abortive, by our ceasing to import that commodity, a scheme was concerted by the ministry with the East India company, and an act passed, enabling and encouraging them to transport and vend it in the colonies. Aware of the danger of giving success to this insidious manœuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be established among us, various methods were adopted to elude the stroke. The people of Boston, then ruled by a governor whom, as well as his predecessor, Sir Francis Bernard, all America considers as her enemy, were exceedingly embarrassed. The ships which had arrived with the tea were, by his management, prevented from returning. The duties would have been paid, the cargoes landed and exposed to sale; a governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchases. While the town was suspended by deliberations on this important subject, the tea was destroyed. Even supposing a trespass was thereby committed, and the proprietors of the tea entitled to damages, the courts of law were open, and judges, appointed by the crown, presided in them. The East India company, however, did not think proper to commence any suits, nor did they even demand satisfaction, either from individuals or from the community in general. The ministry, it seems, officially made the case their own, and the great council of the nation descended to intermeddle with a dispute about private property. Divers papers, letters, and other unauthenticated *ex parte* evidence were laid before them; neither the persons who destroyed the tea nor the people of Boston, were called upon to answer the complaint. The ministry, incensed by being disappointed in a favorite scheme, were determined to recur from the little arts of finesse, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boston was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be suspended, and thousands reduced to the necessity of gaining subsistence from charity, till they should submit to pass under the yoke, and consent to become slaves, by confessing the omnipotence of Parliament, and acquiescing in whatever disposition they might think proper to make of their lives and property.

Let justice and humanity cease to be the boast

of your nation! Consult your history, examine your records of former transactions; nay, turn to the annals of the many arbitrary states and kingdoms that surround you, and show us a single instance of men being condemned to suffer for imputed crimes, unheard, unquestioned, and without even the specious formality of a trial; and that, too, by laws made expressly for the purpose, and which had no existence at the time of the fact committed! If it be difficult to reconcile these proceedings to the genius and temper of your laws and constitution, the task will become more arduous when we call upon our ministerial enemies to justify, not only condemning men untried and by hearsay, but involving the innocent in one common punishment with the guilty, and for the acts of thirty or forty, to bring poverty, distress, and calamity, on thirty thousand souls, and these not your enemies, but your friends, brethren, and fellow subjects.

It would be some consolation to us, if the catalogue of American oppressions ended here. It gives us pain to be reduced to the necessity of reminding you, that under the confidence reposed in the faith of government, pledged in a royal charter from the British sovereign, the forefathers of the present inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, left their former habitations, and established that great, flourishing, and loyal colony. Without incurring or being charged with a forfeiture of their right, without being heard, without being tried, and without justice, by an act of Parliament this charter is destroyed, their liberties violated, their constitution and form of government changed; and all this upon no better pretence than because in one of their towns a trespass was committed upon some merchandise, said to belong to one of the companies, and because the ministry were of opinion, that such high political regulations were necessary to due subordination and obedience to their mandates.

Nor are these the only capital grievances under which we labor: we might tell of dissolute, weak, and wicked governors having been set over us; of legislatures being suspended for asserting the rights of British subjects; of needy and ignorant dependents on great men advanced to the seats of justice, and to other places of trust and importance; of hard restrictions on commerce, and a great variety of lesser evils, the recollection of which is almost lost under the pressure and weight

of greater and more poignant calamities. Now mark the progression of the ministerial plan for enslaving us.

Well aware that such hardy attempts to take our property from us, to deprive us of that valuable right of trial by jury, to seize our persons and carry us for trial to Great Britain, to blockade our ports, to destroy our charters, and change our form of government, would occasion, and had already occasioned, great discontent in the colonies, which would produce opposition to these measures, an act was passed to protect, indemnify and screen from punishment, such as might be guilty even of murder, in endeavoring to carry their oppressive edicts into execution; and by another act the dominion of Canada is to be so extended, modelled, and governed, as that by being disunited from us, detached from our interests, by civil as well as religious prejudices, that by their numbers daily swelling with Catholic emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to administration so friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occasion, be fit instruments in the hands of power to reduce the ancient, free Protestant colonies to the same state of slavery with themselves.

This was evidently the object of the act; and in this view, being extremely dangerous to our liberty and quiet, we cannot forbear complaining of it, as hostile to British America. Superadded to these considerations, we cannot help deploring the unhappy condition to which it has reduced the many English settlers, who, encouraged by the royal proclamation, promising the enjoyment of all their rights, have purchased estates in that country. They are now the subjects of an arbitrary government, deprived of trial by jury, and when imprisoned, cannot claim the benefit of the *habeas corpus* act, that great bulwark and palladium of English liberty; nor can we suppress our astonishment, that a British Parliament should ever consent to establish in that country a religion that has deluged your island in blood, and dispersed impiety, bigotry, persecution, murder, and rebellion, through every part of the world.

This being a true state of facts, let us beseech you to consider to what end they lead.

Admit the ministry, by the powers of Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbors, should be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a state of perfect humiliation and

slavery. Such an enterprise would doubtless make some addition to your national debt, which already presses down your liberty, and fills you with pensioners and placemen. We presume, also, that your commerce will be somewhat diminished. However, suppose you should prove victorious, in what condition will you then be? What advantages or what laurels will you reap from such a conquest?

May not a ministry with the same armies enslave you? It may be said, you will cease to pay them; but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and we may add the men, and particularly the Roman Catholics of this vast continent, will then be in the power of your enemies; nor will you have any reason to expect, that after making slaves of us, many among us should refuse to assist in reducing you to the same abject state.

Do not treat this as chimerical. Know, that in less than half a century, the quit rents reserved for the crown, from the numberless grants of this vast continent, will pour large streams of wealth into the royal coffers; and if to this be added the power of taxing America at pleasure, the crown will be rendered independent of you for supplies, and will possess more treasure than may be necessary to purchase the remains of liberty in your island. In a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.

We believe there is yet much virtue, much justice, and much public spirit in the English nation. To that justice we now appeal. You have been told that we are seditious, impatient of government, and desirous of independency. Be assured that these are not facts, but calumnies. Permit us to be as free as yourselves, and we shall ever esteem a union with you to be our greatest glory and our greatest happiness; we shall ever be ready to contribute all in our power to the welfare of the empire; we shall consider your enemies as our enemies, and your interest as our own. But, if you are determined that your ministers shall wantonly sport with the rights of mankind—if neither the voice of justice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the constitution, nor the suggestions of humanity, can restrain your hands from shedding human blood in such an impious cause, we must tell you, that we will never submit to be hewers of wood or drawers of water, for any ministry or nation in the world.

Place us in the same situation that we were at

the close of the last war, and our former harmony will be restored.

But, lest the same supineness, and the same inattention to our common interest, which you have for several years shown, should continue, we think it prudent to anticipate the consequences.

By the destruction of the trade of Boston, the ministry have endeavored to induce submission to their measures. The like fate may befall us all. We will endeavor, therefore, to live without trade, and recur, for subsistence, to the fertility and bounty of our native soil, which will afford us all the necessaries, and some of the conveniences, of life. We have suspended our importation from Great Britain and Ireland; and, in less than a year's time, unless our grievances should be redressed, shall discontinue our exports to those kingdoms and to the West Indies.

It is with the utmost regret, however, that we find ourselves compelled, by the overruling principles of self-preservation, to adopt measures detrimental in their consequences to numbers of our fellow subjects in Great Britain and Ireland. But we hope that the magnanimity and justice of the British nation will furnish a Parliament of such wisdom, independence, and public spirit, as may save the violated rights of the whole empire from the devices of wicked ministers and evil counsellors, whether in or out of office; and thereby restore that harmony, friendship, and fraternal affection, between all the inhabitants of his Majesty's kingdoms and territories, so ardently wished for by every true and honest American.

III.—ADDRESS TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE SEVERAL ANGLO-AMERICAN COLONIES.*

WE, the delegates appointed, by the good people of these colonies, to meet at Philadelphia, in September last, for the purposes mentioned by our respective constituents, have, in pursuance of the trust reposed in us, assembled, and taken into our most serious consideration, the important matters recommended to the Congress. Our resolutions thereupon will be herewith communicated to you. But, as the situation of public affairs grows daily more and more alarming; and as it

* Adopted October 21, 1774.

may be more satisfactory to you to be informed by us in a collective body, than in any other manner of those sentiments that have been approved upon a full and free discussion, by the representatives of so great a part of America, we esteem ourselves obliged to add this address to these resolutions.

In every case of opposition by a people to their rulers, or of one state to another, duty to Almighty God, the Creator of all, requires that a true and impartial judgment be formed of the measures leading to such opposition; and of the causes by which it has been provoked, or can in any degree be justified, that neither affection on one hand, nor resentment on the other, being permitted to give a wrong bias to reason, it may be enabled to take a dispassionate view of all circumstances, and to settle the public conduct on the solid foundations of wisdom and justice.

From councils thus tempered arise the surest hopes of the divine favor, the firmest encouragement of the parties engaged, and the strongest recommendation of their cause to the rest of mankind.

With minds deeply impressed by a sense of these truths, we have diligently, deliberately, and calmly inquired into and considered those exertions, both of the legislative and executive power of Great Britain, which have excited so much uneasiness in America, and have with equal fidelity and attention considered the conduct of the colonies. Upon the whole, we find ourselves reduced to the disagreeable alternative of being silent and betraying the innocent, or of speaking out and censuring those we wish to revere. In making our choice of these distressing difficulties, we prefer the course dictated by honesty and a regard for the welfare of our country.

Soon after the conclusion of the late war there commenced a memorable change in the treatment of these colonies. By a statute made in the fourth year in the present reign, a time of profound peace, alleging "the expediency of new provisions and regulations for extending the commerce between Great Britain and his majesty's dominions in America, and the necessity of raising a revenue in the said dominions, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same," the Commons of Great Britain undertook to give and to grant to his majesty many rates and duties to be paid in these colonies. To enforce the observance of this act, it prescribes a

great number of severe penalties and forfeitures; and in two sections makes a remarkable distinction between the subjects in Great Britain and those in America. By the one, the penalties and forfeitures incurred there are to be recovered in any of the king's courts of record at Westminster, or in the court of exchequer in Scotland; and by the other, the penalties and forfeitures incurred here are to be recovered in any court of record, or in any court of admiralty or vice-admiralty, at the election of the informer or prosecutor.

The inhabitants of these colonies, confiding in the justice of Great Britain, were scarcely allowed sufficient time to receive and consider this act, before another, well known by the name of the Stamp Act, and passed in the fifth year of this reign, engrossed their whole attention. By this statute the British Parliament exercised in the most explicit manner a power of taxing us, and extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty in the colonies to matters arising within the body of a country, and directed the numerous penalties and forfeitures thereby inflicted, to be recovered in the said courts.

In the same year a tax was imposed upon us by an act establishing several new fees in the customs. In the next year the Stamp Act was repealed, not because it was founded in an erroneous principle, but, as the repealing act recites, because "the continuance thereof would be attended with many inconveniences, and might be productive of consequences greatly detrimental to the commercial interest of Great Britain."

In the same year, and by a subsequent act, it was declared, "that his majesty in Parliament, of right, had power to bind the people of these colonies by statutes in all cases whatsoever." In the same year another act was passed for imposing rates and duties payable in these colonies. In this statute the Commons, avoiding the terms of giving and granting, "humbly besought his majesty, that it might be enacted, etc." But from a declaration in the preamble, that the rates and duties were "in lieu of" several others granted by the statute first before mentioned for raising a revenue, and from some other expressions, it appears that these duties were intended for that purpose.

In the next year, (1767) an act was made, "to enable his majesty to put the customs and other

duties in America under the management of commissioners," etc., and the king thereupon erected the present expensive Board of Commissioners, for the express purpose of carrying into execution the several acts relating to the revenue and trade in America.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act, having again resigned ourselves to our ancient unsuspecting affections for the parent state, and anxious to avoid any controversy with her, in hopes of a favorable alteration in sentiments and measures towards us, we did not press our objections against the above-mentioned statutes made subsequent to that repeal.

Administration attributing to trifling causes, a conduct that really proceeded from generous motives, were encouraged in the same year, (1767) to make a bolder experiment on the patience of America.

By a statute commonly called the Glass, Paper, and Tea Act, made fifteen months after the repeal of the Stamp Act, the Commons of Great Britain resumed their former language, and again undertook to "give and grant rates and duties to be paid in these colonies," for the express purpose of "raising a revenue to defray the charges of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and defending the king's dominions," on this continent. The penalties and forfeitures incurred under this statute, are to be recovered in the same manner with those mentioned in the foregoing acts.

To this statute, so naturally tending to disturb the tranquillity then universal throughout the colonies, Parliament in the same session added another no less extraordinary.

Ever since the making the present peace, a standing army has been kept in these colonies. From respect for the mother country, the innovation was not only tolerated, but the provincial legislatures generally made provision for supplying the troops.

The Assembly of the province of New York having passed an act of this kind, but differing in some articles from the directions of the Act of Parliament made in the fifth year of this reign, the House of Representatives in that colony was prohibited by a statute made in the last session mentioned from making any bill, order, resolution, or vote, except for adjourning or choosing a speaker, until provision should be made by the

said Assembly for furnishing the troops within that province, not only with all such necessaries as were required by the statute, which they were charged with disobeying, but also with those required by two other subsequent statutes, which were declared to be in force until the twenty-fourth day of March, 1769.

The statutes of the year 1767 revived the apprehensions and discontents that had entirely subsided on the repeal of the Stamp Act; and, amidst the just fears and jealousies thereby occasioned, a statute was made in the next year, (1768) to establish courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty on a new model, expressly for the end of more effectually recovering of the penalties and forfeitures inflicted by Acts of Parliament, framed for the purpose of raising a revenue in America, etc. The immediate tendency of these statutes is to subvert the right of having a share in legislation, by rendering Assemblies useless; the right of property, by taking the money of the colonists without their consent; the right of trial by jury, by substituting in their places trials in admiralty and vice-admiralty courts, where single judges preside, holding their commissions during pleasure, and unduly to influence the courts of common law, by rendering the judges thereof totally dependent on the crown for their salaries.

These statutes, not to mention many others exceedingly exceptionable, compared one with another, will be found not only to form a regular system in which every part has great force, but also a pertinacious adherence to that system for subjugating these colonies, that are not, and from local circumstances cannot, be represented in the House of Commons, to the uncontrollable and unlimited power of Parliament, in violation of their undoubted rights and liberties, in contempt of their humble and repeated supplications.

This conduct must appear equally astonishing and unjustifiable, when it is considered how unprovoked it has been by any behavior of these colonies. From their first settlement, their bitterest enemies never fixed on any of them any charge of disloyalty to their sovereign, or disaffection to their mother country. In the wars she has carried on, they have exerted themselves, whenever required, in giving her assistance; and have rendered her services which she has publicly acknowledged to be extremely important. Their fidelity, duty, and usefulness during the last war,

were frequently and affectionately confessed by his late majesty and the present king.

The reproaches of those who are most unfriendly to the freedom of America, are principally levelled against the province of Massachusetts Bay, but with what little reason will appear by the following declarations of a person, the truth of whose evidence in their favor will not be questioned. Governor Bernard thus addresses the two Houses of Assembly in his speech on the 24th of April, 1762, "The unanimity and despatch with which you have complied with the requisitions of his majesty require my particular acknowledgment, and it gives me additional pleasure to observe, that you have therein acted under no other influence, than a due sense of your duty, both as members of a general empire and as the body of a particular province."

In another speech, on the 27th of May, in the same year, he says, "Whatever shall be the event of the war, it must be no small satisfaction to us, that this province hath contributed its full share to the support of it. Everything that hath been required of it hath been complied with; and the execution of the powers committed to me for raising the provincial troops hath been as full and complete as the grant of them. Never before were regiments so easily levied, so well composed, and so early in the field as they have been this year: the common people seem to be animated with the spirit of the general court, and to vie with them in their readiness to serve the king."

Such was the conduct of the people of the Massachusetts Bay during the last war. As to their behavior before that period, it ought not to have been forgot in Great Britain, that not only on every occasion, they had constantly and cheerfully complied with the frequent royal requisitions, but that chiefly by their vigorous efforts Nova Scotia was subdued in 1710, and Louisbourg in 1745.

Foreign quarrels being ended, and the domestic disturbances that quickly succeeded on account of the Stamp Act being quieted by its repeal, the Assembly of Massachusetts Bay transmitted an humble address of thanks to the king and divers noblemen, and soon after passed a bill for granting a compensation to the sufferers in the disorder occasioned by that act.

These circumstances and the following extracts from Governor Bernard's letters, in 1768, to the

Earl of Shelburne, Secretary of State, clearly show with what grateful tenderness they strove to bury in oblivion the unhappy occasion of the late disorders, and with what respectful deference they endeavored to escape other subjects of future controversy. "The House," says the governor, "from the time of opening the session to this day, has shown a disposition to avoid all dispute with me; everything having passed with as much good humor as I could desire, except only their continuing to act in addressing the king, remonstrating to the Secretary of State, and employing a separate agent. It is the importance of this innovation, without any wilfulness of my own, which induces me to make this remonstrance at a time, when I have a fair prospect of having in all other business nothing but good to say of the proceedings of the House."

"They have acted in all things, even in their remonstrance, with temper and moderation; they have avoided some subjects of dispute, and have laid a foundation for removing some causes of former altercation."

"I shall make such a prudent and proper use of this letter as I hope will perfectly restore the peace and tranquillity of this province, for which purpose considerable steps have been made by the House of Representatives."

The vindication of the province of Massachusetts Bay contained in these letters, will have greater force if it be considered that they were written several months after the fresh alarm given to the colonies by the statutes passed in the preceding year.

In this place it seems proper to take notice of the insinuation of one of those statutes, that the interference of Parliament was necessary to provide for "defraying the charges of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and defending the king's dominions in America."

As to the first two articles of expense, every colony had made such provision as by their respective assemblies, the best judges on such occasions, was thought expedient and suitable to their several circumstances; respecting the last, it is well known to all men, the least acquainted with American affairs, that the colonies were established and generally defended themselves without the least assistance from Great Britain; and that at the time of her taxing them by the statutes before mentioned, most of them were laboring

under very heavy debts contracted in the last war. So far were they from sparing their money when their sovereign constitutionally asked their aids, that during the course of that war Parliament repeatedly made them compensations for the expenses of those strenuous efforts which, consulting their zeal rather than their strength, they had cheerfully incurred.

Severe as the acts of Parliament before mentioned are, yet the conduct of administration hath been equally injurious and irritating to this devoted country.

Under pretence of governing them, so many new institutions uniformly rigid and dangerous have been introduced, as could only be expected from incensed masters for collecting the tribute or rather the plunder of conquered provinces.

By an order of the king, the authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him of the brigadier-generals, in time of peace, is rendered supreme in all civil governments in America, and thus an uncontrollable military power is vested in officers not known to the constitutions of these colonies.

A large body of troops, and a considerable armament of ships of war, have been sent to assist in taking their money without their consent.

Expensive and oppressive offices have been multiplied, and the acts of corruption industriously practised to divide and destroy.

The judges of the admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects to be condemned by themselves.

The commissioners of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

Judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on the crown for their commissions and salaries. A court has been established at Rhode Island for the purpose of taking colonists to England to be tried. Humble and reasonable petitions from the representatives of the people have been frequently treated with contempt, and assemblies have been repeatedly and arbitrarily dissolved.

From some few instances it will sufficiently appear on what pretences of justice those dissolutions have been founded.

The tranquillity of the colonies having been

again disturbed, as has been mentioned, by the statutes of the year 1767, the Earl of Hillsborough, Secretary of State, in a letter to Governor Bernard, dated April 22, 1768, censures the "presumption" of the House of Representatives for "resolving upon a measure of so inflammatory a nature, as that of writing to the other colonies on the subject of their intended representations against some late acts of Parliament," then declares that "his Majesty considers this step as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations, to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of Parliament," and afterwards adds, "It is the king's pleasure, that as soon as the general court is again assembled at the time prescribed by the charter, you should require of the House of Representatives, in His Majesty's name, to rescind the resolutions which gave birth to the circular letter from the speaker, and to declare their disapprobation of and dissent to that rash and hasty proceeding."

"If the new assembly should refuse to comply with his majesty's reasonable expectation, it is the king's pleasure that you should immediately dissolve them."

This letter being laid before the House, and the resolution not being rescinded, according to order the assembly was dissolved. A letter of a similar nature was sent to other governors to procure resolutions approving the conduct of the Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, to be rescinded also; and the Houses of Representatives in other colonies refusing to comply, assemblies were dissolved.

These mandates spoke a language to which the ears of English subjects had for several generations been strangers. The nature of assemblies implies a power and right of deliberation; but these commands proscribing the exercise of judgment on the propriety of the requisitions made, left to the assemblies only the election between dictated submission and threatened punishment: a punishment, too, founded on no other act than such as is deemed innocent even in slaves, of agreeing in petitions for redress of grievances that equally affect all.

The hostile and unjustifiable invasion of the town of Boston soon followed these events in the same year; though that town, the province in which it is situated, and all the colonies, from

abhorrence of a contest with their parent state, permitted the execution even of those statutes against which they were so unanimously complaining, remonstrating, and supplicating.

Administration, determined to subdue a spirit of freedom which English ministers should have rejoiced to cherish, entered into a monopolizing combination with the East India company to send to this continent vast quantities of tea, an article on which a duty was laid by a statute that in a particular manner attacked the liberties of America, and which, therefore, the inhabitants of these colonies had resolved not to import. The cargo sent to South Carolina was stored and not allowed to be sold. Those sent to Philadelphia and New York were not permitted to be landed. That sent to Boston was destroyed, because Governor Hutchinson would not suffer it to be returned.

On the intelligence of these transactions arriving in Great Britain, the public-spirited town last mentioned was singled out for destruction, and it was determined the province it belongs to should partake of its fate. In the last session of Parliament, therefore, were passed the acts for shutting up the port of Boston, indemnifying the murderers of the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, and changing their chartered constitution of government. To enforce these acts, that province is again invaded by a fleet and army.

To mention these outrageous proceedings, is sufficient to explain them. For though it is pretended the province of Massachusetts Bay has been particularly disrespectful to Great Britain, yet, in truth, the behavior of the people in other colonies has been an equal "opposition to the power assumed by Parliament." No step, however, has been taken against any of the rest. This artful conduct conceals several designs. It is expected that the province of Massachusetts Bay will be irritated into some violent action that may displease the rest of the continent, or that may induce the people of Great Britain to approve the meditated vengeance of an imprudent and exasperated ministry. If the unexampled pacific temper of that province shall disappoint this part of the plan, it is hoped the other colonies will be so far intimidated as to desert their brethren suffering in a common cause, and that thus united all may be subdued.

To promote these designs another measure has been pursued. In the session of Parliament

last mentioned, an act was passed for changing the government of Quebec, by which act the Roman Catholic religion, instead of being tolerated, as stipulated by the treaty of peace, is established, and the people there are deprived of a right to an Assembly, trials by jury, and the English laws in civil cases are abolished, and instead thereof, the French laws are established, in direct violation of his majesty's promise by his royal proclamation, under the faith of which many English subjects settled in that province; and the limits of that province are extended so as to comprehend those vast regions that lie adjoining to the northerly and westerly boundaries of these colonies.

The authors of this arbitrary arrangement flatter themselves that the inhabitants, deprived of liberty, and artfully provoked against those of another religion, will be proper instruments for assisting in the oppression of such as differ from them in modes of government and faith.

From the detail of facts hereinbefore recited, as well as from authentic intelligence received, it is clear, beyond a doubt, that a resolution is formed, and now carrying into execution, to extinguish the freedom of these colonies, by subjecting them to a despotic government.

At this unhappy period, we have been authorized and directed to meet and consult together, for the welfare of our common country. We accepted the important trust with diffidence, but have endeavored to discharge it with integrity. Though the state of these colonies would certainly justify other measures than we have advised, yet weighty reasons determined us to prefer those which we have adopted. In the first place, it appeared to us a conduct becoming the character these colonies have ever sustained, to perform, even in the midst of the unnatural distresses and immediate dangers which surround them, every act of loyalty, and, therefore, we were induced once more to offer to his majesty the petitions of his faithful and oppressed subjects in America. Secondly, regarding, with the tender affection which we knew to be so universal among our countrymen, the people of the kingdom from which we derive our origin, we could not forbear to regulate our steps by an expectation of receiving full conviction that the colonists are equally dear to them. Between these provinces and that body subsists the social band, which we

ardently wish may never be dissolved, and which cannot be dissolved, until their minds shall become indisputably hostile, or their inattention shall permit those who are thus hostile, to persist in prosecuting, with the powers of the realm, the destructive measures already operating against the colonists, and in either case, shall reduce the latter to such a situation, that they shall be compelled to renounce every regard but that of self-preservation. Notwithstanding the violence with which affairs have been impelled, they have not yet reached that fatal point. We do not incline to accelerate their motion, already alarmingly rapid; we have chosen a method of opposition that does not preclude a hearty reconciliation with our fellow-citizens on the other side of the Atlantic. We deeply deplore the urgent necessity that presses us to an immediate interruption of commerce that may prove injurious to them. We trust they will acquit us of any unkind intentions towards them, by reflecting that we are driven by the hands of violence into unexperienced and unexpected public convulsions, and that we are contending for freedom, so often contended for by our ancestors.

The people of England will soon have an opportunity of declaring their sentiments concerning our cause. In their piety, generosity, and good sense, we repose high confidence; and cannot, upon a review of past events, be persuaded that they, the defenders of true religion, and the asserters of the rights of mankind, will take part against their affectionate Protestant brethren in the colonies, in favor of our open and their own secret enemies, whose intrigues, for several years past, have been wholly exercised in sapping the foundations of civil and religious liberty.

Another reason that engaged us to prefer the commercial mode of opposition, arose from an assurance that the mode will prove efficacious, if it be persisted in with fidelity and virtue; and that your conduct will be influenced by these laudable principles, cannot be questioned. Your own salvation, and that of your posterity, now depends upon yourselves. You have already shown that you entertain a proper sense of the blessings you are striving to retain. Against the temporary inconveniences you may suffer from a stoppage of trade, you will weigh in the opposite balance, the endless miseries you and your descendants must endure from an established arbitrary power.

You will not forget the honor of your country, that must, from your behavior, take its title in the estimation of the world, to glory, or to shame; and you will, with the deepest attention, reflect, that if the peaceable mode of opposition recommended by us, be broken and rendered ineffectual, as your cruel and haughty ministerial enemies, from a contemptuous opinion of your firmness, in solently predict will be the case, you must inevitably be reduced to choose either a more dangerous contest, or a final, ruinous, and infamous submission.

Motives thus cogent, arising from the emergency of your unhappy condition, must excite your utmost diligence and zeal, to give all possible strength and energy to the pacific measures calculated for your relief: but we think ourselves bound, in duty, to observe to you, that the schemes agitated against these colonies, have been so conducted, as to render it prudent that you should extend your views to mournful events, and be, in all respects, prepared for every contingency. Above all things, we earnestly entreat you, with devotion of spirit, penitence of heart, and amendment of life, to humble yourselves, and implore the favor of Almighty God: and we fervently beseech his divine goodness to take you into his gracious protection.

IV.—PETITION OF CONGRESS TO THE KING.*

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:—WE, your majesty's faithful subjects, of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

A standing army has been kept in these colonies ever since the conclusion of the late war, without the consent of our assemblies; and this army,

* Adopted October 26, 1774.

with a considerable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

The authority of the commander-in-chief, and under him the brigadier-general, has in time of peace been rendered supreme in all the civil governments in America.

The commander-in-chief of all your majesty's forces in North America, has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony.

The charges of usual officers have been greatly increased, and new, expensive, and oppressive offices have been multiplied.

The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are empowered to receive their salaries and fees from the effects condemned by themselves.

The officers of the customs are empowered to break open and enter houses without the authority of any civil magistrate, founded on legal information.

The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legislature for their salaries, as well as for the duration of their commissions.

Counsellors, holding their commissions during pleasure, exercise legislative authority.

Humble and reasonable petitions, from the representatives of the people, have been fruitless.

The agents of the people have been discountenanced, and governors have been instructed to prevent the payment of the salaries.

Assemblies have been repeatedly and injuriously dissolved.

Commerce has been burdened with many useless and oppressive restrictions.

By several Acts of Parliament made in the fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth years of your majesty's reign, duties are imposed on us for the purpose of raising a revenue; and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits, whereby our property is taken from us without our consent, the trial by jury in many civil cases is abolished, enormous forfeitures are incurred for slight offences, vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages to which they are justly liable, and oppressive security is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

Both Houses of Parliament have resolved that colonists may be tried in England for offences alleged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a statute passed in the thirty-fifth year

of Henry the Eighth, and in consequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that statute.

A statute was passed in the twelfth year of your majesty's reign, directing that persons charged with committing any offence therein described in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm, whereby inhabitants of these colonies may, in sundry cases, by that statute made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

In the last session of Parliament an act was passed for blocking up the harbor of Boston; another, empowering the governor of the Massachusetts Bay, to send persons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to Great Britain, for trial, whereby such offenders may escape legal punishment; a third, for altering the chartered constitution of government in that province; and a fourth, for altering the limits of Quebec, abolishing the English and restoring the French laws, whereby great numbers of British Frenchmen are subjected to the latter, and establishing an absolute government and the Roman Catholic religion throughout those vast regions that border on the westerly and northerly boundaries of the free, Protestant, English settlements; and a fifth, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers, in his majesty's service, in North America.

To a sovereign, who glories in the name of Britain, the bare recital of these acts must, we presume, justify the loyal subjects, who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection against them.

From this destructive system of colony administration, adopted since the conclusion of the last war, have flowed those distresses, dangers, fears, and jealousies, that overwhelm your majesty's dutiful colonists with affliction; and we defy our most subtle and inveterate enemies to trace the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies from an earlier period, or from other causes, than we have assigned.

Had they proceeded on our part from a restless levity of temper, unjust impulses of ambition, or artful suggestions of seditious persons, we should merit the opprobrious terms frequently bestowed upon us by those we revere. But so far from promoting innovations, we have only opposed them, and can be charged with no offence, unless

it be one to receive injuries, and be sensible of them.

Had our Creator been pleased to give us existence in a land of slavery, the sense of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit. But, thanks be to his adorable goodness, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auspices of your royal ancestors, whose family was seated on the throne to rescue and secure a pious and gallant nation from the popery and despotism of a superstitious and inexorable tyrant. Your majesty, we are confident, justly rejoices that your title to the crown is thus founded on the title of your people to liberty; and, therefore, we doubt not but your royal wisdom must approve the sensibility that teaches your subjects anxiously to guard the blessing they received from divine Providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact which elevated the illustrious house of Brunswick to the imperial dignity it now possesses.

The apprehension of being degraded into a state of servitude, from the pre-eminent rank of English freemen, while our minds retain the strongest love of liberty, and clearly foresee the miseries preparing for us and our posterity, excites emotions in our breasts, which, though we cannot describe, we should not wish to conceal. Feeling as men, and thinking as subjects in the manner we do, silence would be disloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do all in our power to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people.

Duty to your majesty, and regard for the preservation of ourselves and our posterity, the primary obligations of nature and society, command us to entreat your royal attention; and as your majesty enjoys the signal distinction of reigning over freemen, we apprehend the language of freemen cannot be displeasing. Your royal indignation, we hope, will rather fall on those designing and dangerous men, who, daringly interposing themselves between your royal person and your faithful subjects, and for several years past incessantly employed to dissolve the bonds of society, by abusing your majesty's authority, misrepresenting your American subjects, and prosecuting the most desperate and irritating projects of oppression, have at length compelled us, by the force of

accumulated injuries, too severe to be any longer tolerable, to disturb your majesty's repose by our complaints.

These sentiments are extorted from hearts that much more willingly would bleed in your majesty's service. Yet so greatly have we been misrepresented, that a necessity has been alleged of taking away our property from us without our consent, "to defray the charge of the administration of justice, the support of civil government, and the defence, protection, and security of the colonies." But we beg leave to assure your majesty, that such provision has been, and will be made for defraying the two first articles, as has been, and shall be judged, by the legislatures of the several colonies, just and suitable to their respective circumstances: and, for the defence, protection, and security of the colonies, their militia, if properly regulated, as they earnestly desire may immediately be done, would be fully sufficient, at least in times of peace; and, in case of war, your faithful colonists will be ready and willing, as they ever have been, when constitutionally required, to demonstrate their loyalty to your majesty, by exerting their most strenuous efforts in granting supplies and raising forces. Yielding to no British subjects in affectionate attachment to your majesty's person, family, and government, we too dearly prize the privilege of expressing that attachment by those proofs, that are honorable to the prince who receives them, and to the people who give them, ever to resign it to any body of men upon earth.

Had we been permitted to enjoy, in quiet, the inheritance left us by our forefathers, we should, at this time, have been peaceably, cheerfully, and usefully employed in recommending ourselves, by every testimony of devotion, to your majesty, and of veneration to the state from which we derive our origin. But though now exposed to unexpected and unnatural scenes of distress, by a contention with that nation, in whose parental guidance on all important affairs, we have hitherto, with filial reverence, constantly trusted, and therefore can derive no instruction in our present unhappy and perplexing circumstances from any former experience; yet we doubt not, the purity of our intention, and the integrity of our conduct, will justify us at that grand tribunal, before which all mankind must submit to judgment.

We ask but for peace, liberty, and safety.

We wish not a diminution of the prerogative, nor do we solicit the grant of any new right in our favor. Your royal authority over us, and our connection with Great Britain, we shall always carefully and zealously endeavor to support and maintain.

Filled with sentiments of duty to your majesty, and of affection to our parent state, deeply impressed by our education, and strongly confirmed by our reason, and anxious to evince the sincerity of these dispositions, we present this petition only to obtain redress of grievances, and relief from fears and jealousies occasioned by the system of statutes and regulations adopted since the close of the late war, for raising a revenue in America; extending the powers of courts of admiralty and vice-admiralty; trying persons in Great Britain for offences alleged to be committed in America, affecting the province of Massachusetts Bay; and altering the government and extending the limits of Quebec; by the abolition of which system, the harmony between Great Britain and these colonies, so necessary to the happiness of both, and so ardently desired by the latter, and the usual intercourses will be immediately restored. In the magnanimity and justice of your Majesty and Parliament, we confide for a redress of our other grievances, trusting that when the causes of our apprehensions are removed, our future conduct will prove us not unworthy of the regard we have been accustomed, in our happier days, to enjoy. For, appealing to that Being who searches, thoroughly, the hearts

of his creatures, we solemnly profess that our councils have been influenced by no other motives than a dread of impending destruction.

Permit us, then, most gracious Sovereign, in the name of all your faithful people in America, with the utmost humility, to implore you, for the honor of Almighty God, whose pure religion our enemies are undermining; for your glory, which can be advanced only by rendering your subjects happy, and keeping them united; for the interests of your family, depending on an adherence to the principles that enthroned it; for the safety and welfare of your kingdoms and dominions, threatened with almost unavoidable dangers and distresses; that your majesty, as the loving father of your whole people, connected by the same bonds of law, loyalty, faith, and blood, though dwelling in various countries, will not suffer the transcendent relation formed by these ties to be further violated, in uncertain expectation of effects, that, if attained, never can compensate for the calamities through which they must be gained.

We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your majesty, that your royal authority and interposition may be used for our relief, and that a gracious answer may be given to this petition.

That your majesty may enjoy every felicity through a long and glorious reign, over loyal and happy subjects, and that your descendants may inherit your prosperity and dominions till time shall be no more, is, and always will be, our sincere and fervent prayer.

CHAPTER XIII.

1775.

THE LAST YEAR OF COLONIAL DEPENDENCE.

The spirit roused by the battle of Lexington — Stark and Putnam — Washington's sentiments — Action of Massachusetts Congress — Troops raised — Boston besieged — Ward captain-general — Ethan Allen and Green Mountain Boys — Ticonderoga taken — Crown Point also — Second Continental Congress — Difficulties and embarrassments in its way — Time of trial — Course pursued — Various papers issued — Congress authorize \$3,000,000 in paper money — Provincial Congress in New York — Appointment of a commander-in-chief — Not an easy question to decide — Washington unanimously chosen — His acceptance and speech — Declines all pay for services — His commission — Four major-generals and eight brigadier-generals appointed — Washington enters upon his duties — Arrival of reinforcements at Boston — Gage purposes active measures — Breed's Hill fortified by mistake — British greatly surprised — Attempt to dislodge the Americans — Battle of Bunker Hill — Great slaughter of the royal troops — Importance of this battle — Loss of Warren — Washington finds the army sadly in want of every thing — Vigorous efforts to organize and discipline the army — Further issue of paper money by Congress — Papers set forth by Congress — Efforts as respected the Indians — Speech to these — Colonel Guy Johnson's course — Georgia joins the other colonies — Delegates sent — THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES — Washington's trials and vexations — Necessity of a regular army — Correspondence with General Gage — Large body of colonists not yet ready for separation from the mother country — Documents quoted — Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence — Expedition into Canada — Montreal taken — Quebec assaulted — Montgomery killed — Americans finally driven out of Canada — Washington confers with Congress as to the troops — Council of war decide against Washington's wish to attack Boston — Outrages by English vessels — Congress lay the foundation of the Navy. APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII. — I. A Declaration setting forth the causes and necessity of the colonies taking up arms. — II. Second Petition to the King.

It is well nigh impossible for us, at this day, fully to realize the intense and burning indignation which was aroused throughout the length and breadth of the land, by the news of the battle at Lexington. Blood had
1775. been shed; and the blood of murdered brethren cried from the ground for vengeance. Volunteers immediately hastened towards the scene of action, and within a few days Boston was besieged by the outraged people. Stark, of New Hampshire, ten minutes after the news reached him, was on his way to join the patriot force. Israel Putnam, of Connecticut, sixty years of age, was peacefully occupied in ploughing, when the tidings of the battle

arrived, and he left his plough in the field, and without even going to his house, sped on his way to the camp. All Virginia was aroused. Lord Dunmore had attempted a similar exploit to that of Gage, in seizing upon military stores, which caused great excitement, and nothing but timely concession on the part of the governor prevented bloodshed. In New York, in Philadelphia, and farther south, the spirit of the people showed how deeply they sympathized with their countrymen in Massachusetts. It was felt everywhere that the sword had been drawn, and that now the contest must be decided by the sword. "Unhappy is it," said Washington, writing to Fair-

fax in England, in regard to the deplorable commencement of hostilities at Lexington, "to reflect, that a brother's sword has been sheathed in a brother's breast; and that the once happy and peaceful plains of America are to be either drenched with blood or inhabited by slaves. Sad alternative! *But can a virtuous man hesitate in his choice?*"

The Massachusetts Congress was in session at the time, and immediately took measures for sending depositions to England, to prove—as was no doubt the case—that the British troops were the aggressors. They also, while
 1776. professing undiminished loyalty to the king, "appealed to heaven for the justice of their cause, and determined to die or be free." The forts, magazines, and arsenals, were speedily seized upon by the people in all directions. Troops were raised, and a new issue of paper money made. Boston was soon besieged by a force of twenty thousand men, who formed a line of encampment from Roxbury to the River Mystic. Artemas Ward was appointed captain-general of the troops thus brought together from the neighboring colonies, who promptly determined to sustain Massachusetts in the impending conflict.

Some bold spirits, perceiving clearly that war was at hand, had conceived a plan for capturing Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Ethan Allen* with his

Green Mountain Boys, less than three hundred in number, assembled at Castleton, May 2d, and were there joined by Benedict Arnold, who had also set out on the same errand. Arnold had a

in his Gazette, and Allen had declared with an oath that "he would lick him the very first opportunity he had." We quote Rivington himself for the rest of the story. "I was sitting," says he, "after a good dinner, alone, with my bottle of madeira before me, when I heard an unusual noise in the street, and a huzza from the boys. I was in the second story, and stepping to the window, saw a tall figure in tarnished regimentals, with a large cocked hat and an enormous long sword, followed by a crowd of boys, who occasionally cheered him with huzzas, of which he seemed insensible. He came up to my door and stopped. I could see no more. My heart told me it was Ethan Allen. I shut down my window, and retired behind my table and bottle. I was certain the hour of reckoning had come. There was no retreat. Mr. Staples, my clerk, came in paler than ever, and clasping his hands, said, 'Master, he is come!' 'I know it.' 'He entered the store and asked, if James Rivington lived there.' I answered, 'Yes, sir.' 'Is he at home?' 'I will go and see, sir,' I said. 'And now, master, what is to be done? There he is in the store, and the boys peeping at him from the street.' I had made up my mind. I looked at the bottle of madeira—possibly took a glass. 'Show him up,' said I; 'and if such madeira cannot mollify him, he must be harder than adamant.' There was a fearful moment of suspense. I heard him on the stairs, his long sword clanking at every step. In he stalked. 'Is your name James Rivington?' 'It is, sir, and no man could be more happy than I am to see Colonel Ethan Allen.' 'Sir, I have come—' 'Not another word, my dear colonel, until you have taken a seat and a glass of old madeira.' 'But, sir, I don't think it proper—' 'Not another word, colonel. Taste this wine; I have had it in glass for ten years. Old wine, you know, unless it is originally sound, never improves by age.' He took the glass, swallowed the wine, smacked his lips, and shook his head approvingly. 'Sir, I come—' 'Not another word until you have taken another glass, and then, my dear colonel, we will talk of old affairs, and I have some droll events to detail.' In short, we finished two bottles of madeira, and parted as good friends as if we had never had cause to be otherwise."—De Puy's "*Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Heroes of '76*," p. 262.

* A good story is told of the Vermont hero at a later date, when he was a prisoner on parole in New York. Rivington, the king's printer, had said some very severe and offensive things of the whigs,

colonel's commission from Massachusetts, and claimed the command; but the Vermonters refused flatly, and he was forced to serve as volunteer or not at all. The party arrived at Shoreham, opposite Ticonderoga, on the night of the 9th of May. Never dreaming of such a thing as an attack, the vigilance of the garrison was quite relaxed. Having obtained a boy, named Nathan Beman, as a guide, Allen and Arnold crossed over during the night with only eighty-three of their men, the rest being unable to follow them for want of a supply of boats. Landed under the walls of the fort, they found their position extremely critical; the dawn was beginning to break, and unless they could succeed in instantly surprising the garrison, they ran themselves the most imminent risk of capture. Ethan Allen did not hesitate a moment, but, drawing up his men, briefly explained to them the position of affairs, and then, with Arnold by his side, hurried up immediately to the sally-port. The sentinel snapped his fusee at them, and rushing into the fort, the Americans followed close at his heels, and entering the open parade, awoke the sleeping garrison with three hearty cheers. The English soldiers started from their beds, and rushing below, were immediately taken prisoners. Meanwhile Allen, attended by his guide, hurried up to the chamber of the commandant, Captain Delaplace, who was in bed, and knocking at his door with the hilt of his huge sword, ordered him in a stentorian voice to make his instant appearance, or the entire garrison should immediately be put to death. The

commandant appeared at his door, half dressed, "the frightened face of his pretty wife peering over his shoulder." Gazing in bewildered astonishment at Allen, he exclaimed, "By whose authority do you act?" "In the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress!" replied Allen, with a flourish of his long sword, and, we are sorry to say, with an oath following it. There was no alternative and Delaplace surrendered. Two days afterwards, Crown Point was surprized and taken. More than two hundred pieces of artillery, and a large and valuable supply of powder, which was greatly needed, fell into the hands of the Americans. By these daring movements, the command of Lakes George and Champlain was won, and the great highway to Canada was thrown open.

The Second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia on the 10th of May. Peyton Randolph was again chosen president and **1775.** Charles Thomson secretary. Randolph being obliged to be absent in Virginia, Hancock was placed in the chair. The crisis had now been reached, and it was felt at once what an exceedingly difficult and responsible position Congress now occupied. At the meeting of the First Congress, war was apprehended; now it had commenced; and it must be pushed on with vigor. Then, as it usually happens in all new enterprises, minds were full of ardor, and tended, by a certain natural proclivity, towards the object; at present, though greatly inflamed by the same sentiments, it was to be feared they might cool, in consequence of those vicissitudes so common in



CAPTIVE OF NORDI TICHONKOFF.

From the "North American Review," Vol. 1, No. 1, 1854.

popular movements, always more easy to excite than to maintain. A great number of loyalists, believing that things would not come to the last extremities, and that either the petitions sent to England would dispose the government to condescend to the desires of the Americans, or that, in time, the latter would become tranquil, had hitherto kept themselves quiet; but it was to be feared, that at present, seeing all hope of reconciliation vanished, and war, no longer probable, but already waged against that king towards whom they wished to remain faithful, they would break out, and join themselves to the royal forces, against the authors of the revolution. It was even to be doubted, whether many of the partisans of liberty, who had placed great hope in the petitions, would not falter at the prospect of impending losses and inevitable dangers. Every thing indicated that the contest would prove long and sanguinary. It was little to be expected, that a population, until then pacific, and engaged in the arts of agriculture, and of commerce, could all at once learn that of war, and devote themselves to it with constancy, and without reserve. It was much more natural to imagine, that, upon the abating of this first fervor, the softer image of their former life recurring to their minds, they would abandon their colors, and implore the clemency of the conqueror. It was, therefore, an enterprise of no little difficulty for Congress to form regulations and take measures, capable of maintaining the zeal of the people, and to impart to its proceedings the influence which at first had

been given to its acts by public opinion. Discipline was to be enforced; money was to be raised; arms and military stores to be obtained; and due regard to be had to the securing help from abroad. The position and course of the Indian tribes were also to be carefully attended to; for it was greatly to be feared that the English could offer them inducements to join against the Americans far greater than any counter inducements which the colonists could name.*

Anxious to preserve the appearance at least of conciliation, "An Humble and Dutiful Address" to the king was drawn up by Dickinson, and passed, though not without great opposition from the New England members. Addresses to the People of Great Britain, to the People of Ireland, and to the "Oppressed Inhabitants of Canada," were also prepared, and a day of fasting and prayer was appointed. "These papers," says Pitkin, "breathed the same ardent love of liberty, contained the same dignified sentiments, evinced the same determined purpose of soul, and the same consciousness of the justice of their cause, as those of the former session. Nor were they couched in language less bold and energetic, on the subject of their rights, or less affectionate towards those to whom they were addressed."

From the necessity of the case, Congress proceeded to exercise the authority called for by the present emergency.

* See Curtis's "*History of the Constitution*," vol. i., p. 30-41, where the position of the Second Continental Congress and the Formation and Character of the Revolutionary Government are ably discussed.

It was voted that the colonies ought to be put in a posture of defence; and Congress ordered the enlistment of troops, the construction of forts at various points, the provision of arms, ammunition and military stores, etc. In order to meet the expense of these various measures, they authorized the emission of notes to the amount of \$3,000,000, bearing the inscription of "THE UNITED COLONIES;" the faith of the confederacy being pledged for their redemption. The Massachusetts Convention had requested Congress to assume the direction of the forces before Boston; and it was now resolved to raise ten additional companies of riflemen in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, to be paid out of the public funds. Committees were appointed to prepare reports on subjects connected with the defence of the country, and such was the opinion already entertained of Washington's abilities and judgment, that he was chosen to preside over them. While sincerely desirous of effecting an amicable settlement of the questions in dispute with the mother country, Washington had already come to the conclusion that an appeal to arms was inevitable, and he was in favor of making vigorous preparation for so momentous an issue.

Towards the close of April, the people of New York met in Convention, and appointed delegates to represent that province in Congress. About a month later, they asked the advice of Congress, as to the course to be pursued towards the troops soon expected to arrive there from England. That body gave advice adapted to the

circumstances, recommending the people to be wary and vigilant, and, if need be, to repel force by force. They also recommended the removal of military stores to a place of safety, the providing for the security of the women and children, and the being ready to defend themselves against insult and injury. Royalist influence was strong in New York; and a plan for conciliation then proposed, like all others, in a conjuncture such as existed at the time, asked too much for Parliament to grant, and yielded more than the people generally were willing to admit. 1775.

The appointment of a commander-in-chief of the Continental Army was one of the most difficult and delicate duties which Congress was at any time called upon to discharge. There were several men of note, who might reasonably aspire to this distinguished honor; there were local jealousies and prejudices in the way of unanimity; and it was of the very highest importance, that the man selected should be acceptable to all the colonies. The subject was debated among the members with some anxiety, and a profound sense of the magnitude of the interests involved. Washington seemed, on the whole, from the very first, to be the most acceptable; but as there were older men in arms, as General Ward was already in command before Boston, as military etiquette is always a most troublesome matter to deal with, it became somewhat doubtful how the appointment of Washington would be received. On the other hand, the importance of Virginia in the impending

struggle with the mother country, and the necessity of doing every thing reasonable to keep alive the ardent patriotism and self-sacrificing spirits of its wealthy aristocracy, rendered it every way desirable to choose a commander-in-chief from that colony. Accordingly, June 15th, Washington was nominated by Johnson of Maryland, and unanimously chosen.* We who have the advantage of retrospect, can now see most clearly, that Washington was *the* man, if not the *only* man, competent for the discharge of the duties which were imposed upon him. All his previous course had tended to fit him for the post, and we may reverently believe, that God favored the cause of our country, when He raised up such a man to take command of her army, and conduct to a successful issue the American Revolution.

The next day Washington returned thanks to the House for the signal honor done him by Congress, and modestly expressing his doubt in respect to his fitness for the post, and asking it to be remembered by every gentleman in the room, in view of what might happen, that he did not think himself equal to the command placed in his trust, he begged to decline receiving any pay for his services. "As no pecuniary consideration could have tempted me," were his words, "to accept this arduous employment, at the

expense of my domestic ease and happiness, I do not wish to make any profit from it. I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, Congress will discharge; and that is all I desire."

On the 20th of June, Washington received his commission,* and the members of Congress pledged themselves, by a unanimous resolve, to maintain, assist, and adhere to him, with their lives and fortunes, in the 1775. cause of liberty and right. Four major-generals, Artemas Ward, Israel Putnam, Philip Schuyler, and Charles Lee, were appointed directly after; as were also eight brigadier-generals, Seth Pomeroy, Richard Montgomery, David Wooster, William Heath, Joseph

* It was in the following words: "To George Washington, Esq. :—We, reposing special trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do, by these presents, constitute and appoint you to be general and commander-in-chief of the army of the United Colonies, and of all the forces now raised, or to be raised by them, and of all others who shall voluntarily offer their services, and join the said army for the defence of American Liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof; and you are hereby vested with full power and authority to act as you shall think for the good and welfare of the service. And we do hereby strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders, and diligent in the exercise of their several duties. And we do also enjoin and require you, to be careful in executing the great trust reposed in you, by causing strict discipline and order to be observed in the army, and that the soldiers be duly exercised, and provided with all convenient necessaries. And you are to regulate your conduct in every respect, by the rules and discipline of war, (as here given you,) and punctually to observe and follow such orders and directions, from time to time, as you shall receive from this, or a future Congress of these United Colonies, or committee of Congress. This commission is to continue in force, until revoked by this, or a future Congress

Signed, JOHN HANCOCK, President."

* Mr. Curtis has a long and interesting note on this point, the conclusion of which is, "There can be no doubt, that Washington was chosen commander-in-chief for his unquestionable merits, and not as a compromise between sectional interests and local jealousies."—*History of the Constitution*, vol. i., p. 41-48.

Spencer, John Thomas, John Sullivan, and Nathaniel Greene. Horatio Gates, at Washington's request, was added, as adjutant-general, with the rank of brigadier. Both Gates and Lee were foreign born, and Congress would not have appointed them to these high posts, had not Washington requested it. Unfortunately they were, both of them, sources of trouble and annoyance to the commander-in-chief at a later date.

Washington made all speed to enter upon his command. He left Philadelphia on the 21st of June, receiving everywhere on the road the most cordial expressions of regard and confidence;* heard in New York the news of the battle of Bunker's Hill; and, on the 2d of July, reached head-quarters at Cambridge. It is hardly needful to say, that the army received him with enthusiasm and hearty welcome.

Previous to this, at the latter end of May, General Gage had received large reinforcements, under Burgoyne, Clinton, and Howe. As the ships entered the harbor, says Mr. Irving, and the "rebel camp" was pointed out, ten thousand yeomanry beleaguering a town garrisoned by five thousand reg-

ulars, Burgoyne could not restrain a burst of surprise and scorn. "What!" cried he, "ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king's troops shut up! Well; let us get in, and we'll soon find elbow room." On the 12th of June, Gage proclaimed the province under martial law, offering pardon to all who would lay down their arms, excepting, however, John Hancock, and Samuel Adams, whose offences, it was said, were "too flagitious, not to meet with condign punishment." The Continental troops now numbered some sixteen thousand men, and it was thought high time for something more decisive to be done. Private information having been received, that Gage intended to assume the offensive, Colonel Prescott, in order more completely to cut off the communication with the country, was dispatched with about a thousand men, including a company of artillery and two field-pieces, to proceed at nightfall and take possession of Bunker's Hill, a bold eminence at the northern extremity of the peninsula of Charlestown. By some mistake, however, the party went past Bunker's Hill, and commenced operations on Breed's Hill, near the southern termination of the peninsula, and overlooking and commanding Boston. There, directed by the engineer, Colonel Gridley, and under cover of the darkness, they worked away, silently, but very vigorously; so that when morning dawned, they had thrown up a considerable redoubt on the crest of the hill, and were still actively employed in endeavoring to complete the remainder of the entrenchments.

* In New York, Mr. Livingston, as president of the New York Congress, delivered a congratulatory address to Washington. The latter part of it is worth quoting, because of its significant hint of the prevalent unwillingness to entrust extensive military powers to any man: "Confiding in you, sir, and in the worthy generals immediately under your command, we have the most flattering hopes of success in the glorious struggle for American liberty, and the fullest assurances, that whenever this important contest shall be decided, by that fondest wish of every American soul, an accommodation with our mother country, you will cheerfully resign the important deposit committed to your hands, and reassume the character of our worthiest citizen."



It was a matter of very great astonishment to the British general, to find that the Americans had dared to take the bold step of occupying the hill, where they were entrenching themselves. A cannonading was immediately opened upon them by the ships in the harbor and the batteries in Boston. But the provincials, though at first somewhat shaken by the death of one of their party, who had ventured outside the works, labored on, undisturbed by the firing of the British. By noon, they had thrown up a breastwork, extending from the redoubt down the northern slope of the hill toward the water. It was plain, that if the Americans succeeded in mounting cannon in the redoubt, they would command the harbor, and might render it impossible to hold Boston itself. General Gage, therefore, resolved to dislodge the Americans at once. Despising the raw militia, he ordered the troops to land in front of the works, and push directly up the hill, it never having entered his mind that they would stand their ground against veteran soldiers. Three thousand men, picked corps of the British army, led by Generals Howe and Pigot, undertook this service of expelling the Americans from their position. To all appearance this would not be a difficult task; for the provincial troops, jaded with their severe work through the night just past, hungry and thirsty, having brought but scanty supplies, oppressed by the heat, and unsupported by reinforcements or provisions needful in the emergency, were in but an ill condition to sustain an attack from

hearty, vigorous soldiers, such as were now marching up the hill side. Yet they faltered not; they were ready to do and to die in defence of liberty. Just before the action commenced, Stark, with two New Hampshire regiments, reached the battle-ground, and took up a position on the left of the breastwork, but at some considerable distance in the rear, under cover of a novel kind of rampart, made by pulling up the rail fences, placing them in parallel lines some three or four feet apart, and filling the intervening space with new mown hay from the adjacent meadows.

It was about three in the afternoon, when the British troops advanced to the assault. Formed in two lines, and stopping at times to give the artillery opportunities to play, they marched slowly forward, confident of victory, and supported by redoubled fire from the ships and batteries. The hills all about Boston, and the roofs and steeples of the churches, were crowded with spectators, anxiously watching the approaching conflict. Not a single shot was wasted by the Americans. In deep but ominous silence, they allowed the enemy to approach within thirty or forty paces, when they opened upon them with a most deadly discharge; every shot telling upon the British troops. The slaughter was immense, and the regulars fell back in disorder to the landing place. Rallied by their officers, who were equally astounded and angry at the result, they advanced again; and again the same deadly fire, drove them back, some even retreating to the boats. Charlestown was set on

fire by Gage's orders, adding new horrors to the scene. General Clinton hastened from Boston, to give aid and encouragement, but it was with the greatest difficulty that the troops were rallied and led a third time up the hill. "The thunder of artillery from batteries and ships; the bursting of bombshells; the sharp discharges of musketry; the shouts and yells of the combatants; the crash of burning buildings, and the dense volumes of smoke, which obscured the summer sun, all formed a tremendous spectacle." The ammunition of the Americans was nearly expended, and no supply was at hand. The British troops also brought some cannon to bear, which raked the inside of the breastwork from end to end. The fire from the ships, batteries, and field artillery was incessant, and the soldiers were goaded on by their officers. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once. Under these circumstances, Prescott ordered a retreat, but the provincials delayed, and made resistance with their discharged muskets, as if they had been clubs, so long, that the regulars, who easily mounted the works, had half filled the redoubt, before it was given up to them. While these operations were going on at the breastwork and redoubt, the British light infantry were attempting to force the left point of the former, that they might take the American line in flank. Though they exhibited undaunted courage, they met with an opposition which called for its greatest exertions. The provincials here, under the veteran Stark, in like manner, reserved their fire till their adversaries

were near, and then poured it upon the light infantry, with such an incessant stream, and in so true a direction, as mowed down their ranks. The engagement was kept up on both sides with great resolution. The persevering exertions of the regulars could not compel the Americans to retreat, till they observed that their main body had left the hill. They then slowly retired, disputing the ground, inch by inch, and made good their retreat over the Neck, under a galling fire from the ships and batteries, which, however, was not productive of serious injury. They fell back, and entrenched themselves on Prospect Hill, only about a mile from the field of battle. The English troops felt no disposition to pursue them, but were content to remain in possession of their dearly bought victory.

We have dwelt somewhat at large upon the incidents just narrated. The occasion well deserves it, for no subsequent conflict was of more importance than this, in its effect upon the Americans as well as the British. It was truly, as Mr. Irving says, "most eventful in its consequences. The British had gained the ground for which they contended; but, if a victory, it was more disastrous and humiliating to them than an ordinary defeat. They had ridiculed and despised their enemy, representing them as dastardly and inefficient; yet here their best troops, led on by experienced officers, had repeatedly been repulsed by an inferior force of that enemy,—mere yeomanry,—from works thrown up in a single night, and had suffered a loss rarely paralleled in battle with the

most veteran soldiery; for, according to their own returns, their killed and wounded, out of a detachment of two thousand men, amounted to one thousand and fifty-four, and a large proportion of them officers. The loss of the Americans did not exceed four hundred and fifty. To the latter, this defeat, if defeat it might be called, had the effect of a triumph. It gave them confidence in themselves, and consequence in the eyes of their enemies. They had proved to themselves and to others, that they could measure weapons with the disciplined soldiers of Europe, and inflict the most harm in the conflict.**

Beside several officers of distinction, the greatest loss which the Americans met with, was in the death of General Warren. He had only a few days before been commissioned as major-general, and was at the time president of the Massachusetts Congress, and chairman of the Committee of Safety. Leaving his post as presiding officer in the Congress, so soon as he heard of the meditated attack upon the Americans on Bunker's Hill, he hurried to the scene of action. When he entered the redoubt, the brave and able Colonel Prescott offered him the command, but he declined taking it, saying, "I am come to learn war under an experienced soldier, not to take any command." When his countrymen were compelled to retreat, he was the last to leave the redoubt, and immediately after, a ball struck him in the head, and he fell dead on the spot. His loss was esteemed a public calamity, and produced a pro-

found impression throughout America, for no man of his age was more highly respected and beloved than Joseph Warren, "the brave, blooming, generous, self-devoted martyr of Bunker's Hill."* Perpetual honor to his memory!†

Immediately on taking command of the army, Washington made it a primary duty to ascertain its actual strength and position. He found that there were excellent materials 1775. for an army, but that they sadly lacked arms, ammunition, and military stores of every kind. He found them animated with great zeal, and prepared to follow him in the most desperate undertakings: but he soon perceived that they were unacquainted with subordination, and strangers to military discipline. The spirit of liberty which had brought them together, showed itself in all their actions. In the province of Massachusetts, the officers had

* See Everett's "*Life of Joseph Warren*," p. 53.

† Warren was, as has been truly said, "the martyr of that day's glory. His death was felt as a calamity to the *cause* and to the *nation*. He was in the prime of life, being only thirty-five years of age, with a spirit as bold and dauntless as ever was blazoned in legends, or recorded in history. He was a prudent, cautious, but fearless statesman; made to govern men, and to breathe into them a portion of his own heroic soul. His eloquence was of a high order; his voice was fine, and of great compass, and he modulated it at will. His appearance had the air of a soldier,—graceful and commanding, united to the manners of a finished gentleman. The British thought that his life was of the utmost importance to the American army; of so much importance, that they would no longer hold together after his fall. They sadly mistook the men they had to deal with. His blood was not shed in vain; *it cried from the ground* for vengeance; and his name became a watchword in the hour of peril and glory." Brave old Putnam was also in the thickest of the fight, but was spared for further service to his country.

* Irving's "*Life of Washington*," vol. i., p. 482.
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been chosen by the votes of the soldiers, and felt themselves hardly at all superior to them. The congressional and colonial authorities likewise interfered with each other, and the appointment of officers by Congress caused much jealousy and dissatisfaction. Nearly all their operations were retarded by the want of engineers. But the commander-in-chief spared no efforts to remedy these, and the like defects. He formed the soldiers into brigades, and accustomed them to obedience: he requested Congress to nominate a commissary-general and paymaster-general, which officers they had neglected to appoint. A number of the most active men were constantly employed in learning to manage the artillery; and such was the success of his diligent exertions, that in a short time the army was organized, and in great measure fit for service.

On the 24th of July, Joseph Trumbull was appointed commissary-general of the continental army. Joseph Reed, a member of the Philadelphia bar, became secretary to the commander-in-chief; subsequently, Robert H. Harrison was selected by Washington for this post of honor and trust, a post which he occupied for several years. A number of rifle companies, fourteen hundred men in all, soon after reached the camp. They came from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. Daniel Morgan, a native of New Jersey, was in command of one of these companies. He became afterwards famous in partisan warfare. These stalwart frontiersmen were a seasonable addition to the main army.

The actual force of the American army was about fourteen thousand men. They were posted on the heights around Boston, forming a line which extended from Roxbury on the right, to the River Mystic on the left, a distance of twelve miles. The British forces occupied Bunker's and Breed's Hill, and Boston Neck. This disposition of the troops greatly distressed the British, who were confined to Boston, and often obliged to risk their lives to obtain the means of sustenance. General Gage had about eleven thousand men in Boston, admirably furnished with every thing except provisions, and so closely was he hemmed in, that he dared not undertake offensive operations with any prospect of success. Washington, despite all difficulties, determined to maintain the position at present occupied by the continental troops, being confident that ere long the British must risk a battle, or evacuate the city.

Congress, meanwhile, was busily occupied with measures relating to the public good. Towards the close of June, it was voted to issue \$3,000,000 in bills of credit, for the pay of the army, and early in July, Congress adopted a "Declaration, setting forth the causes and necessity of the colonies taking up arms." The dignity, propriety, and force of this document, are worthy the reader's especial attention. He will find it in full in the Appendix to this chapter.* On the subject of again petitioning the king, there was a

* See Appendix I at the end of the present chapter.

difference of opinion; the opponents of the measure yielded, and **1775.** on July 8th, the petition was adapted. No further attempt was ever made towards a reconciliation.* Another Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain was prepared, and they were besought as "friends, countrymen, and brethren," not to sanction the tyrannous course of government towards America. Repudiating the charge that they were aiming at independence, they recounted in forcible language the injuries they had received, and the necessity they were under of defending themselves. "We are accused," they say, "of aiming at independence; but how is this accusation supported? By the allegations of your ministers, not by our actions. Abused, insulted, and contemned, what steps have we pursued to obtain redress? We have carried our dutiful petitions to the throne. We have applied to *your* justice for relief. What has been the success of our endeavors? The clemency of our sovereign is unhappily diverted; our petitions are treated with indignity; our prayers answered by insults. Our application to you remains unnoticed, and leaves us the melancholy apprehension of your wanting either the will, or the power to assist us. Even under these circumstances, what measures have we taken that betray a desire of independence? *Have we called in the aid of those foreign powers, who are the rivals of your grandeur?* When your troops were few and de-

fenceless, did we take advantage of their distress, and expel them our towns? Or have we permitted them to fortify, to receive new aid, and to acquire additional strength?" Two other papers were drawn up; an Address to the People of Ireland, and a Letter to the Assembly of Jamaica, both documents of force and pungency, which might have helped to convince the English ministry, that the colonists knew how to use the pen as well as the sword.

Congress, aware of the importance of securing the aid, or at least neutrality of the Indians, appointed three boards for Indian affairs, and a good deal of attention was bestowed upon the red men and their peculiarities. During this session of Congress, also, the first line of posts for the communication of intelligence through the United States, was established. Benjamin Franklin was appointed, by an unanimous vote, postmaster-general, with power to appoint as many deputies as he might deem proper and necessary, for the conveyance of the mail from Falmouth, in New England, to Savannah, in Georgia.

Dr. Benjamin Church was put at the head of an army hospital; but a few months afterwards, as Holmes, in his Annals, notes, Dr. Church was detected in a traitorous correspondence with the British in Boston. He was tried, and convicted, and Congress ordered him to be closely confined. Some time subsequently, being allowed to depart with his family for the West Indies, the vessel foundered at sea, and all were lost.

In consideration of "the present

* See Appendix II., at the end of the present chapter.

critical, alarming, and calamitous state" of the colonies, Congress recommended that the 20th of July be observed, by the inhabitants of all the English colonies, as a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer. The day was observed accordingly; and it was, as Holmes states, the first general fast ever kept on one day, since the settlement of the colonies. When the news of this recommendation reached the army, Lee, who was given to scoffing, spoke contemptuously of beseeching God's blessing upon the American arms; but Washington ordered the day to be exactly observed. All labor was suspended, and the officers and soldiers were required to attend divine service.

Besides their ill success with the Canadians, whom they could not persuade to arm against the Americans, the British ministry found the Indians rather impracticable. No reasoning seemed to make much impression upon the red men. They were, however, more disposed to listen to what was said on the other side. Congress set forth that the English had taken up arms to enslave, not only their countrymen in America, but the Indians also; and, if the latter should enable them to overcome the colonists, they themselves would soon be reduced to a state of slavery also. By arguments of this kind it was hoped that these savages might be engaged to remain neuter; and thus the colonists be freed from a most dangerous enemy. On this occasion it was thought proper to hold a solemn conference with the Six Nations, convened in council in Philadelphia. The speech made to

them is curious in many respects. We give a specimen of it, as showing the ground taken in endeavoring to enlist the sympathy and support of the Indians: "Brothers, sachems, and warriors! We are the delegates from the Twelve United Provinces, now sitting in General Congress at Philadelphia, who have sent their talk to you, our brothers. Brothers and friends, now attend! When our fathers crossed the great water, and came over to this land, the King of England gave them a talk, assuring them that they and their children should be his children; and that, if they would leave their native country, and make settlements, and live here, and buy and sell, and trade with their brethren beyond the water, they should still keep hold of the same covenant-chain, and enjoy peace; and it was covenanted, that the fields, houses, goods, and possessions which our fathers should acquire, should remain to them as their own, and be their children's for ever, and at their sole disposal. Brothers and friends, open a kind ear! We will now tell you of the quarrel betwixt the counsellors of King George and the inhabitants and colonies of America. Many of his counsellors have persuaded him to break the covenant-chain, and not to send us any more good talks. They have prevailed upon him to enter into a covenant against us; and have torn asunder, and cast behind their backs, the good old covenant which their ancestors and ours entered into, and took strong hold of. They now tell us they will put their hands into our pockets without asking, as though it were their

own; and at their pleasure they will take from us our charters, or written civil constitution, which we love as our lives; also our plantations, or houses, and goods, whenever they please, without asking our leave. They tell us that our vessels may go to that or this island in the sea, but to this or that particular island we shall not trade any more; and, in case of our non-compliance with these new orders, they shut up our harbors. Brothers, we live on the same ground with you; the same land is our common birth-place. We desire to sit down under the same tree of peace with you; let us water its roots, and cherish the growth, till the large leaves and flourishing branches shall extend to the setting sun, and reach the skies. If any thing disagreeable should ever fall out between us, the Twelve United Colonies, and you, the Six Nations, to wound our peace, let us immediately seek measures for healing the breach. From the present situation of our affairs, we judge it expedient to kindle up a small fire at Albany, where we may hear each others' voice, and disclose our minds fully to one another."

A similar talk was prepared for the other Indian nations, and it was trusted that their neutrality might be secured. We are sorry to state, however, that through the powerful influence of Col. Guy Johnson, Intendant-general of the King for Indian Affairs, the Six Nations, who were bigotedly attached to the Johnson family, were induced to offer their aid to General Carleton, at Montreal, against the Americans. This, says Holmes, was the origin of the Indian war.

Early in July, Georgia entered into the opposition made to the claims of the British Parliament to tax America, and chose delegates to Congress; after which the style of "THE THIRTEEN UNITED COLONIES" was assumed, and, by that title the English provinces, confederated and in arms, were thenceforth designated. Lord North's plan for conciliation was taken up and discussed in Congress. After full examination, its want of definiteness, and its consequently unsatisfactory character, were pointed out, and it was rejected. During the month of August, Congress took a recess, and, early in September, reassembled, the Georgia delegates being present in their seats.

The position of Washington was in no respect to be envied. In Congress there was a considerable amount of jealous apprehension of military power, and a fear that the temptation to undue exercise of that power might lead even the great hero and patriot commander-in-chief somewhat astray. A standing army was a terrible spectre to their imaginations, and it was not without extreme difficulty, that Washington could bring them to realize the conviction in his own mind that the cause was hopeless, unless he could have an army of sufficient size, and enlisted to serve for the whole time of the war.*

* "This error (of enlisting men for only a year) may have been owing to the character of the government, to the opinions and prejudices prevailing in Congress, and to the delusive idea, which still lingered in the minds of many of the members, that, although the sword had been drawn, the scabbard was not wholly thrown aside, and that they should be able to coerece the British ministry into a redress of grievancees, which might be followed by a restora-

Washington, however deeply in his own bosom he might have felt hurt at unworthy suspicions, was not moved for a moment from the course which he knew must be pursued, if he hoped for success; and his patience and forbearance and fortitude were put to a severe test. Congress could only sanction and aid his exertions; the labor of inventing, combining, organizing, establishing, and sustaining a proper military system, must fall upon him. "To this end he kept up an unremitted correspondence with Congress during the whole war. His letters were read to the House in full session, and almost every important resolution respecting the army was adopted on his suggestion or recommendation, and emanated from his mind. He was thus literally the centre of motion to this immense and complicated machine, not more in directing its operations than in providing for its existence, and preserving from derangement and ruin its various parts. His perplexities were often increased by the distance at which he was stationed from Congress, the tardy movements of that body, and the long

time it took to obtain the results of their deliberations. By a constant watchfulness and forethought, and by anticipating the future in his communications, he contrived to lessen this inconvenience as far as it could be done."* Besides this severe task upon his energies, the commander-in-chief was obliged to correspond very extensively with various public bodies throughout the colonies, and as far as possible stimulate their zeal, rouse their patriotism, and prevail upon them to give immediate and efficient aid. And this, too, despite the necessity which he felt laid upon him to refuse to detach troops at various points to protect the sea coast from the ravages of the English navy.

Early in August, 1775, Washington having heard that the prisoners taken by the British at Bunker's Hill were treated with severity and harshness, unworthy of civilized warfare, deemed it a duty to write to General Gage on the subject. They had both 1775. served as aides to General Brad-dock, and had fought side by side at the bloody battle of the Monongahela. Ever since a friendly correspondence had been maintained between them; and now they were occupying a position of antagonism in support of principles and views diametrically opposite. Gage denied the charge of ill-usage, and took occasion to speak in rather insulting terms of the "rebels," and of those "whose lives by the law of the land were destined to the cord." Washington felt compelled to order retaliatory

tion of the relations between the colonies and the mother country, upon a constitutional basis. No such idea was entertained by Washington from the beginning. He entertained no thought of accommodation, after the measures adopted in consequence of the battle of Bunker's Hill. But at the time of which we are treating, the issue had not been made, as Washington would have made it, and, when we consider the state of things before the Declaration of Independence was adopted, and look attentively at the objects for which Congress had been assembled, and at the nature of their powers, we may perceive how they came to make the mistake of not organizing a military establishment on a more permanent footing" — Curtis's *History of the Constitution*, vol. . p. 61.

* Sparks's *Life of Washington*, p. 139.

measures to be pursued towards the prisoners in his hands, but he speedily relented, and with noble generosity released them upon parole, in the hope that "such conduct would compel their grateful acknowledgments that Americans are as merciful as they are brave." His reply to Gage's letter was dignified and worthy of the man: "You affect, sir," he said, "to despise all rank not derived from the same source as your own. I cannot conceive one more honorable than that which flows from the uncorrupted choice of a brave and free people, the purest source and original fountain of all power. Far from making it a plea for cruelty, a mind of true magnanimity and enlarged ideas would apprehend and respect it."

Shortly after, General Gage was recalled to England, ostensibly "in order to give his Majesty exact information of every thing, and suggest such matters as his knowledge and experience of the service enabled him to furnish." He was succeeded by General Howe, a brother of Lord Howe, who had been killed before Ticonderoga, and whose memory was cherished by the Americans.

Although there was no difference of opinion among the colonists as to the necessity of defending their rights and liberties; although, too, the people did not hesitate to take possession of public stores and ammunition, and to assume all the powers of government; still the large body of the colonists had not yet resolved upon independence and a complete separation from the
1775. mother country. This is evinced, as Pitkin properly states, not only by

the declarations of Congress, but from the proceedings and declarations of the colonial assemblies and conventions, in the course of this year. Some of these we shall bring to the notice of the reader. In August, a plan of confederacy, submitted to Congress by Dr. Franklin, in the preceding July, was also laid before the convention of North Carolina—they declared, "that a confederation of the colonies was not, at present, eligible; that the present association ought to be further relied on, for bringing about a reconciliation with the parent country, and a further confederacy ought only to be adopted, in case of the last extremity." In September following, the same convention, in an address to the inhabitants of the British empire, used still stronger language on this subject: "We again declare," they say, "that we invoke that Almighty Being, who searches the recesses of the human heart, and knows our most secret intentions, that it is our most earnest wish and prayer, to be restored, with the other united colonies, to that state in which we and they were placed, before the year 1763; disposed to glance over any regulations which Britain had made, previous to this, and which seem to be injurious and oppressive to those colonies; hoping that, at some future day, she will willingly interpose, and remove from us, any cause of complaint."

While the convention of Virginia, which met on the 18th of July, **1775.** proceeded to place that colony in a state of defence, and to give their reasons for this measure; they, "before God and the world," made the follow-

ing declaration: "We do bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, and will, so long as it may be in our power, defend him and his government, as founded on the laws and well-known principles of the constitution: we will, to the utmost of our power, endeavor, by every honorable means, to promote a restoration of that friendship and amity which so long and so happily subsisted between our fellow subjects in Great Britain, and the inhabitants of America; and as, on the one hand, we are determined to defend our lives and property, and maintain our just rights and privileges, at even the extremest hazard, so, on the other hand, it is our fixed and unalterable resolution, to disband such forces as may be raised in this colony, whenever our dangers are removed, and America is restored to its former state of tranquillity and happiness."

"We declare," said the members of the South Carolina Convention, in their address to their new governor, Lord William Campbell, "that no love of innovation, no desire of altering the constitution of government, no lust of independence, have had the least influence upon our counsels; but, alarmed and roused, by a long succession of arbitrary proceedings, by wicked administrations; impressed with the greatest apprehensions of instigated insurrections, and deeply affected by the commencement of hostilities by the British troops against this continent; solely for the preservation and in defence of our lives, liberties, and property, we have been impelled to associate and take up arms. We only desire the same en-

joyment of our invaluable rights, and we wish for nothing more ardently than a speedy reconciliation with our mother country, upon constitutional principles. Conscious," they added, "of the justice of our cause, and the integrity of our views, we readily profess our loyal attachment to our sovereign, his crown and dignity; and trusting the event to Providence, we prefer death to slavery."

Though the Assembly of Pennsylvania, in the instructions to their delegates to Congress, in November, declared that the oppressive measures of the British Parliament and administration had compelled them to resist their violence by force of arms; yet they strictly enjoined them, in behalf of that colony, "to dissent from, and reject any proposition, should such be made, that may cause or lead to a separation from the mother country, or a change in the form of their government."

The delegates of Maryland were also instructed not to assent, without the previous knowledge and approbation of the convention of that province, to any proposition, to declare these colonies independent of the crown of Great Britain, unless a majority of them should judge it absolutely necessary, for the preservation of the liberties of the United Colonies. The governor of New Jersey having, in his address to the Assembly, declared, "That sentiments of independency were, by some, of present consequence, openly avowed, and that essays were already appearing in the public papers, to ridicule the people's fears of that horrid measure;" the House in answer, said, "There is nothing we desire with greater anxiety,

than a reconciliation with our parent state, on constitutional principles. We know of no sentiments of independency that are, by men of any consequence, openly avowed; nor do we approve of any essays, tending to encourage such a measure. We have already expressed our detestation of such opinions, and we have, so frequently and freely declared our sentiments on this subject, that we should have thought ourselves, as at present we really deserve to be, exempt from all suspicion of this nature."

The provincial convention of New York, in December, declared, that "the turbulent state of that colony did not arise from a want of attachment to the king, from a desire to become independent of the British crown, or a spirit of opposition to the ancient and established form of government to which they had been subjected; but solely from the oppressive acts of the British Parliament, directed to enslaving the colonies, and the hostile attempts of the ministry to carry these acts into execution." The people of New Hampshire, in establishing a new government, in January, 1776, declared, "we conceive ourselves reduced to the necessity of establishing a new form of government, to continue during the present unhappy and unnatural contest with Great Britain; protesting and declaring, that we never sought to throw off our dependence on Great Britain, but felt ourselves happy under her protection, whilst we could enjoy our constitutional rights and privileges; and that we shall rejoice, if such a reconciliation between us and our parent state, can be effected, as

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shall be approved by the Continental Congress, in whose prudence and wisdom we confide."*

It is true, notwithstanding what has been stated above in regard to the general feeling in North Carolina, that a portion of the inhabitants entertained much stronger sentiments of opposition to Parliamentary misrule, and much more ardent aspirations for political freedom than the Convention were willing to adopt. This was remarkably shown by the fact that the citizens of Mecklenburg county, on the 21st of May, went so far as to prepare and set forth resolutions embodying a formal Declaration of Independence, a step quite beyond any thing which had as yet been done elsewhere, and which the Continental Congress were not ready at this date to sanction. These resolutions are worthy of being quoted in full, and no doubt were in the hands of the Committee of Congress who, the year following, were charged with the drawing up the Declaration of Independence, issued in behalf of all the colonies.

"*Resolved, 1st.* That whosoever, directly or indirectly, abetted, or in any way, form, or manner, countenanced the unchartered and dangerous invasion of our rights, as claimed by Great Britain, is an enemy to this county, to America, and to the inherent and unalienable rights of man.

"*Resolved, 2d.* That we, the citizens of Mecklenburg county, do hereby dissolve the political bonds which have

* Pitkin's "*Civil and Political History of the United States*," vol. i., pp. 348-51.

connected us with the mother country, and hereby absolve ourselves from all allegiance to the British Crown, and abjure all political connection, contract, or association with that nation, who have wantonly trampled on our rights and liberties, and inhumanly shed the blood of American Patriots at Lexington.

Resolved, 3d. That we do hereby declare ourselves a free and independent people; are, and of right ought to be, a sovereign and self-governing association, under the control of no power, other than that of our God, and the general government of the Congress; — to the maintenance of which independence, we solemnly pledge to each other, our mutual co-operation, our lives, our fortunes, and our most sacred honor.

Resolved, 4th. That, as we acknowledge the existence and control of no law, nor legal office, civil or military, within this county, we do hereby ordain and adopt, as a rule of life, all, each, and every of our former laws; wherein, nevertheless, the crown of Great Britain never can be considered as holding rights, privileges, immunities, or authority therein.

Resolved, 5th. That it is further decreed that all, each, and every military officer in this county is hereby retained in his former command and authority, he acting conformably to these regulations. And that every member present of this delegation shall henceforth be a civil officer, viz.: a Justice of the Peace, in the character of a committeeman, to issue process, hear and determine all matters of controversy, accord-

ing to said adopted laws; and to preserve peace, union, and harmony in said county; and to use every exertion to spread the love of country and fire of freedom throughout America, until a general organized government be established in this province."

After the taking of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, both Allen and Arnold had strenuously urged upon Congress the desirableness of advancing into Canada, where the British force was very small, and of seizing upon the important strongholds of that country. This measure was at first looked upon with disapprobation, as stepping out of the line of resistance marked out for the present struggle, and commencing a war of aggression. But, as the designs of the British to reduce the colonies to obedience, by an increased display of force, became apparent, the contest assumed another character, and Congress was willing to adopt the project of an attack upon Canada as a measure of self-defence, which was fully sanctioned by Washington himself, who regarded it as "being of the utmost consequence to the interests and liberties of America." Two expeditions were accordingly organized and dispatched, one by the way of Lake Champlain, under General Schuyler, the other by the way of the River Kennebeck, under the command of Arnold. General Lee, with twelve hundred volunteers from Connecticut, was also directed to repair to New York, and with the aid of the inhabitants, fortify the city, and the Highlands on the Hudson River.

In pursuance of the plan of guarding the northern frontier by taking Canada,

Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, with two regiments of New York militia, and a body of New England men, amounting in the whole to about two thousand, were ordered to move towards Ticonderoga, which had remained in possession of the Americans since the expedition of Colonels Arnold and Allen.

Brigadier-general Montgomery was ordered to proceed in advance, with the troops then in readiness, and lay siege to St. John's, the first British post in Canada, about one hundred and fifty miles north of Ticonderoga. General Schuyler soon followed, and on arriving at the Isle aux Noix, twelve miles south of St. John's, sent circular letters to the Canadians, exhorting them to arouse and assert their liberties, declaring that the Americans entered their country as friends and protectors, not as enemies. The intelligence received of the situation of St. John's, determined them to wait at the Isle aux Noix, for their remaining troops and artillery. General Schuyler returned to Albany to hasten their departure; but, being prevented by sickness from again joining the army, the chief command devolved on Montgomery. On receiving the reinforcement he invested St. John's; but, being almost destitute of battering cannon and of powder, he made no progress in the siege.

Colonel Allen, the hero of Ticonderoga, had a command under General Montgomery; and was dispatched by him with about eighty men, to secure a party of hostile Indians. Allen, having effected his object, was returning to head-quarters, when he was met

by Major Brown, who, with a party, had been on a tour into the country, to observe the dispositions of the people, and attach them, if possible, to the American cause. It was agreed between them to make a descent upon Montreal. They divided into two parties, intending to assail the city at two opposite points. Allen crossed the river in the night, as had been proposed; but by some means Brown and his party failed. Instead of returning, Allen, with great rashness, determined to maintain his ground. In the morning the British general, Carleton, at the head of a few regulars and several hundred militia, marched to attack him. Allen, with his little band of eighty, fought with desperate courage; but he was compelled to yield, and he and his brave associates were loaded with irons, and in that condition sent to England. Allen, after undergoing every species of outrage and hardship, was brought back to the coast of America, and kept under restraint in New York, till the victory of Saratoga effected his release in May, 1778.

On the 13th of October, a small fort at Chamblet, which was but slightly guarded, was taken. Several pieces of artillery, and about one hundred and twenty barrels of gunpowder, were the fruits of this victory, which enabled General Montgomery to proceed with vigor against St. John's. In defiance of the continual fire of the enemy, the Americans erected a battery near the fort St. John's, and made preparations for a severe cannonade, and an assault, if necessary.

General Carleton, hearing of the situ-

ation of St. John's, raised a force for its relief. He had posted Colonel McLean, with a Scotch regiment, at the mouth of the Sorel, and attempted to cross at Longueuil, for the purpose of forming a junction, and marching to the relief of St. John's. Colonel Warner, who was stationed at Longueuil with three hundred mountaineers and a small piece of artillery, kept up so warm a fire upon their boats, that they were compelled to return to Montreal.

When the news of this repulse reached Montreal, he sent a flag to Major Preston, who commanded the besieged fortress, summoning him to surrender; as all hope of relief was cut off by Carleton's repulse, and further resistance could only lead to useless destruction of lives. It was accordingly surrendered, November 3d, and soon entered by the American troops.

General Carleton now abandoned Montreal to its fate, and made his escape down the river in the night, in a small canoe, with muffled oars. The next day, General Montgomery, after engaging to allow the inhabitants their own laws, the free exercise of their religion, and the privilege of governing themselves, entered the town. His benevolent conduct induced many to join his standard: yet some of his own army deserted from severity of climate, and many whose time of enlistment had nearly expired, insisted on returning home.

With the remnant of his army, consisting of three hundred men, he began his march towards Quebec, expecting to meet there the detachment of troops under Arnold, who were to penetrate by the way of Maine.

Arnold commenced his march with one thousand men, about the middle of September. After sustaining almost incredible hardships, he arrived at Point Levi, opposite Quebec, on the 9th of November. On the 13th, he crossed the St. Lawrence in the night, and ascended the precipice which Wolfe had ascended before him, formed his army, which, from the hardships it had endured, was reduced to seven hundred men, on the heights near the memorable plains of Abraham. He then marched towards Quebec, in the hope of surprising it. But, being convinced by a cannon-shot from the walls, that the garrison were ready to receive him, he was obliged to retire; and on the 18th, marched to Point aux Trembles to await the arrival of Montgomery

1775.

On the 13th of October, Arnold had intrusted an Indian whom he met, with a letter for General Schuyler, giving him information of his progress, which the Indian delivered to General Carleton; and thus, in all probability, was the enterprise frustrated. General Carleton, who had escaped the vigilance of the Americans, proceeded at once to put Quebec in a state of defence against the contemplated attack of the invaders.

Montgomery arrived on the 1st of December, and took command of the forces, which amounted only to nine hundred men. After clothing the half-naked troops of Arnold with garments which he had brought with him, the whole force set forward together for Quebec. On their march thither, they were now exposed to all the severities of a Canadian winter; the driving sleet



beat fiercely in their faces, the road was cumbered with huge drifts of snow, and in the open and unsheltered country the cold was almost beyond endurance. Such was the season when the American troops commenced the siege of Quebec, furnished only with a few guns, which were reared on batteries of snow and ice, and produced no effect whatever on the solid ramparts that confronted them. For three weeks they continued, nevertheless, to abide the bitter severity of the weather, until the small-pox broke out in the camp, the term of enlistment of many of the troops had nearly expired, discontent and despondency began to prevail, and Montgomery perceived that nothing but engaging them in some vigorous effort could keep the expedition much longer from falling to pieces. It was determined, therefore, to try the desperate chances of an assault. One body of the troops was to make a feigned attack upon the upper town from the plains of Abraham, while Montgomery and Arnold, at the head of their respective divisions, were to storm the lower town at two opposite points, and thence proceed to invest the upper town and citadel.

It was on the last day of the year, in the thick gloom of an early morning, while the snow was falling fast, and the cutting wind whirling it about
1775. in heavy drifts, that Montgomery, at the head of his New York troops, proceeded along the narrow road leading under the foot of the precipices from Wolfe's Cove into the lower town of Quebec. At the entry of the street, crouching beneath the

lofty rock of Cape Diamond, was planted a block-house, its guns pointed carefully so as to sweep the approach. This post was manned by Captain Barnsfare, with a few British seamen and a body of Canadian militia. As Montgomery approached along a roadway encumbered with heaps of ice and snow, he encountered a line of stockades, part of which he sawed through with his own hands, and having at length opened a passage, exclaiming to his troops, "Men of New York, you will not fear to follow where your general leads," he rushed forward to storm the block-house. But the vigilant officer had faintly descried the approach of the besiegers, and when they were within a few paces, the fatal match was applied, a hurricane of grape-shot swept the pass, and the gallant Montgomery fell dead upon the spot. With him were struck down Captains Cheesman and McPherson, his aids-de-camp, and several among the foremost soldiers. Astounded and terrified at this fatal result, the Americans precipitately retreated.

Meantime, Arnold, from the opposite side, advanced to his attack with desperate resolution. In assaulting the first barrier, he received a severe wound in the leg, which obliged him to quit the field. "Happy for him," as Mr. Irving feelingly exclaims, "had he fallen at this moment. Happy for him had he found a soldier's and a patriot's grave beneath the rock-built walls of Quebec. Those walls would have remained enduring monuments of his renown. His name, like that of Montgomery, would have been treasured up

among the dearest, though most mournful recollections of his country, and that country would have been spared the single traitorous blot that dims the bright page of its revolutionary history."

Arnold being wounded, Captain Morgan immediately took the command. Urging forward his men, Morgan carried the first barrier, and pushed on to the second, which was also, after an obstinate fight, carried by the Americans; but Montgomery being dead, Carleton sent a detachment upon Morgan's rear; they were surrounded, and finally, to the number of four hundred and twenty-six, obliged to surrender. Neither of the parties thus reached the main point of attack at Prescott Gate, where the Governor was stationed, with the determination to maintain it to the last extremity.

The British were not yet aware of all the results of the contest. As soon as the retreat of the first party was ascertained, they went out and collected, from under the snow which had already covered them, thirteen bodies. The surmise soon arose, that one of them was that of the commander; yet some hours elapsed before an officer of Arnold's division identified him, with the deepest expressions of admiration and regret. Montgomery, a gentleman of good family in the north of Ireland, had served under Wolfe, but having afterwards formed a matrimonial connection in America, he had adopted with enthusiasm the cause of his adopted country. His military character, joined to his private virtues, inspired general esteem, and has secured to him a place

on the roll of noble and gallant chiefs who fell beneath the walls of Quebec.*

Arnold succeeded to the command, and attempted still to maintain his ground; but the dispirited state of his men, still more than his actual loss, rendered him unable to keep up more than an imperfect blockade, at the distance of three miles. In April, 1776, his place was taken by General Wooster, who brought a reinforcement, and made some fresh attempts, but without success. Early in May, several vessels arrived from England, with troops and supplies, on which the Americans raised the siege, and fell back upon Montreal.† Thence they were driven from post to post, by a superior British force, "disgraced, defeated, discontented, dispirited, diseased, undisciplined, eaten up with vermin, no clothes, beds, blankets, nor medicines, and no victuals but salt pork and flour;" and on the 18th of June, they finally evacuated the province. General Gates received the retreating

* All enmity to Montgomery ceased with his life. He was honorably buried by order of General Carleton, and even in Parliament his eulogy was pronounced by men like Chatham, Barke, and Barré. His remains were, in 1818, removed to New York. Congress directed a monument to be erected to his memory, with an inscription expressive of their veneration for his character, and of their deep sense of his "many signal and important services; and to transmit to future ages, as examples truly worthy of imitation, his patriotism, conduct, boldness of enterprise, insuperable perseverance, and contempt of danger and death." A monument of white marble, with emblematic devices, has accordingly been erected to his memory, in front of St. Paul's chapel, in the city of New York. May his name never be forgotten!

† See Murray's "*History of British America*," vol. i., p. 181.

forces at Crown Point, and in due time was able to put an effectual stop upon the vainly confident advance of Burgoyne, as will be related in a subsequent chapter.

Toward the close of September, Washington felt compelled to write to Congress in regard to the position in which he was placed before Boston.

1775. "It gives me great distress," he said, "to oblige me to solicit the attention of the honorable Congress to the state of this army, in terms which imply the slightest apprehension of being neglected. But my situation is inexpressibly distressing, to see the winter fast approaching upon a naked army; the time of their service within a few weeks of expiring; and no provision yet made for such important events. Added to these, the military chest is totally exhausted; the paymaster has not a single dollar in hand. The commissary-general assures me he has strained his credit for the subsistence of the army to the utmost. The quartermaster-general is precisely in the same situation; and the greater part of the troops are in a state not far from mutiny, upon a deduction from their stated allowances." Congress responded to the commander-in-chief's appeal. About the middle of October, a committee of that body, Franklin, Lynch and Harrison, arrived at Cambridge, to meet delegates from the New England colonies, to take the steps necessary in the present emergency. Twenty-six regiments were, in accordance with Washington's recommendation, authorized to be enrolled, making in all, rather more than twenty

thousand men. It was supposed that thirty-two thousand men might be raised in the four New England colonies for one year, which was the extent of time that Congress was willing to fix for all the enlistments. This short term of enlistment, as we have before pointed out, was a well nigh fatal error, and the consequences of it were severely felt throughout the whole war. Washington's discretion, prudence, and firmness, were severely tried, before he succeeded in accomplishing the difficult task of organizing the army according to the plan agreed upon.

Beside the troops already engaged for service, Congress had made arrangements for increasing the number, by various regiments from the southern colonies, and also from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York. Congress likewise issued a proclamation, in which it was threatened, that measures of severity would be retorted upon the supporters of royal authority, in case any attempt were made to act towards the Americans in a way not usual in honorable warfare.

The alarming deficiency of powder in the camp, and the extreme difficulty of getting supplies, rendered Washington's position not only very uncomfortable but also very critical; for had General Howe been disposed to venture upon more active measures, and had he attacked the Americans in the midst of the annoyance and perplexity arising out of a part of the troops leaving and going home, and new recruits being brought in, it is almost certain that victory must have attended his arms, and disaster and ruin have fallen

upon the army of Washington* But the British general kept himself very quiet, and, after a time, the commander-in-chief felt somewhat relieved of his anxiety on this point.

The feeling in Congress and elsewhere was, that Washington ought to do something more than besiege Boston; murmurs, more or less loud, were heard against the inactivity of the forces; and it was thought strange that Washington did not attack the city. His own impulses urged him to this step, and he called a council of war, early in January, 1776, to consider the expediency of such a movement. The council opposed the plan decidedly, and the commander-in-chief felt obliged

* The Connecticut troops determined to go off in a body when their term of service was about to expire, which would have left a fearful blank in the army, already weak enough. Their extraordinary conduct hurt Washington's feelings very much, and notwithstanding all his efforts, they could not be induced to remain more than ten days, to allow, meanwhile, the militia to be called in. Washington wrote to Governor Trumbull on this subject, and the latter, as quoted by Mr. Sparks, replied in the following terms: "There is great difficulty to support liberty, to exercise government, and maintain subordination, and at the same time to prevent the operation of licentious and levelling principles, which many very easily imbibe. The pulse of a New England man beats high for liberty, his engagement in the service he thinks purely voluntary; therefore, when the time of enlistment is out, he thinks himself not holden without further engagement. This was the case in the last war. I greatly fear its operation amongst the soldiers of the other colonies, as I am sensible this is the spirit and genius of our people." Mr. Irving mentions in this connection, that these Connecticut men found so little sympathy on the road homeward, that they could hardly get any thing to eat, and also that when the women at home got hold of them, they expressed their feelings in such plain terms, that the recreant soldiers deemed it better to face the enemy and British cannon, than bear the vigorous thrusts of the patriot wives and mothers of Connecticut.

to yield; but he yielded unwillingly. "Could I have foreseen the difficulties which have come upon us," said he, in a letter written at the time; "could I have known that such backwardness would have been discovered by old soldiers to the service, all the generals upon earth should not have convinced me of the propriety of delaying an attack upon Boston until this time."

A month later, writing to Joseph Reed, he gives expression to his feelings, under the severe trials and discouragements which had come upon him during several months past: "I know the unhappy predicament in which I stand. I know that much is expected from me. I know that, without men, without arms, without ammunition, without any thing fit for the accommodation of a soldier, little is to be done; and what is mortifying, I know that I cannot stand justified to the world without exposing my own weakness, and injuring the cause, by declaring my wants, which I am determined not to do, further than unavoidable necessity brings every man acquainted with them. My situation is so irksome to me at times, that if I did not consult the public good more than my own tranquillity, I should long ere this have put every thing on the cast of a die. So far from my having an army of twenty thousand men well armed, I have been here with less than half that number, including sick, furloughed, and on command, and those neither armed nor clothed as they should be. In short, my situation has been such, that I have been obliged to use every art to conceal it from my own officers." Well

was it for the cause to which his life was devoted, that he did not yield to the pressure of difficulties, and lose his confident trust in the superintending care and favor of Divine Providence.

The Provincial Congress having passed a resolution to prevent Tories from carrying off their effects, the inhabitants of Falmouth, in the north-eastern part of Massachusetts, now Portland, in Maine, obstructed, accordingly, the loading of a mast-ship. The destruction of the town was, therefore, determined on, as an example of vindictive punishment. Captain Mowat, detached for that purpose, with armed vessels, by Admiral Greaves, arrived off the place on the evening of the 17th of October, and gave notice to the inhabitants that he would allow them two hours "to remove the human species."

1775. Upon being solicited to afford some explanation of this extraordinary summons, he replied, that he had orders to set on fire all the seaport towns from Boston to Halifax, and that he supposed New York was already in ashes. He could dispense with his orders, he said, on no terms, but the compliance of the inhabitants to deliver up their arms and ammunition, and their sending on board a supply of provisions, and four of the principal persons in the town, as hostages, that they should engage not to unite with their country in any kind of opposition to Britain; and he assured them, that, on a refusal of these conditions, he should lay the town in ashes within three hours. Unprepared for the attack, the inhabitants, by entreaty, ob-

tained the suspension of an answer till the morning, and employed this interval in removing their families and effects. The next day, Captain Mowat commenced a furious cannonade and bombardment; and a great number of people, standing on the heights, were spectators of the conflagration, which reduced many of them to penury and despair. More than four hundred houses and stores were burnt. Newport, Rhode Island, being threatened with a similar attack, was compelled to stipulate for a weekly supply to avert it.*

Outrages of this kind did but exasperate the feelings of the colonists, and it was not long before their enterprising spirit led them to undertake expeditions against the British on the water. Several vessels were fitted out, and the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, on the 10th of November, passed a law for granting letters of marque and reprisal against the shipping of Great Britain. A court of admiralty was also established by the provincial authorities. The colonies farther south had entered upon similar movements, and five or six armed vessels were fitted out by Washington, to prevent, as far as possible, supplies from reaching Boston by sea. Several captures were made, and particularly a valuable one **1775.** by Captain Manly, November 29th, consisting of munitions of war, which were especially acceptable in the present emergency. On the whole, however, these enterprises were not particularly successful, for the officers,

* Holmes's "Annals," vol. ii., p. 219.

many of them, were incompetent, and the men were mutinously inclined, so that the entire matter was more plague than profit to the commander-in-chief. We may mention here, also, that Congress, about the middle of December, resolved to fit out thirteen ships, of

various sizes and capacities, a movement which gave birth to that illustrious navy, whose brilliant exploits we shall be called upon to narrate in subsequent chapters of this history.*

* See Cooper's "*Naval History*," vol. i., p. 50. 51.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIII.

L—A DECLARATION, SETTING FORTH THE CAUSES AND NECESSITY OF THE COLONIES TAKING UP ARMS.*

If it was possible for men, who exercise their reason, to believe that the divine Author of our existence intended a part of the human race to hold an absolute property in, and an unbounded power over others, marked out by his infinite goodness and wisdom, as the objects of a legal domination never rightfully resistible, however severe and oppressive, the inhabitants of these colonies might at least require from the Parliament of Great Britain some evidence that this dreadful authority over them has been granted to that body. But a reverence for our great Creator, principles of humanity, and the dictates of common sense, must convince all those who reflect upon the subject that government was instituted to promote the welfare of mankind, and ought to be administered for the attainment of that end. The legislature of Great Britain, however, stimulated by an inordinate passion for a power not only unjustifiable, but which they know to be peculiarly reprobated by the very constitution of that kingdom, and desperate of success in any mode of contest where regard should be had to truth, law, or right, have at length, deserting those, attempted to effect their cruel and impolitic purpose of enslaving these colonies by vio-

lence, and have thereby rendered it necessary for us to close with their last appeal from reason to arms. Yet, however blinded that Assembly may be by their intemperate rage for unlimited domination, so to slight justice and the opinion of mankind, we esteem ourselves bound by obligations of respect to the rest of the world to make known the justice of our cause.

Our forefathers, inhabitants of the Island of Great Britain, left their native land to seek on these shores a residence for civil and religious freedom. At the expense of their blood, at the hazard of their fortunes, without the least charge to the country from which they removed, by unceasing labor and an unconquerable spirit, they effected settlements in the distant and inhospitable wilds of America, then filled with numerous and warlike nations of barbarians. Societies or governments vested with perfect legislatures were formed under charters from the crown, and an harmonious intercourse was established between the colonies and the kingdom from which they derived their origin. The mutual benefits of this union became in a short time so extraordinary as to excite astonishment. It is universally confessed that the amazing increase of the wealth, strength, and navigation of the realm arose from this source, and the minister who so wisely and successfully directed the measures of Great Britain in the late war publicly declared, that these colonies enabled her to triumph over her enemies. Towards the conclusion of that war it pleased

* Adopted July 6, 1775.

our sovereign to make a change in his counsels. From that fatal moment the affairs of the British empire began to fall into confusion, and gradually sliding from the summit of glorious prosperity, to which they had been advanced by the virtues and abilities of one man, are at length distracted by the convulsions that now shake it to its deepest foundations. The new ministry, finding the brave foes of Britain, though frequently defeated, yet still contending, took up the unfortunate idea of granting them a hasty peace, and of then subduing her faithful friends.

These devoted colonies were judged to be in such a state as to present victories without bloodshed, and all the easy emoluments of statutable plunder. The uninterrupted tenor of their peaceable and respectful behavior from the beginning of colonization, their dutiful, zealous, and useful services during the war, though so recently and amply acknowledged in the most honorable manner by his majesty, by the late king, and by Parliament, could not save them from the meditated innovations. Parliament was influenced to adopt the pernicious project, and assuming a new power over them, have, in the course of eleven years, given such decisive specimens of the spirit and consequences attending this power, as to leave no doubt concerning the effects of acquiescence under it. They have undertaken to give and grant our money without our consent, though we have ever exercised an exclusive right to dispose of our own property; statutes have been passed for extending the jurisdiction of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; for depriving us of the accustomed and inestimable privilege of trial by jury, in cases affecting both life and property; for suspending the legislature of one of the colonies; for interdicting all commerce with the capital of another; and for altering fundamentally the form of government established by charter, and secured by acts of its own legislature solemnly confirmed by the crown; for exempting the "murderers" of colonists from legal trial, and in effect from punishment; for erecting in a neighboring province, acquired by the joint arms of Great Britain and America, a despotism dangerous to our very existence; and for quartering soldiers upon the colonists in time of profound peace. It has also been resolved in Parliament, that colonists charged with committing certain offences shall be transported to England to be tried.

But why should we enumerate our injuries in detail? By one statute it is declared that Parliament can "of right make laws to bind us in all cases whatsoever." What is to defend us against so enormous, so unlimited a power? Not a single man of those who assume it is chosen by us, or is subject to our control or influence; but, on the contrary, they are all of them exempt from the operation of such laws, and an American revenue, if not diverted from the ostensible purposes for which it is raised, would actually lighten their own burdens in proportion as they increase ours. We saw the misery to which such despotism would reduce us. We for ten years incessantly and ineffectually besieged the throne as supplicants: we reasoned, we remonstrated with Parliament in the most mild and decent language.

Administration, sensible that we should regard these oppressive measures as freemen ought to do, sent over fleets and armies to enforce them. The indignation of the Americans was roused, it is true, but it was the indignation of a virtuous, loyal, and affectionate people. A Congress of delegates from the United Colonies was assembled at Philadelphia, on the fifth day of last September. We resolved again to offer an humble and dutiful petition to the king, and also addressed our fellow subjects of Great Britain. We have pursued every temperate, every respectful measure; we have even proceeded to break off our commercial intercourse with our fellow subjects, as the last peaceable admonition, that our attachment to no nation on earth should supplant our attachment to liberty. This, we flattered ourselves, was the ultimate step of the controversy; but subsequent events have shown how vain was this hope of finding moderation in our enemies.

Several threatening expressions against the colonies were inserted in his majesty's speech; our petition, though we were told it was a decent one, and that his majesty had been pleased to receive it graciously, and to promise laying it before his Parliament, was huddled into both Houses among a bundle of American papers, and there neglected. The Lords and Commons in their address in the month of February, said that "a rebellion at that time actually existed within the province of Massachusetts Bay; and that those concerned in it had been countenanced and encouraged by unlawful combinations and engage-

ments, entered into by his majesty's subjects in several of the other colonies; and therefore they besought his majesty that he would take the most effectual measures to enforce due obedience to the laws and authority of the supreme Legislature." Soon after, the commercial intercourse of whole colonies, with foreign countries, and with each other, was cut off by an act of Parliament; by another, several of them were entirely prohibited from the fisheries in the seas near their coasts, on which they always depended for their sustenance; and large reinforcements of ships and troops were immediately sent over to General Gage.

Fruitless were all the entreaties, arguments, and eloquence of an illustrious band of the most distinguished peers and commoners, who nobly and strenuously asserted the justice of our cause, to stay, or even to mitigate the heedless fury with which these accumulated and unexampled outrages were hurried on. Equally fruitless was the interference of the city of London, of Bristol, and many other respectable towns in our favor. Parliament adopted an insidious manœuvre calculated to divide us, to establish a perpetual auction of taxations where colony should bid against colony, all of them uninformed what ransom would redeem their lives, and thus to extort from us, at the point of the bayonet, the unknown sums that should be sufficient to gratify, if possible to gratify, ministerial rapacity, with the miserable indulgence left to us of raising, in our own mode, the prescribed tribute. What terms more rigid and humiliating could have been dictated by remorseless victors to conquered enemies? In our circumstances to accept them, would be to deserve them.

Soon after the intelligence of these proceedings arrived on this continent, General Gage, who in the course of the last year had taken possession of the town of Boston, in the province of Massachusetts Bay, and still occupied it as a garrison, on the nineteenth day of April, sent out from that place a large detachment of his army, who made an unprovoked assault on the inhabitants of the said province, at the town of Lexington, as appears by the affidavits of a great number of persons, some of whom were officers and soldiers of that detachment, murdered eight of the inhabitants, and wounded many others. From thence the troops proceeded in warlike array to the town of Concord, where they set upon another party

of the inhabitants of the same province, killing several and wounding more, until compelled to retreat by the country people suddenly assembled to repel this cruel aggression. Hostilities, thus commenced by the British troops, have been since prosecuted by them without regard to faith or reputation. The inhabitants of Boston being confined within that town by the General, their Governor, and having, in order to procure their dismissal, entered into a treaty with him, it was stipulated that the said inhabitants, having deposited their arms with their own magistrates, should have liberty to depart, taking with them their other effects. They accordingly delivered up their arms, but, in open violation of honor, in defiance of the obligation of treaties, which even savage nations esteem sacred, the Governor ordered the arms deposited as aforesaid, that they might be preserved for their owners, to be seized by a body of soldiers: detained the greatest part of the inhabitants in the town, and compelled the few who were permitted to retire, to leave their most valuable effects behind.

By this perfidy wives are separated from their husbands, children from their parents, the aged and the sick from their relations and friends, who wish to attend and comfort them; and those who have been used to live in plenty and even elegance, are reduced to deplorable distress.

The General, further emulating his ministerial masters, by a proclamation bearing date on the twelfth day of June, after venting the grossest falsehoods and calumnies against the good people of these colonies, proceeds to "declare them all, either by name or description, to be rebels and traitors, to supersede the course of the common law, and instead thereof to publish and order the use and exercise of the law martial." His troops have butchered our countrymen, have wantonly burnt Charlestown, besides a considerable number of houses in other places; our ships and vessels are seized; the necessary supplies of provisions are intercepted, and he is exerting his utmost power to spread destruction and devastation around him.

We have received certain intelligence that General Carleton, the Governor of Canada, is instigating the people of that province and the Indians to fall upon us; and we have but too much reason to apprehend that schemes have been formed to excite domestic enemies against

us. In brief, a part of these colonies now feel, and all of them are sure of feeling, as far as the vengeance of administration can inflict them, the complicated calamities of fire, sword, and famine. We are reduced to the alternative of choosing an unconditional submission to the tyranny of irritated ministers, or resistance by force. The latter is our choice. We have counted the cost of this contest, and find nothing so dreadful as voluntary slavery. Honor, justice, and humanity, forbid us tamely to surrender that freedom which we received from our gallant ancestors, and which our innocent posterity have a right to receive from us. We cannot endure the infamy and guilt of resigning succeeding generations to that wretchedness which inevitably awaits them, if we basely entail hereditary bondage upon them.

Our cause is just: our union is perfect: our internal resources are great, and, if necessary, foreign assistance is undoubtedly attainable. We gratefully acknowledge, as signal instances of the Divine favor towards us, that his Providence would not permit us to be called into this severe controversy, until we were grown up to our present strength, had been previously exercised in warlike operation, and possessed of the means of defending ourselves. With hearts fortified with these animating reflections, we most solemnly, before God and the world, *declare*, that, exerting the utmost energy of those powers which our beneficent Creator hath graciously bestowed upon us, the arms we have been compelled by our enemies to assume, we will, in defiance of every hazard, with unabating firmness and perseverance, employ for the preservation of our liberties; being with one mind resolved to die freemen rather than to live slaves.

Let this declaration should disquiet the minds of our friends and fellow-subjects in any part of the empire, we assure them that we mean not to dissolve that union which has so long and so happily subsisted between us, and which we sincerely wish to see restored. Necessity has not yet driven us into that desperate measure, or induced us to excite any other nation to war against them. We have not raised armies with ambitious designs of separating from Great Britain, and establishing independent states. We fight not for glory nor for conquest. We exhibit to mankind the remarkable spectacle of a people attacked by unprovoked enemies, without any

imputation or even suspicion of offence. They boast of their privileges and civilization, and yet proffer no milder conditions than servitude or death.

In our native land, in defence of the freedom that is our birth-right, and which we ever enjoyed till the late violation of it—for the protection of our property, acquired solely by the honest industry of our forefathers and ourselves, against violence actually offered, we have taken up arms. We shall lay them down when hostilities shall cease on the part of the aggressors, and all danger of their being renewed shall be removed, and not before.

With an humble confidence in the mercies of the supreme and impartial Judge and Ruler of the Universe, we most devoutly implore his Divine goodness to protect us happily through this great conflict, to dispose our adversaries to reconciliation on reasonable terms, and thereby to relieve the empire from the calamities of civil war.

II.—SECOND PETITION TO THE KING.*

To the King's most Excellent Majesty.

MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN:—WE, your majesty's most faithful subjects, of the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in behalf of ourselves and the inhabitants of these colonies, who have deputed us to represent them in general Congress, entreat your majesty's gracious attention to this our humble petition.

The union between our mother country and these colonies, and the energy of mild and just government, produced benefits so remarkably important, and afforded such an assurance of their permanency and increase, that the wonder and envy of other nations were excited, while they beheld Great Britain rising to a power the most extraordinary the world had ever known.

Her rivals, observing there was no probability of this happy connection being broken by civil

* Adopted July 8, 1775.

dissensions, and apprehending its future effects, if left any longer undisturbed, resolved to prevent her receiving such continual and formidable accessions of wealth and strength, by checking the growth of those settlements from which they were to be derived.

In the prosecution of this attempt, events so unfavorable to the design took place, that every friend to the interest of Great Britain and these colonies, entertained pleasing and reasonable expectations of seeing an additional force and exertion immediately given to the operations of the union hitherto experienced, by an enlargement of the dominions of the crown, and the removal of ancient and warlike enemies to a greater distance. At the conclusion, therefore, of the late war, the most glorious and advantageous that ever had been carried on by British arms, your loyal colonists having contributed to its success, by such repeated and strenuous exertions, as frequently procured them the distinguished approbation of your majesty, of the late king, and of Parliament, doubted not but that they should be permitted, with the rest of the empire, to share in the blessings of peace, and the emoluments of victory and conquest.

While these recent and honorable acknowledgments of their merits remained on record in the journals and acts of that august legislature, the Parliament, undefaced by the imputation or even the suspicion of any offence, they were alarmed by a new system of statutes and regulations, adopted for the administration of the colonies, that filled their minds with the most painful fears and jealousies; and, to their inexpressible astonishment, perceived the danger of a foreign quarrel, quickly succeeded by domestic danger, in their judgment, of a more dreadful kind.

Nor were these anxieties alleviated by any tendency in this system to promote the welfare of their mother country. For though its effects were more immediately felt by them, yet its influence appeared to be injurious to the commerce and prosperity of Great Britain.

We shall decline the ungrateful task of describing the irksome variety of artifices, practised by many of your majesty's ministers, the delusive pretences, fruitless terrors, and unavailing severities, that have, from time to time, been dealt out by them, in their attempts to execute this impolitic plan, or of tracing, through a series of years past,

the progress of the unhappy differences between Great Britain and these colonies, that have flowed from this fatal source.

Your majesty's ministers, persevering in their measures, and proceeding to open hostilities for enforcing them, have compelled us to arm in our own defence, and have engaged us in a controversy so peculiarly abhorrent to the affections of your still faithful colonists, that when we consider whom we must oppose in this contest, and if it continues, what may be the consequences, our own particular misfortunes are accounted by us only as parts of our distress.

Knowing to what violent resentments, and incurable animosities, civil discords are apt to exasperate and inflame the contending parties, we think ourselves required by indispensable obligation to Almighty God, to your majesty, to our fellow subjects, and to ourselves, immediately to use all the means in our power, not incompatible with our safety, for stopping the further effusion of blood, and for averting the impending calamities that threaten the British empire.

Thus called upon to address your majesty on affairs of such moment to America, and probably to all your dominions, we are earnestly desirous of performing this office, with the utmost deference for your majesty: and we therefore pray that your majesty's royal magnanimity and benevolence may make the most favorable construction of our expressions on so uncommon an occasion. Could we represent in their full force, the sentiments that agitate the minds of us your dutiful subjects, we are persuaded your majesty would ascribe any seeming deviation from reverence in our language, and even in our conduct, not to any reprehensible intention, but to the impossibility of reconciling the usual appearances of respect, with a just attention to our own preservation against those artful and cruel enemies, who abuse your royal confidence and authority, for the purpose of effecting our destruction.

Attached to your majesty's person, family, and government, with all the devotion that principle and affection can inspire, connected with Great Britain by the strongest ties that can unite societies, and deploring every event that tends in any degree to weaken them, we solemnly assure your majesty that we not only desire the former harmony between her and these colonies may be restored, but that a concord may be established be-

tween them upon so firm a basis as to perpetuate its blessings, uninterrupted by any future dissensions, to succeeding generations in both countries, and to transmit your majesty's name to posterity, adorned with that signal and lasting glory that has attended the memory of those illustrious personages whose virtues and abilities have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, and by securing happiness to others, have erected the most noble and durable monuments to their own fame.

We beg leave further to assure your majesty, that notwithstanding the sufferings of your loyal colonists during the course of this present controversy, our breasts retain too tender a regard for the kingdom from which we derive our origin to request such a reconciliation as might in any manner be inconsistent with her dignity or her welfare. These, related as we are to her, honor and duty, as well as inclination, induce us to support and advance; and the apprehensions that now oppress our hearts with unspeakable grief, being once removed, your majesty will find your faithful subjects on this continent ready and willing at all times, as they have ever been, with their lives and fortunes, to assert and maintain the rights and interests of your majesty, and of our mother country.

We, therefore, beseech your majesty that your royal authority and influence may be graciously interposed to procure us relief from our afflicting

fears and jealousies, occasioned by the system before mentioned, and to settle peace through every part of your dominions, with all humility submitting to your majesty's wise consideration whether it may not be expedient for facilitating those important purposes, that your majesty be pleased to direct some mode by which the united applications of your faithful colonists to the throne, in pursuance of their common councils, may be improved into a happy and permanent reconciliation: and that, in the meantime, measures may be taken for preventing the further destruction of the lives of your majesty's subjects, and that such statutes as more immediately distress any of your majesty's colonies may be repealed.

For, by such arrangements as your majesty's wisdom can form for collecting the united sense of your American people, we are convinced your majesty would receive such satisfactory proofs of the disposition of the colonists towards their sovereign and parent state, that the wished-for opportunity would soon be restored to them of evincing the sincerity of their profession, by every testimony of devotion becoming the most dutiful subjects and the most affectionate colonists.

That your majesty may enjoy a long and prosperous reign, and that your descendants may govern your dominions with honor to themselves, and happiness to their subjects, is our sincere prayer.

CHAPTER XIV.

1775—1776.

THE BIRTH-YEAR OF THE REPUBLIC.

Course of Parliament looked to with anxiety — Petition to the King rejected — Debates in Parliament — Foreign mercenaries to be employed — Act prohibiting trade with colonies — Crisis had arrived — Paine's *Common Sense* — Its effect — Dunmore's high-handed proceedings at the South — Norfolk bombarded — Conolly's scheme with the Indians — State of feeling in New York — Press of Rivington's Gazette destroyed — Plan of the English to seize upon the Hudson — Lee in command in New York — Tory influence predominant — The Johnson family — Their course — Scene in the camp — Washington and the "round jackets and rifle shirts" — Holmes's summing up of the year 1775 — Singular aspect of affairs — The alternative, submission or independence — Washington before Boston — Scarcity of provisions in the city — Botta's account of the occupation of Dorchester Heights and the evacuation of Boston — Thanks of Congress to Washington — British troops sail for Halifax — Putnam sent on to New York — Lee dispatched to the South — Washington meets Congress — Plots of the Tories — Attempt to seize Washington's person, and convey him to the enemy — Proceedings with respect to colonial governments — Chief Justice Drayton's charge to the grand jury — Clinton's attack on Charleston — Sergeant Jasper's heroic conduct — Declaration of Independence felt to be necessary — Instructions to delegates from various colonies — Proceedings and debates in Congress — The resolution that the colonies are, and of right ought to be, independent — THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE — Importance of the ground then taken — The jubilee day — Moral force of the position assumed by our fathers. APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV.—I. Draft of the Declaration of Independence and the amendments made by Congress.—II. Extract from John Quincy Adams's Fourth of July Oration, 1831.

THE assembling of Parliament, in October, 1775, was looked to with anxiety and concern by the Americans. On the course which it should resolve to pursue would depend very materially the nature and extent of the opposition which the colonists were prepared to sustain against its previous acts.

1775.

If Parliament should see fit to make such concessions and assurances for the future, as the people in America demanded as their right, possibly the differences and disputes which had proceeded already to so great lengths, might be accommodated and amicably settled; but if, on the other hand, that body should persist in its offensive attitude, and continue to employ force in order to subdue the colonies, then force

must be met by force, and the people must nerve themselves for war and bloodshed.

The petition to the King, on which some had built considerable hope, was rejected with contempt, and in his speech at the opening of Parliament, George III. not only accused the colonists of revolt, hostility, and rebellion, but stated that the rebellious war carried on by them was for the purpose of establishing an *independent empire*. To prevent this, he informed Parliament that the most decisive and vigorous measures were necessary; that he had consequently increased his naval establishment, had augmented his land forces, and had also taken measures to procure the aid of foreign troops. He

at the same time declared his intention of appointing certain persons with authority to grant pardons to individuals, and to receive the submission of those colonies disposed to return to their allegiance.

In the debate on the address, in reply to the royal speech, the conduct of the ministry was severely canvassed. General Conway and the Duke of Grafton resigned their places and joined the opposition. The ill health of Lord Chatham prevented his advocating the cause of the Americans; but there were not wanting others to speak in tones of warning against the attempt to force the people of America to submission. Camden, Shelburne, Richmond, Barré, and others, did all in their power to prevent the action of the ministry; but Lord North was supported by large majorities, in both Houses. The king was obstinately bent upon this course, and the measures adopted were of the most stringent character.* Twenty-five thousand men were promptly voted to be employed in America. As it was not found easy to enlist troops in England, the employment of foreign mercenaries was determined upon. Between seventeen and eighteen thousand men, principally from Hesse Cassel and Brunswick, were hired at exorbitant rates. The odiousness of employing the Hessians against the Americans was forcibly pointed out in Parliament, and probably no measure could have been devised which

was calculated to wound so deeply the feelings of those who were contending for their rights and liberties. By this arrangement, a force of between forty and fifty thousand men was got together for the purpose of compelling the Americans to submission.

Richard Penn, who had had charge of the petition to the king, was examined before the House of Lords, and gave it as his positive opinion, that no designs of independency had hitherto been formed by Congress, as none certainly had at that time been openly and formally avowed; but the ministry were in possession of intercepted letters by John Adams, which plainly indicated designs of quite another description. The Duke of Richmond moved that the petition of Congress might be made the basis of a further reconciliation, but his motion was rejected. In the House of Commons, (November 16th,) Burke introduced and powerfully supported a bill for the repeal of the obnoxious Acts, granting an amnesty for the past, but his present efforts were as unsuccessful as the former, and the bill was rejected by a majority of two to one. A similar movement, made soon after by Hartley, met with no better fate.

Toward the close of December, the ministry carried through Parliament an act prohibiting all trade and commerce with the colonies, and authorizing the capture and condemnation, not only of all American vessels, with their cargoes, but all other vessels found trading in any port or place in the colonies, as if the same were the vessels and effects of open enemies; and the vessels and

* For an abstract of the debates in Parliament at this time, see Holmes's "*Annals*," vol. ii., pp. 227-31

property thus taken were vested in the captors, and the crews were to be treated, not as prisoners, but as slaves. "By a most extraordinary clause in this act," says Pitkin, "it was made lawful for the commander of a British vessel to take the masters, crews, and other persons, found in the captured vessels, to put them on board any other British armed vessel, and enter their names on the books of the same; and from the time of such entry, such persons were to be considered in the service of his majesty, to all intents and purposes, as though they had entered themselves voluntarily on board of such vessel. By this means the Americans might be compelled to fight even against their own friends and countrymen. This clause in the act excited the indignation of many in both Houses of Parliament, and drew from them the strongest epithets of reprobation. This treatment of prisoners, they declared not only unjust, but a refinement in cruelty unknown among savage nations. No man, they said, could be despoiled of his goods as a foreign enemy, and at the same time compelled to serve the state as a citizen. Such a compulsion upon prisoners was unknown in any case of war or rebellion; and the only example of the kind that could be produced, must be found among pirates, the outlaws and enemies of human society. Some of the lords, in their protest against the act, described it 'as a refinement in cruelty,' which, 'in a sentence worse than death, obliged the unhappy men who should be made captives in that predatory war, to bear arms against their fami-

lies, kindred, friends, and country; and after being plundered themselves, to become accomplices in plundering their brethren.' The ministry, on the other hand, pretended to view this treatment of American prisoners rather as an act of grace and favor than of injustice or cruelty."*

It was evident, from these measures of Parliament, that the great crisis had been reached, when the American people were called upon to choose whether they would yield submission to the mother country in her imperious demands, as children in fear of the rod, or whether they would persist in resisting aggression and wrong, as became freemen and the heirs of an illustrious ancestry of freemen. The time had now arrived, when they must either retrace their steps with shame and dishonor, or prepare to go forward and sustain their position at the risk of their lives and the great uncertainty of final success. Happily for us, their children, our fathers did not falter, but calmly and resolutely entered upon the work set before them.

The voting a band of foreign mercenaries to carry fire and sword into America, was felt to be a grievance utterly insupportable, and a measure which clearly indicated that England would stop short at nothing less than absolute conquest over the colonists. However it might have been hoped by numbers, who loved peace and dreaded the horrors of war, that in some way a reconciliation could be effected, this last out-

* Pitkin's "*Political and Civil History of the United States*," vol. i., p. 357

rage was sufficient to convince all that the time for decision had arrived. Americans must resolve now to purchase freedom at the cost of a long and expensive war.

While men's minds were deeply stirred on this eventful topic, and while they mused, with various feelings, on the subject of INDEPENDENCE, the pamphlet of Thomas Paine, entitled "Common Sense," made its appearance. Paine, though an Englishman, was an ardent republican; and the style, manner and matter of his pamphlet were calculated to interest the passions, and to rouse all the energies of human nature. With a view of operating on the sentiments of a religious people, Scripture was pressed into his service, and the powers, and even the name of a king was rendered odious in the eyes of the numerous colonists who had read and studied the history of the Jews, as recorded in the Old Testament. The folly of that people in revolting from a government instituted by Heaven itself, and the oppressions to which they were subjected in consequence of their lust- ing after kings to rule over them, afforded an excellent handle for pre- possessing the colonists in favor of re- publican institutions, and prejudicing them against kingly government. He- reditary succession was turned into ridi- cule. The absurdity of subjecting a great continent to a small island on the other side of the globe, was represented in such striking language, as to interest the honor and pride of the colonists in renouncing the government of Great Britain. The necessity, the advantage, and practicability of independence were

forcibly demonstrated. Nothing could be better timed than this production; it was addressed to freemen, who had just received convincing proof, that Great Britain had thrown them out of her protection, had engaged foreign mercenaries to make war upon them, and seriously designed to compel their unconditional submission to her unlim- ited power. It found the colonists most thoroughly alarmed for their liberties, and disposed to do and suffer any thing that promised their establishment. In union with the feelings and sentiments of the people, it produced surprising effects. Many thousands were con- vinced, and were led to approve and even long for a separation from the mother country.

At the south, the proceedings of Lord Dunmore stirred up great oppo- sition. Most of the royal governors remained inactive in the midst of popu- lar excitement, but the governor of Virginia was determined to do some- thing in behalf of the cause of the min- istry. Several steps which he took roused the ire of the Virginians, and among other things he held out threats of proclaiming liberty to the slaves, destroying the town of Williamsburg, and the like. The people held frequent assemblies. Some of them took up arms to force the governor to restore the powder, and to get the public money into their own possession.

Lord Dunmore was so much intimi- dated by these resolute proceedings on the part of the people, that he sent his family on board a man-of-war. He himself, however, issued a proclama- tion, in which he declared the behavior

of the person who promoted the tumult treasonable, accused the people of disaffection, etc. On their part, they were by no means deficient in recriminating; and some letters of his to England being about the same time discovered, consequences ensued similar to those which had been occasioned in the case of Hutchinson and Oliver, at Boston.

In this state of confusion, the governor thought it necessary to fortify his palace with artillery, and procure a party of marines to guard it. Lord North's conciliatory proposal arriving also about the same time, he used his utmost endeavors to cause the people to comply with it. The arguments he used were of such a description that had not matters already gone too far, it is highly probable that some attention would have been paid to them. "The view," he said, "in which the colonies ought to behold this conciliatory proposal was no more than an earnest admonition from Great Britain to relieve her wants: that the utmost condescend-

1775. ^{ence had been used in the mode of application; no determinate sum having been fixed, as it was thought most worthy of British generosity to take what they thought could be conveniently spared, and likewise to leave the mode of raising it to themselves," etc. But the clamor and dissatisfaction were now so universal, that nothing else could be attended to. The governor had called an Assembly in May, for the purpose of laying this conciliatory proposal before them; but it had been little attended to. The Assembly began their session by inquiries into the state of the magazine. It had been broken}

into by some of the townsmen; for which reason spring-guns had been placed there by the governor, which discharged themselves upon the offenders at their entrance: these circumstances, with others of a similar kind, raised such a violent uproar, that as soon as the preliminary business of the session was over, the governor retired on board a man-of-war, informing the Assembly that he durst no longer trust himself on shore. This produced a long course of disputation, which ended in a positive refusal of the governor to trust himself again in Williamsburg, even to give his assent to the bills, which could not be passed without it, and though the Assembly offered to bind themselves for his personal safety. In his turn he requested them to meet him on board the man-of-war, where he then was; but this proposal was rejected, and all further correspondence of a friendly kind was discontinued.

Lord Dunmore, thus deprived of his government, attempted, in the autumn of 1775, to reduce by force those whom he could no longer govern. Some of the most strenuous adherents to the British cause, whom their zeal had rendered obnoxious at home, now repaired to him. He was also joined by numbers of **black** slaves. With these, and the assistance of the British shipping, he was for some time enabled **1775** to carry on a kind of predatory war, sufficient to hurt and exasperate, but not to subdue. After some considerable attempts on land, proclaiming liberty to the slaves, and setting up the royal standard, he took up his residence at Norfolk, a maritime town of some

consequence, where the people were more loyal towards England than in most other places. A considerable force, however, was collected against him; and the natural impetuosity of his temper prompting him to act against them with more courage than caution, he was entirely defeated, and obliged, early in December, to retire to his shipping, which was now crowded by the number of his adherents. On the first of January, 1776, having been reinforced by the arrival of the Liverpool man-of-war, Dunmore bombarded Norfolk, the largest and richest town in Virginia; and property to the value of £300,000 sterling, was destroyed. Dunmore continued, during the summer, his disgraceful incursions along the rivers, burning and plundering in every direction: he was finally compelled to seek refuge with his followers and plunder, in Florida and the Bermudas.

In the mean time a scheme of some importance was formed by Conolly, formerly an agent of Dunmore's in Northern Virginia, and a man of an intrepid and aspiring disposition, and attached to the royal cause. The first step of this plan, it is said, was to enter into a league with the Ohio Indians. This he communicated to Lord Dunmore, and it received his approbation: upon which Conolly set out in furtherance of his design. On his return, he was dispatched to General Gage, at Boston; after which he undertook to accomplish the remainder of his scheme. The plan probably was, that he should return to the Ohio, engage the assistance of the Indians, and thence push through the back settle-

ments and join Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. But the whole affair was suddenly brought to an end by Conolly's arrest at Fredericton, in Maryland, whence, in November, he and his companions were sent prisoners to Philadelphia.

Governor Martin and the loyalists in North Carolina, were zealous in behalf of the cause they had espoused; but with no success. The activity and enterprise of their opponents prevented the governor and General Clinton, who had gone to Carolina, from effecting anything. In Georgia, Governor Wright was equally unsuccessful, and took refuge on board a ship in the river.

For various reasons, arising out of her position and relations, New York was more inclined to sustain the authority of the mother country, than join heart and hand with the other colonies in defence of their rights and liberties. Governor Tryon, who had thought it best to take up his quarters on board the *Asia*, in the harbor, kept up a constant communication with the loyalists on shore, and was very active in endeavoring to defeat the plans of the patriotic few who longed for independence. Rivington's Gazette, the government paper, annoyed the opponents of the crown not a little, and by its smartness and point, became positively offensive to the patriots. This was not to be borne, and so Captain Sears, in November, when the Committee of Safety declined to interfere, took the matter in hand. He got together a party of light horse from Connecticut, drew up in front of Rivington's office, and amid the cheers of

the crowd, broke his press, and carried off the type. This was looked upon as a high-handed measure, and was justly complained of to the next Provincial Congress.

In October, a letter was laid before Congress, written by some credible person in London, stating that the secret policy of the British government was to gain possession of New York and the Hudson River, and in this way, by opening communication between Canada and New York, distract and divide the colonial forces, expose Massachusetts and the eastern colonies to the inroads of the Indians in the pay of the government, and finally succeed in reducing the country to absolute subjection. This information excited no little solicitude respecting the Hudson, and its importance in the present juncture; and when it was known, at the close of the year, that great preparations were under way in Boston harbor, for some secret expedition, Washington at once surmised, that the object of Sir Henry Clinton, who was to command it, was to seize upon New York. Steps were immediately taken to meet the emergency; although, as we may here state, the event showed that Clinton's present aim was to make a descent upon North Carolina.

Early in 1776, as the Committee of Safety was considered to be rather lukewarm, General Lee was ordered to take command of the troops sent from Connecticut, to sustain the authority
1776. of Congress, and prevent, as far as possible, the machinations of Tryon and the loyalists. Sir Henry Clinton looked in upon New York, on his way

to Carolina; and Lee declared, "that he would send word on board the men-of-war, that, if they set a house on fire, he would chain a hundred of their friends by the neck, and make the house their funeral pile;"—a threat, by the way, which he was just the man to put into execution.

But it was not simply in the city of New York and its vicinity, that the loyalists were formidable. They possessed considerable strength in Tryon County, that part of the province west of the Schoharie River, where the Johnson family exercised preponderating influence. There were firm Whigs there, but many Tories also; and General Schuyler thought it necessary, in January, to send a detachment from Albany, to disarm the Johnsons and the Highlanders, and compel them to give hostages. Guy Johnson had gone to Canada, and carried off most of the Mohawks to serve the British. Sir John Johnson gave his parole, not to take up arms against America, but later, in May, when it was attempted to arrest him on suspicion, he fled to Canada, raised two battalions of "Royal Greens," and became quite a terror on the frontiers of New York. Brant, the famous Indian chief, was Guy Johnson's secretary, and was very active against the Americans.

In consequence of Lord Dunmore's course, in Virginia, as stated on a previous page, it was feared that Mount Vernon might be attacked. Washington, therefore, seeing that his duties would not admit of his visiting home, sent an invitation to Mrs. Washington, to join him at the camp before Boston.

Her presence at head-quarters, was of service to the commander-in-chief, for she presided there with mingled dignity and affability. Washington had prayers morning and evening, and was regular in his attendance at the church in which he was a communicant. Mr. Irving gives a graphic sketch of the mode of life prevailing at the time at head-quarters, and tells of a "brawl between round jackets and rifle shirts," which brings out the grave commander-in-chief in a new light. Truly, it must have been a refreshing sight, to see the summary mode in which Washington settled the controversy between the contending parties, by seizing two tall brawny riflemen by the throat, and giving them a thorough shaking, as well as reproof in words. We can well imagine, that in three minutes' time, no one remained on the ground, but the two Washington had collared; and it is hard to tell which is most to be admired in the whole transaction, the simple directness of the process, or the astonishing vigor with which it was administered.*

In November, of this year, Congress was informed that a foreigner was in Philadelphia, who was desirous of making to them a confidential communication. At first no notice was taken of it, but the intimation having been several times repeated, a committee, consisting of John Jay, Dr. Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson, was appointed to hear what he had to say. They agreed to meet him in a room in Carpenter's

Hall, and, at the time appointed, they found him there, an elderly, lame gentleman, and apparently a wounded French officer. He told them that the French king was greatly pleased with the exertions for liberty which the Americans were making; that he wished them success, and would, whenever it should be necessary, manifest more openly, his friendly sentiments towards them. The committee requested to know his authority for giving these assurances. He answered only, by drawing his hand across his throat, and saying, "Gentlemen, I shall take care of my head." They then asked what demonstrations of friendship they might expect from the King of France. "Gentlemen," answered he, "if you want arms, you shall have them; if you want ammunition, you shall have it; if you want money, you shall have it." The committee observed that these were important assurances, and again desired to know by what authority they were made. "Gentlemen," said he, again drawing his hand across his throat, "I shall take care of my head;" and this was the only answer they could obtain from him. He was seen in Philadelphia no more.*

Dr. Holmes, in his valuable "American Annals," sums up his account of the year 1775, in language well worthy the reader's attention. "At the close of this eventful year, we are presented with a train of interesting and instructive reflections. The contemplative will meditate upon the impotency of human passions and counsels, when op-

* See Irving's "*Life of Washington*," vol. ii., p. 124

* See "*Life of John Jay*," by his Son, vol. i., p. 39.

posed to the immutable laws of justice, and to the uncontrollable counsels of heaven. At the opening of the year, Lord Chatham, among other British patriots and statesmen, had faithfully declared the magnitude of the American controversy, and predicted its issue. He enlarged upon the dangerous and ruinous events that were coming upon the nation, in consequence of the present dispute, and the measures already begun, and now carrying on by his majesty's ministers. 'I know,' said he, 'that no one will avow, that he has advised his majesty to these measures; every one shrinks from the charge. But somebody has advised his majesty to these measures, and if his majesty continues to hear such evil counsellors, his majesty will be undone. His majesty may indeed wear his crown, but, the American jewel out of it, it will not be worth the wearing. The very first drop of blood will make a wound, that will not easily be skinned over. Years, perhaps ages, may not heal it.' The ministers persisted in their measures. Blood was soon shed, and the wound was never healed. The jewel was lost."*

It was, it must be confessed, a singular spectacle, which was exhibited to the world, in America, at the present crisis in public affairs. Professedly, the people were in allegiance to a ruler on the other side of a broad ocean, and whose commands they had for ten years, more or less openly, disobeyed. They had zealously adhered to a domestic government, which the king de-

nounced as a traitorous usurpation. They had raised an army avowedly to fight his troops; they had engaged in battle with these troops; and they had invaded the adjacent territory of the king of England. "The very men who were engaged in acts of rebellion, shrunk from the name of rebels. In the tribunals, justice was still administered in the name of the king, and prayers were every day offered up for the preservation and welfare of a prince whose authority was not only ignored, but against whom a determined and obstinate contest was maintained. The colonists pretended that they only desired to resume their ancient relations, and re-establish the royal government in its original shape, when in fact the republican system had long been introduced. They declared it to be their wish to arrive at a certain end, while they recurred to every means which tended to conduct them to the contrary one." So anomalous a state of things as this, could not well subsist much longer, and the alternative became plainer and plainer, *submission* or *independence*. The current set strongly in favor of the latter. The great majority were impelled by every consideration, to desire this, as, in fact, the only resource left to them. There were, it is true, worthy men in the community, who could not easily reconcile themselves to the idea of an absolute separation from a country to which they had been long bound by the most endearing ties. They saw the sword drawn, but could not tell when it would be sheathed; they feared that the inhabitants of the several colonies would not be brought

* Holmes's "Annals," vol. ii., p. 236.

to coalesce under an efficient government, and that after much anarchy, some future Cæsar, or Cromwell, would grasp their liberties, and confirm himself on a throne of despotism. They doubted the perseverance of their countrymen, in effecting their independence, and were also apprehensive, that in case of success, their future condition would be less happy than their past. Some respectable individuals, whose principles were pure, but whose souls were not of that firm texture which revolutions require, shrunk back from the bold measures proposed by their more adventurous countrymen. To submit without an appeal to heaven, though secretly wished for by some, was not the avowed sentiment of any; but to persevere in petitioning and resisting, was the system of some misguided honest men. The favorers of that opinion were generally wanting in that decision which grasps at great objects, and influenced by that timid policy which does its work by halves. Most of them dreaded the power of England. A few, on the score of interest, or in expectancy of favors from the royal government, refused to concur with the general voice. Some of the natives of the mother country, who, having lately settled in the colonies, had not yet exchanged European for American ideas, together with a few others, conscientiously opposed the measures of Congress: notwithstanding all this, however, the great bulk of the people, and especially of the spirited and independent part of the community, came with surprising unanimity into the project of severing the tie which bound them

to England. And when once the idea of independence was clearly grasped, and fully appreciated, it was impossible to stay the onward progress of America toward that glorious result.

Washington, meanwhile, was waiting, impatiently, before Boston. His own wish had been, to take some active measures ere this, but various circumstances operated to prevent the accomplishment of his purposes. Congress, fearing, perhaps, that the commander-in-chief hesitated, lest an assault might be destructive of the property which many of the patriots and members of their body owned in Boston, formally urged Washington not to let any considerations of the kind interfere with the measures he deemed advisable. It was important, on every account, to dislodge the enemy, and Washington was not without hope of being able to carry the city by assault.

The scarcity of provisions in Boston was well known; various facilities were afforded for an assault, and Washington, as we have noted on a previous page, (see p. 376,) called a council of war, and proposed to make the attempt without delay. The council did not agree as to the expediency of an assault, and preferred to force the enemy to evacuate, by occupying the Heights of Dorchester, which commanded the entire city. Washington, with his usual prudence, gave way, and it was determined to occupy the Heights directly. A quantity of fascines and gabions had been prepared, at the suggestion of Generals Ward, Thomas and Spencer, and the aid derived from the cannon taken at Ticonderoga and Crown

Point, furnished a good supply of powerful artillery.

The Americans,—says Botta,* in his flowing style,—in order to occupy the attention of the enemy in another part, erected strong batteries upon the shore at Cobb's Hill, at Lechmere's Point, at Phipp's Farm, and at Lamb's Dam, near Roxbury. They opened a terrible fire in the night of the second of March; the bombs, at every instant, fell into the city. The garrison was incessantly employed in extinguishing the flames of the houses in combustion, and in all the different services that are necessary in such circumstances. During this time, the Americans prepared themselves with ardor, or rather with joy, to take possession of the Heights. Companies of militia arrived from all parts to reinforce the army. The night of the fourth of March was selected for the expedition; the chiefs hoped that the recollection of the events of the 5th of March, 1770, when the first blood had been shed in Boston by the English, would inflame with new ardor, and a thirst of vengeance, those spirits already so resolute in their cause.

Accordingly, in the evening of the 4th, all the arrangements being made, the Americans proceeded in profound silence towards the peninsula of Dorchester. The obscurity of the night was propitious, and the wind favorable, since it could not bear to the enemy the little noise which it was impossible to avoid. The frost had rendered the roads easy. The batteries of Phipp's

Farm, and those of Roxbury, incessantly fulminated with a stupendous roar.

Eight hundred men composed the van-guard; it was followed by carriages filled with utensils of entrenchment, and twelve hundred pioneers led by General Thomas. In the rear-guard were three hundred carts of fascines, of gabions, and bundles of hay, destined to cover the flank of the troops in the passage of the isthmus of Dorchester, which, being very low, was exposed to be raked on both sides by the artillery of the English vessels.

All succeeded perfectly; the Americans arrived upon the Heights, not only without being molested, but even without being perceived by the enemy.

They set themselves to work with an activity so prodigious, that by ten o'clock at night, they had already constructed two forts, in condition to shelter them from small arms and grape-shot; one upon the height nearest to the city, and the other upon that which looks towards Castle Island. The day appeared; but it prevented not the provincials from continuing their works, without any movement being made on the part of the garrison. At length, when the haze of the morning was entirely dissipated, the English discovered, with extreme surprise, the new fortifications of the Americans.

The English admiral, having examined them, declared, that if the enemy was not dislodged from this position, his vessels could no longer remain in the harbor without the most imminent hazard of total destruction. The city itself was exposed to be de-

* Botta's "*History of the War of Independence*," vol. ii., p. 36.

molished to its foundations, at the pleasure of the provincials. The communication, also, between the troops that guarded the isthmus of Boston, and those within the town, became extremely difficult and dangerous. The artillery of the Americans battered the strand, whence the English would have to embark in case of retreat. There was no other choice, therefore, left them, but either to drive the colonists from this station by dint of force, or to evacuate the city altogether.

General Howe decided for the attack, and made his dispositions accordingly. Washington, on his part, having perceived the design, prepared himself to repel it. The entrenchments were perfected with diligence; the militia were assembled from the neighboring towns, and signals were concerted to be given upon all the eminences which form a sort of cincture about all the shore of Boston, from Roxbury to Mystic river, in order to transmit intelligence and orders with rapidity from one point to the other.

Washington exhorted his soldiers to bear in mind the 5th of March. Nor did he restrict himself to defensive measures, he thought also of the means of falling, himself, upon the enemy, if, during, or after the battle, any favorable occasion should present itself. If the besieged, as he hoped, should experience a total defeat in the assault of Dorchester, his intention was to embark from Cambridge four thousand chosen men, who, rapidly crossing the arm of the sea, should take advantage of the tumult and confusion, to attempt the assault of the town. General Sullivan

commanded the first division; General Greene, the second. An attack was expected like that of Charlestown, and a battle like that of Breed's Hill. General Howe ordered ladders to be prepared to scale the works of the Americans. He directed Lord Percy to embark at the head of a considerable corps, and to land upon the flats near the point, opposite Castle Island. The Americans, excited by the remembrance of the anniversary, and of the battle of Breed's Hill, and by the continual exhortations of their chiefs, expected them, not only without fear, but with alacrity; but the tide ebbed, and the wind blew with such violence, that the passage over became impossible. General Howe was compelled to defer the attack to early the following morning. A tempest arose during the night, and when the day dawned, the sea was still excessively agitated. A violent rain came to increase the obstacles; the English general kept himself quiet. But the Americans made profit of this delay; they erected a third redoubt, and completed the other works. Colonel Mifflin had prepared a great number of hogsheads, full of stones and sand, in order to roll them upon the enemy, when he should march up to the assault, to break his ranks, and throw him into confusion, which might smooth the way to his defeat.

Having diligently surveyed all these dispositions, the English persuaded themselves, that the contemplated enterprise offered difficulties almost insurmountable. They reflected that a repulse, or even a victory so sanguinary as that of Breed's Hill, would expose

to a jeopardy too serious the English interests in America. Even in case of success, it was to be considered that the garrison was not sufficiently numerous, to be able, without hazard, to keep possession of the peninsula of Dorchester, having already to guard not only the city, but the peninsula of Charlestown. The battle was rather necessary, and victory desirable, to save the reputation of the royal arms, than to decide the total event of things upon these shores. The advantages, therefore, could not compensate the dangers. Besides, the port of Boston was far from being perfectly accommodated to the future operations of the army that was expected from England; and General Howe himself had, some length of time before, received instructions from Lord Dartmouth, one of the Secretaries of State, to evacuate the city, and to establish himself at New York.

The want of a sufficient number of vessels had hitherto prevented him from executing this order. Upon all these considerations, the English generals determined to abandon Boston to the power of the provincials.

This retreat, however, presented great difficulties. An hundred and fifty transports, great and small, appeared scarcely adequate to the accommodation of ten thousand men, the number to which the crews and the garrison amounted, without comprehending such of the inhabitants, as, having shown themselves favorable to the royal cause, could not with safety remain. The passage was long and difficult; for with these emaciated and enfeebled troops, it could not

be attempted to operate any descent upon the coasts. It was even believed to be scarcely possible to effect a landing at New York, although the city was absolutely without defence on the part of the sea. The surest course appeared to be to gain the port of Halifax; but besides the want of provisions, which was excessive, the season was very unfavorable for this voyage, at all times dangerous.

The winds that prevailed, then blew violently from the northeast, and might drive the fleet off to the West Indies, and the vessels were by no means stocked with provisions for such a voyage. Besides, the territory of Halifax was a sterile country, from which no resource could be expected, and no provision could have been previously made there, since the evacuation of Boston and retreat to Halifax, were events not anticipated. Nor could the soldiers perceive without discouragement, that the necessity of things impelled them towards the north, apprised, as they were, that the future operations of the English army, were to take place in the provinces of the centre, and even in those of the south. But their generals had no longer the liberty of choice. The Americans, however, being able by the fire of their artillery, to interpose the greatest obstacles to the embarkation of the British troops, General Howe deliberated upon the means of obviating this inconvenience. Having assembled the selectmen of Boston, he declared to them, that the city being no longer of any use to the king, he was resolved to abandon it, provided that Washington would not oppose his

departure. He pointed to the combustible materials he had caused to be prepared to set fire, in an instant, to the city, if the provincials should molest him in any shape. He invited them to reflect upon all the dangers which might result, for them and their habitations, from a battle fought within the walls; and he assured them, that his personal intention was to withdraw peaceably, if the Americans were disposed, on their part, to act in the same manner. He exhorted them, therefore, to repair to the presence of Washington, and to inform him of what they had now heard.

The selectmen waited upon the American general, and made him an affecting representation of the situation of the city. It appears, from what followed, that he consented to the conditions demanded; but the articles of the truce were not written. It has been pretended that one of them was, that the besieged should leave their munitions of war; this, however, cannot be affirmed with assurance. The munitions were, indeed, left; but it is not known whether it was by convention, or from necessity. The Americans remained quiet spectators of the retreat of the English. But the city presented a melancholy spectacle; notwithstanding the orders of General Howe, all was havoc and confusion. Fifteen hundred loyalists, with their families, and their most valuable effects, hastened, with infinite dejection of mind, to abandon a residence which had been so dear to them, and where they had so long enjoyed felicity. The fathers carrying burdens, the mothers their children, ran weeping

towards the ships; the last salutations; the farewell embraces of those who departed, and of those who remained, the sick, the wounded, the aged, the infants, would have moved with compassion the witnesses of their distress, if the care of their own safety had not absorbed the attention of all.

The carts and beasts of burden were become the occasion of sharp disputes between the inhabitants who had retained them, and the soldiers who wished to employ them. The disorder was also increased, by the animosity that prevailed between the soldiers of the garrison and those of the fleet; they reproached each other mutually, as the authors of their common misfortune. With one accord, however, they complained of the coldness and ingratitude of their country, which seemed to have abandoned, or rather to have forgotten them upon these distant shores, a prey to so much misery, and to so many dangers. For since the month of October, General Howe had not received, from England, any order or intelligence whatever, which testified that the government still existed, and had not lost sight of the army of Boston.

Meanwhile, a desperate band of soldiers and sailors took advantage of the confusion, to force doors, and pillage the houses and shops. They destroyed what they could not carry away. The entire city was devoted to devastation, and it was feared every moment the flames would break out, to consummate its destruction.

The 15th of March, General Howe issued a proclamation, forbidding every

inhabitant to go out of his house before eleven o'clock in the morning, in order not to disturb the embarkation of the troops, which was to have taken place on this day. But an east wind prevented their departure; and to pass the time, they returned to pillaging. In the meanwhile, the Americans had constructed a redoubt upon the point of Nook's Hill, in the peninsula of Dorchester, and having furnished it with artillery, they entirely commanded the isthmus of Boston, and all the southern part of the town. It was even to be feared that they would occupy Noddle's Island, and establish batteries, which, sweeping the surface of the water across the harbor, would have entirely interdicted the passage to the ships, and reduced the garrison to the necessity of yielding at discretion. All delay became dangerous; consequently, the British troops and the loyalists began to embark, the 17th of March, at four in the morning; at ten, all were on board. The vessels were overladen with men and baggage; provisions were scanty, confusion was everywhere. The rear guard was scarcely out of the city, when Washington entered it on the other side, with colors displayed, drums beating, and all the forms of victory and triumph. He was received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of gratitude and respect due to a deliverer. Their joy broke forth with the more vivacity, as their sufferings had been long and cruel. For more than sixteen months, they had endured hunger, thirst, cold, and the outrages of an insolent soldiery, who deemed them rebels. The most necessary ar-

ticles of food were risen to exorbitant prices.

Horse flesh was not refused by those who could procure it.* For want of fuel, the pews and benches of churches were taken for this purpose; the counters and partitions of warehouses were applied to the same use; and even houses, not inhabited, were demolished for the sake of the wood. The English left a great quantity of artillery and munitions. Two hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, of different calibre, were found in Boston, in Castle Island, and in the entrenchments of Bunker's Hill, and the Neck. The English had attempted, but with little success, in their haste, to destroy, or to spike these last pieces; others had been thrown into the sea, but they were recovered. There were found, besides, four mortars, a considerable quantity of coal, of wheat, and of other grains, and one hundred and fifty horses.

Congress unanimously voted thanks to the commander-in-chief, and ordered a gold medal to be struck, commemorative of the evacuation of Boston, and, as an honorable token of the public approbation of his conduct. The British troops sailed for Halifax, but Washington, not knowing how soon New York might be attacked, hurried off the main

* Provisions were become so scarce at Boston, that a pound of fresh fish cost twelve pence sterling, a goose eight shillings and fourpence, a turkey twelve shillings and sixpence, a duck, four shillings and twopence, hams, two shillings and a penny per pound. Vegetables were altogether wanting. A sheep cost thirty-five shillings sterling, apples, thirty-three shillings and fourpence per barrel. Fire-wood, forty-one shillings and eightpence the cord; and finally, it was not to be procured at any price.

body of the army for that city, leaving General Ward with five regiments, to fortify and take care of Boston. Some weeks after Howe's departure, British vessels arrived off Boston; and, as they had not been warned, that the city was now in the hands of the Americans, three of the transports were captured, and about two hundred and fifty soldiers were made prisoners of war. One of the vessels had some fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder on board, with other munitions of war, which, in the present scarcity, proved a very serviceable addition to the army stores.

Lee having been appointed by Congress to the southern department, Washington sent General Putnam forward to take the command in New York, and he himself arrived there on the 13th of April. In May, he went to Philadelphia, to advise with Congress in the present state of affairs, and make arrangements for the campaign. Washington does not appear to have had much satisfaction in this visit, and he was not without apprehension from the divisions existing in Congress; divisions greatly to be regretted just at this juncture. Expressing his clear conviction, that independence was the only course left for the colonies to pursue, and, having obtained a vote to reinforce the army at New York, with thirteen thousand eight hundred militia, from the northern colonies, and a flying camp of ten thousand more from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Delaware, Washington returned to New York, to wait the arrival of the British fleet, and then to determine upon the course to be pursued.

Mr. Sparks, in his *Life of Washington*, gives an account of the plots of the Tories in and about New York, Governor Tryon being the main spring of all their movements. Washington, after a great deal of urgency, got Congress to appoint a secret committee, to take up and examine suspected persons. It is true, that this was a dangerous responsibility to be placed in the hands of any man; but the necessity of the case demanded some action. The Tories were bound to take one side or the other in the questions at issue; open enmity could be met; but they who wished to be considered neutrals, while they covertly aided and gave intelligence to the enemy, could not be suffered to remain in a position which gave them every advantage over the patriots and their cause. The power of apprehending the Tories had wisely been put into the hands of the civil authority of each colony, and the conventions, assemblies, and committees, were authorized to employ, when they thought it necessary for the purpose, a militia force from the Continental army. "Many Tories were apprehended in New York and on Long Island; some were imprisoned; others disarmed. 1776. A deep plot, originating with Governor Tryon, was defeated by a timely and fortunate discovery. His agents were found enlisting men in the American camp, and enticing them with rewards. The infection spread to a considerable extent, and even reached the general's guard, some of whom enlisted. A soldier of the guard was proved guilty by a court martial, and executed. It was a part of the plot, to seize General

Washington, and convey him to the enemy."*

New Hampshire, the year previous, had asked advice, as to the form of government to be adopted in that province, and Congress had recommended that the matter be submitted to the people, and such a form of government be established, as would best secure the ends desired, during the existing difficulties with the mother country. Similar advice was soon after given to Virginia and South Carolina. These colonies acted upon this advice, and thereby gave a considerable impulse forward to the subject of independence, which, at this time, occupied the public mind. On the 10th of May, Congress unanimously resolved, "That it be recommended to the respective Assemblies and Conventions of the United Colonies,

1776. where no government sufficient to the exigencies of their affairs hath hitherto been established, to adopt such government, as shall, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents, in particular, and America, in general." In the preamble to this resolution, adopted five days after, Congress, among other things, declared it to be irreconcilable to reason and good conscience, for the colonists to take the oaths required for the support of the government under the crown of Great Britain. They also declared it necessary, that the exercise of every kind of authority under

the crown, should be suppressed; and all the powers of government exerted "under the authority of the people of the colonies, for the preservation of internal peace, virtue and good order, as well as for the defense of their lives, liberties, and properties, against the hostile invasions and cruel depredations of their enemies."

The recommendation of Congress was speedily carried into effect; and, as the people had been virtually in possession of the powers of government for some time past, the change from royal authority to that exercised by themselves, was made without noise or difficulty. John Rutledge was elected governor of South Carolina, and Patrick Henry, of Virginia. In South Carolina, a judiciary was also formed, and William Henry Drayton was appointed chief justice. This accomplished jurist, and ardent patriot, delivered a charge to the Grand Jury, in April, 1776, which concluded in the following terms: "I think it my duty, to declare in the awful seat of justice, and before Almighty God, that, in my opinion, the Americans can have no safety but by the Divine favor, their own virtue, and their being so prudent, as not to leave it in the power of the British rulers to injure them. Indeed, the ruinous and deadly injuries received on our side, and the jealousies entertained, and which, in the nature of things, must daily increase against us on the other, demonstrate to a mind, in the least given to reflection upon the rise and fall of empires, that true reconciliation never can exist between Great Britain and America, the latter being in subjection to the former.

* Sparks's "*Life of Washington*," p. 169. See, also, Mr. Irving's account of this matter, which is more full of particulars—" *Life of Washington*," vol. ii., pp. 242-46.

The Almighty created America to be independent of Britain: let us beware of the impiety of being backward to act as instruments in the Almighty hand, now extended to accomplish his purpose; and by the completion of which alone, America, in the nature of human affairs, can be secure against the craft and insidious designs of her enemies, who think her prosperity and power already by far too great. In a word, our piety and political safety are so blended, that to refuse our labors in this divine work, is to refuse to be a great, a free, a pious, and a happy people! And now having left this important alternative, political happiness or wretchedness, under God, in a great degree in your own hands; I pray the supreme Arbiter of the affairs of men, so to direct your judgment, as that you may act agreeably to what seems to be his will, revealed in his miraculous works in behalf of America, bleeding at the altar of liberty!"

After long delay, the British squadron, under Sir Peter Parker, arrived, in May, at Cape Fear. Sir Henry Clinton, who was waiting for it there, immediately took command of the troops, and, as nothing could be done in North Carolina, it was resolved to strike a decisive blow against Charleston. Fortunately, some intercepted letters of Governor Eden, had given notice to Congress, of the intended attack, and General Lee was dispatched to provide for the defence of Charleston and the southern department. At the first alarm, various regiments had

1776. marched down to the city, increasing its garrison to about six thou-

sand men. Assisted by the inhabitants and their negro slaves, they labored most indefatigably to complete the fortifications. All the roads running down to the sea were blockaded, the streets barricaded, the magazines destroyed, entrenchments raised, and every possible means taken to oppose the progress of the enemy. On the 4th of June, the British fleet made its appearance off Charleston harbor, and, having passed the bar, anchored about three miles from Sullivan's Island. General Clinton dispatched a summons to the inhabitants, threatening them with the utmost vengeance of an irritated government, unless they submitted, offering, at the same time, a complete amnesty to such as should lay down their arms. The offer was rejected, of course, and Clinton had no alternative, but to proceed with the attack.

The entrance to the harbor was protected by an unfinished fort on Sullivan's Island, which had been strengthened with as much care as possible, and was armed with thirty-six heavy guns, as well as twenty-six others of inferior calibre. The fort was constructed of the *palmetto*, a soft and spongy wood, which deadened the effect of a cannon ball, and was commanded by Colonel Moultrie, at the head of about three hundred and fifty troops, and some militia. To silence this fort, was, of course, the first object of the British commander, and, for this purpose, he landed a large body of troops on Long Island, adjacent to Sullivan's Island, and only separated from it by a narrow channel, often fordable, with or-

ders to cross over and attack it, while the fleet cannonaded it in front. Great difficulty was experienced in the outset, in getting the heavy ships of war over the bar, which could be effected only by taking out their guns. At length, on the 28th of June, the whole fleet placed themselves in line, and began a tremendous firing on the devoted fort. Three of these ships, the Sphynx, Acteon, and Syren, were ordered to take up a position to the westward, where they could enfilade the weakest part of the works, and at the same time intercept any succors that might be sent from the city. Had this manœuvre been successful, it would have been impossible for the fort to have held out; but happily for the Americans, the three vessels grounded on a shoal called the Middle Ground, two being with great difficulty got off, and one burned on the following day. This fortunate accident encouraged the spirit of these brave men to the highest pitch, although they were but recent recruits, and exposed for several hours to an incessant cannonade. Amidst a perfect hail-storm of bombs and balls, they coolly and resolutely stood to their guns, and returned the fire of their assailants, until their ammunition gave out.

The intrepid conduct of Sergeant Jasper deserves especial mention; for, when the staff of the flag under which he and his compatriots were fighting, was shot away by a ball, Jasper sprang after it to the ground, fastened it to the rammer of a cannon, mounted the parapet, and in the face of the hot fire of the enemy, deliberately hoisted it anew.

Honor to the brave sergeant, and the men who stood shoulder to shoulder with him!

The steady and well-directed fire of the Americans, obliged the British ships to give up their attempt. The Bristol, a fifty gun ship, was twice in flames, and her captain was killed. Lord Campbell, the ex-governor, who served as a volunteer, was mortally wounded, and, at one time, Sir Peter Parker was the only one unhurt on deck. The troops intended to ford the channel, and attack the fort in flank, but were unable to pass over on account of the unusual depth of water, occasioned by a long prevalence of easterly winds. The flank attack by the vessels had also failed, and thus the Americans were enabled to pass over fresh ammunition and succors from the city into the fort. The engagement had lasted from eleven in the morning till nine in the evening, when the British, owing to the failure of two parts of their plan, and the unexpectedly vigorous defence of the Americans, concluded to retire from the scene of action. On the following day, the squadron set sail, to join the British forces, which had assembled in the Bay of New York.

The preliminary steps towards a declaration of independence by the whole country, had already been taken. Every day served to demonstrate the necessity of some decisive action, which should place the Americans and their cause fairly before the world. As early as the 22d of April, the Convention of North Carolina empowered their delegates in Congress, "to concur with those in the other colonies, in declaring

independency." This, according to Pitkin, was the first direct public act of any colonial Assembly or Convention, in favor of the measure.

On the 15th of May,—we quote from the same authority—the Convention of Virginia went still farther, and unanimously *instructed* their delegates in Congress, "to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United Colonies, free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance or dependence upon the Crown or Parliament of Great Britain; and to give the assent of that colony, to such declaration, and to whatever measures might be thought proper and necessary, by Congress, for forming foreign alliances, and a confederation of the colonies, at such time, and in such manner, as to them should seem best: provided the power of forming governments for, and the regulation of the internal concerns of, each colony, be left to the respective colonial legislatures." They, at the same time, appointed a Committee, "to prepare a declaration of rights, and such a plan of government, as would be most likely to maintain peace and order in the colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people."

On the 10th of May, the General Assembly of Massachusetts, directed that the people of that colony, at the then approaching election of new representatives, should give them instructions on the subject of independence. In consequence of this, the inhabitants of Boston, on the 23d of May, instructed their representatives, to use their endeavors, that their delegates in Congress be advised, "that in case Con-

gress should think it necessary, for the safety of the United Colonies, to declare themselves independent of Great Britain, the inhabitants of that colony, with their lives, and the remnants of their fortunes, would most cheerfully support them in the measure."

The Assembly of Rhode Island, during their session in May, not only directed the oath of allegiance to be taken to the colony; but also, instructed their delegates in Congress to join with the other colonies, "upon the most proper measures, for promoting and confirming the strictest union and confederation between the colonies, for exerting their whole strength and force to annoy the common enemy, and to secure to the said colonies, their rights and liberties, both civil and religious; whether by entering into *treaties* with any prince, state, or potentate; or by such other prudent and effectual ways and means, as should be devised and agreed upon; and, in conjunction with the delegates from the United Colonies, to enter upon and attempt all such measures—taking the greatest care, to secure to this colony, in the most perfect manner, its present forms, and all the powers of government, so far as relates to its internal police, and conduct of affairs, civil and religious."

The great question of independence was brought *directly* before Congress, by Richard Henry Lee, one of the delegates from Virginia. On the 7th of June, 1776, he submitted a resolution, declaring, "that the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown;

and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." The resolution was postponed until the next day, and every member enjoined to attend, to take the same into consideration. On the 8th, it was debated, in Committee of the Whole. No question of greater magnitude, was ever presented to the consideration of a deliberative body, or debated with more energy, eloquence, and ability.

Mr. Lee, the mover, and Mr. John Adams, were particularly distinguished in supporting, and Mr. John Dickinson, in opposing the resolution. On the 10th, it was adopted in Committee, by a bare majority of the colonies. The delegates from Pennsylvania and Maryland, were instructed to oppose it; and the delegates from some of the other colonies, were without special instructions on the subject. To give time for greater unanimity, the resolution was postponed in the House, until the 1st of July. Meantime, a Committee, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Sherman, and R. R. Livingston, was appointed to prepare a Declaration of Independence. During this interval, measures were taken to procure the assent of all the colonies.

On the 8th of June, the delegates from New York wrote by an express, to the Convention of that colony, for their advice on the question of independence, which, they informed them, would soon be agitated in Congress. The Convention, however, did not consider themselves, or their delegates, authorized to declare the colony independent; but recommended that the

people, who were then about to elect new members of the Convention, should give instructions on the subject.

On the 15th of June, the representatives of New Hampshire, unanimously instructed their delegates, to join the other colonies on this question.

A special Assembly was called in Connecticut, on the 14th of June; and by an unanimous vote, the delegates of that colony were instructed to give "their assent to a declaration of independence, and to unite in measures for forming foreign alliances, and promoting a plan of union among the colonies."

On the 21st of the same month, new delegates to the General Congress were elected by the Convention of New Jersey, and they were directed, "in case they judged it necessary and expedient, for supporting the just rights of America, to join in declaring the United Colonies independent, and entering into a confederation for union and defence."

The Assembly of Pennsylvania, held in June, removed the restrictions laid upon their delegates, by instructions of the preceding November, and authorized them "to concur with the other delegates in Congress, in forming such further compacts between the United Colonies, concluding such treaties with foreign kingdoms and states, and in adopting such other measures, as, upon a view of all circumstances, shall be judged necessary for promoting the liberty, safety and interests of America; reserving to the people of this colony, the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police of the same. The happiness of



these colonies," they added, "has, during the whole course of this fatal controversy, been our first wish; their reconciliation with Great Britain our next. Ardently have we prayed for the accomplishment of both. But, if we must renounce the one or the other, we humbly trust in the mercy of the Supreme Governor of the universe, that we shall not stand condemned before his throne, if our choice is determined by that overruling law of self-preservation, which his divine wisdom has thought fit to implant in the hearts of his creatures." The Assembly were not unanimous in this vote, nor did the vote itself expressly instruct the delegates of that colony to assent to a declaration of independence. It was deemed important, that the sense of the people of Pennsylvania, on this great question, should be taken. For this purpose, a Convention or Conference, consisting of Committees chosen by each county, was called, and met at Philadelphia, on the 24th of June. The members of this meeting passed a resolution, in which, as the representatives of the people of Pennsylvania, they expressed "their willingness to concur in a vote of Congress, declaring the United Colonies free and independent states." They, at the same time, asserted, that this measure did not originate in ambition, or in an impatience of lawful authority, but that they were driven to it, in obedience to the first principles of nature, by the oppressions and cruelties of the king and Parliament, as the only measure left to preserve and establish their liberties, and transmit them inviolate to posterity.

The delegates from Maryland, though personally in favor of the measure, were bound by their instructions. Through their influence, another Convention was held in that colony; and on the 28th of June, following the example of Pennsylvania, the members of this Convention recalled their former instructions, and empowered their delegates, "to concur with the other colonies in a declaration of independence, in forming a union among the colonies, in making foreign alliances, and in adopting such other measures, as should be judged necessary for securing the liberties of America." These new instructions were immediately sent by express to Philadelphia, and on the 1st of July, were laid before Congress. On the same day, the resolution relating to independence, was resumed in that body, referred to a Committee of the Whole, and was assented to by all the colonies, except Pennsylvania and Delaware.*

The Committee appointed to draft the Declaration of Independence, as noted above, reported it to Congress just as Thomas Jefferson had written it. After being discussed, and amended in several respects, it received the vote of every colony, on the 4th of July; and was published to the world. Having been engrossed, 1776. by order of Congress, it was, on the 2d of August, signed by all the members† then present, and by some who

* Pitkin's "*Civil and Political History of the United States*," vol. i., pp. 361-65.

† Mr. Dickinson was the only member present, who did not sign the Declaration. For a *résumé* of Mr. Dickinson's speech against, and Mr. R. H. Lee's

were not members, on the 4th of July. The number of the signers was fifty-six. Although this document is familiar to every true-hearted American, its importance, in connection with our history and progress as a nation, requires that it be given in full: it is in the following terms.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED :

“When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

“We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation

on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate, that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:—

“He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

“He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

“He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people

for, the Declaration of Independence, see Botta’s “*History of the War of Independence*,” vol. ii., pp. 87-103.

would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

“He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

“He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

“He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

“He has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

“He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

“He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

“He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and to eat out their substance.

“He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

“He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

“He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:—

“For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

“For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

“For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

“For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

“For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

“For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences;

“For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies;

“For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our governments;

“For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

“He has abdicated government here.

by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

“He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

“He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

“He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

“He has excited domestic insurrections among us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

“In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms. Our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

“Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their

native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

“We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.”*

Thus was it that our fathers, guided by the “God that judgeth in the earth,”

* For the original draft of the Declaration and the amendments made by Congress, see Appendix I., at the end of the present chapter.

and mindful of the sacred trust committed to them to hand down liberty to their children, dared to speak and to act. "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof," is the significant text of Scripture inscribed on the bell in the steeple of the time-honored State-house, Philadelphia. That bell rang out a joyous peal on the 4th day of July, 1776; it has continued to do the same, year after year; and, by God's blessing, it will continue to do the same, unto the latest ages. "The day is past," writes John Adams, the most able and eloquent advocate in favor of the Declaration; "the 2d day of July will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forth and forevermore. You will think me transported with enthusiasm, but I am not. I am well aware of the toil, and blood, and treasure that it will cost us to maintain this Declaration, and support and defend these States. Yet, through all this gloom, I can see the rays of ravishing light and glory. I can see that the end is more than worth all the means; and that our posterity will triumph in that day's transaction, even although we should rue it,—which I trust in God we shall not." The annual jubilee is indeed held, not on the

2d, but on the 4th day of July, when the Declaration of Independence set forth the grounds of our fathers' course, and put on record the solemn pledge which they then and there gave, that as we are of right, so we will be, even to death, A FREE AND INDEPENDENT PEOPLE.*

It was plainly evident, as is remarked by the philosophic M. Guizot, that "the day had arrived when power had forfeited its claim to loyal obedience; and when the people were called upon to protect themselves by force, no longer finding in the established order of things either safety or shelter. Such a moment is a fearful one, big with unknown events; one, which no human sagacity can predict, and no human government can control; but which, notwithstanding, does sometimes come, bearing an impress stamped by the hand of God. If the struggle, which begins at such a moment, were one absolutely forbidden: if, at the mysterious point in which it arises, this great social duty did not press even upon the heads of those who deny its existence, the human race, long ago, wholly fallen under the yoke, would have lost all dignity as well as all happiness."

Whatever might have been thought by many, at the time, of the propriety of this step, there can be no doubt, we think, that the Declaration of Independence was, in every point of view, not only necessary, but wise and well-timed.† Every consideration of sound

* See Appendix II., at the end of the present chapter.

† Mr. Curtis pronounces that the Declaration of

policy as well as justice, demanded that the war should no longer be a contest between subjects and their acknowledged sovereign, and it was of the first consequence, that the position assumed by our fathers, on this memorable occasion, should have all the moral force arising from the fact that they now

Independence "must for ever remain an imperishable monument of Jefferson's power of expression, and his ability to touch the passions, as well as to address the reason, of mankind." See a long and interesting note, in regard to the authorship of the Declaration, in Curtis's "*History of the Constitution*," vol. i., pp. 81-88.

stood before the world as a free and independent people, resolved to peril their lives and their all in defence of the liberties which were their birth-right and their inalienable possession. However dark the prospect was before them then; and, in view of all the circumstances, however uncertain the issue might have appeared; we, their children, cannot doubt that the Declaration of Independence was rightly and necessarily made, and we can—as every honest lover of his country does—bless God that it was made when, and as, it was.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIV.

I.—THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

Mr. Jefferson has preserved a copy of the original draft, as reported by the Committee, with the amendments made to it by Congress, which has been published in his correspondence. The following is extracted from that work.

ORIGINAL DRAFT.

A declaration by the representatives of the United States of America, in *general* Congress, assembled.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with *inherent and* unalienable rights; that, among these are life, liberty, and

AS AMENDED BY CONGRESS.

A declaration by the representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

Not altered.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with *certain* unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and

the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, *begun at a distinguished period and pursuing invariably the same object*, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to *expunge* their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of *unremitting* injuries and usurpations, *among which appears no solitary fact to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, but all have* in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world, *for the truth of which we pledge a faith yet unsullied by falsehood*:—

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves, by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to *alter* their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain, is a history of *repeated* injuries and usurpations, *all having* in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:—

Not altered.

Not altered.

Not altered.

Not altered.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly *and continually*, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected, whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining, in the meantime, exposed to the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has *suffered* the administration of justice *totally to cease in some of these States*, refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made *our* judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, *by a self-assumed power*, and sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people, and to eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies *and ships of war*, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ; for protecting, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states ; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ; for imposing taxes on us without our consent ; for depriving us of the benefits of trial by jury ; for transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences ; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these *states* ; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and alter-

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasion on the rights of the people.

Not altered.

Not altered.

He has *obstructed* the administration of justice, *by* refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of new officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

Not altered.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitutions, and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us ; for protecting, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these states ; for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world ; for imposing taxes on us without our consent ; for depriving us, *in many cases*, of the benefits of trial by jury ; for transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences ; for abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these *colonies* ; for taking away our charters, abolishing our most

ing fundamentally the forms of our governments ; for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, *withdrawing his governors, and declaring us out of his allegiance and protection.*

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens taken captive on the high seas to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of the frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions *of existence.*

He has excited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens, with the allurements of forfeiture and confiscation of our property.

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people, who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of INFIDEL powers, is the warfare of the CHRISTIAN king of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce. And that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty, of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people on whom he also obtruded them; thus paying off former crimes committed against the LIBERTIES of one

valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments ; for suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, *by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.*

Not altered.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries, to complete the works of death, destruction and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy *scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally* unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

Not altered.

He has *excited domestic insurrections among us, and has* endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of the frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

Struck out.

Struck out.

people with crimes which he urges them to commit against the LIVES of another.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms ; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injuries.

A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a people *who mean to be free*. *Future ages will scarcely believe that the hardiness of one man adventured, within the short compass of twelve years only, to lay a foundation so broad and so undisguised for tyranny over a people fostered and fixed in principles of freedom.*

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts by their legislature, to extend a jurisdiction over *these our states*. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here ; *no one of which could warrant so strange a pretension ; these were effected at the expense of our own blood and treasure, unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain ; that in constituting, indeed, our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king ; thereby laying a foundation for perpetual league and amity with them ; but that submission to their Parliament was no part of our Constitution, nor ever in idea, if history may be credited ; and we appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, as well as to the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations which were likely to interrupt our connection and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity, and when occasions have been given them by the regular course of their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election, re-established them in power. At this very time, too, they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch and foreign mercenaries to invade and destroy us. These facts have given the last stab to agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce forever these unfeeling brethren. We must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends. We might have been a free and a great people together ; but a communication of grandeur and of freedom, it seems, is below their dignity.*

Not altered.

A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a *free* people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time, of attempts by their legislature, to extend an *unwarrantable* jurisdiction over *us*. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here ; we *have* appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we *have* conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations which *would inevitably* interrupt our connection and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. *We must therefore* acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

Be it so, since they will have it. The road to happiness and to glory, is open to us, too. We will tread it apart from them, and acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our eternal separation.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these states, *reject and renounce all allegiance and subjection to the kings of Great Britain, and all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve all political connection which may heretofore have subsisted between us and the people or Parliament of Great Britain; and finally, we do assert, and declare these colonies to be free and independent states, and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do.*

And for the support of this declaration, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, *appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do.*

And for the support of this declaration, *with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence*, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

The words expunged from the original draft are distinguished by italics, as are the words that were introduced by Congress. The names of the members who subscribed the Declaration of Independence were as follows, viz:—

JOHN HANCOCK, *President.**New Hampshire.*JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WILLIAM WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.*New York.*WILLIAM FLOYD,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
FRANCIS LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.*Massachusetts Bay.*SAMUEL ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBERT TREAT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.*New Jersey.*RICHARD STOCKTON,
JOHN WITHERSPOON,
FRANCIS HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRAM CLARK.*Rhode Island, etc.*STEPHEN HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.*Pennsylvania.*ROBERT MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE CLYMER,
JAMES SMITH.*Connecticut.*ROGER SHERMAN,
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,
WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.GEORGE TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEORGE ROSS.*Delaware.*CÆSAR RODNEY,
THOMAS M'KEAN,
GEORGE REED.*Maryland.*SAMUEL CHASE,
WILLIAM PACA,
THOMAS STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL, of
*Carrollton.*THOMAS NELSON, Jun.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT
LEE,
CARTER BRAXTON.*North Carolina.*WILLIAM HOOPER,
JOSEPH HUGHES,
JOHN PENN.*South Carolina.*EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOMAS HEYWARD, Jun.,
THOMAS LYNCH, Jun.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.*Virginia.*GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
THOMAS JEFFERSON,
BENJAMIN HARRISON.*Georgia.*BUTTON GWINNETT,
GEORGE WALTON,
LYMAN HALL.

II.—EXTRACT FROM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS'S
ORATION ON THE FOURTH OF JULY, 1831.

The *dependence*, then, of the colonies upon Great Britain, at the time when the British Parliament declared its own right to make laws for them in all cases whatsoever, and undertook to give effect to this declaration by taxation, was a dependence of parchments and of proclamations, unsanctioned by the laws of nature, disavowed by the dictates of reason. To this condition, however, the colonies submitted as long as they were suffered to enjoy the rights of Englishmen. The attempt to tax them by a body in which they had and could have no representative, was in direct violation of those rights. The acts of Parliament were encountered by remonstrance, deprecated by petition, and resisted by force. Ten years of controversy, and more than one of civil war, preceded the declaration, "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain, is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

The union of the colonies had preceded this declaration and even the commencement of the war. The declaration was joint, that the United Colonies were free and independent states, but not that any of them was a free and independent state, separate from the rest. In the Constitution of this Commonwealth (Massachusetts) it is declared, that the body politic is formed by a voluntary association of individuals; that it is a social compact, by which the whole people covenants with each citizen, and each citizen with the whole people, that all shall be governed by certain laws, for the common good. The body politic of the United States was formed by the voluntary association of the people of the United Colonies. The Declaration of Independence was a social compact, by which the whole people covenanted with each citizen of the United Colonies, and each citizen with the whole people, that the United Colonies were, and of right ought to be, free and independent states. To this compact, union was as vital as freedom or independence. From the hour of that declaration, no one of the States whose people were parties to it, could, without violation of that primitive compact, secede or separate from

the rest. Each was pledged to all, and all were pledged to each by a concert of souls, without limitation of time, in the presence of Almighty God, and proclaimed to all mankind. The colonies were not declared *sovereign* states. The term *sovereign* is not even to be found in the Declaration; and far, very far was it from the contemplation of those who composed, or of those who adopted it, to constitute either the aggregate community, or any one of its members, with absolute, uncontrollable or despotic power. They are united, free and independent States. Each of these properties is equally essential to their existence. Without union the *covenant* contains no pledge of freedom or independence; without freedom, none of independence or union; without independence, none of union or freedom.

In the history of the world, this was the first example of a self-constituted nation proclaiming to the rest of mankind the principles upon which it was associated, and deriving those principles from the laws of nature. It has sometimes been objected to the paper, that it deals too much in abstractions. But this was its characteristic excellence; for upon those abstractions hinged the justice of the cause. Without them, our revolution would have been but a successful rebellion. Right, truth, justice, are all abstractions. The Divinity that stirs within the soul of man is abstraction. The Creator of the universe is a spirit, and all spiritual nature is abstraction. Happy would it be, could we answer with equal confidence another objection, not to the Declaration, but to the consistency of the people by whom it was proclaimed! Thrice happy, could the appeal to the Supreme Judge of the world for rectitude of intention, and with firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence for support, have been accompanied with an appeal equally bold to our own social institutions to illustrate the self-evident truths which we declared!

The Declaration of Independence was not a declaration of liberty newly acquired, nor was it a form of government. The people of the colonies were already free, and their forms of government were various. They were all colonies of a monarchy. The king of Great Britain was their common sovereign. Their internal administrations presented great varieties of form. The proprietary governments were hereditary monarchies in miniature. New York and Virginia were feudal

aristocracies. Massachusetts Bay was an approximation to the complex government of the parent state. Connecticut and Rhode Island were little remote from democracies. But as in the course of our recent war with Great Britain, her gallant naval warriors made the discovery that the frigates of the United States were line-of-battle ships in disguise, so the ministers of George III., when they brought their king and country into collision with these transatlantic dependencies, soon found to their astonishment, that the United American Colonies were republics in disguise. The spirit of the people, throughout the Union, was republican; and the absurdity of a foreign and a royal head to societies of men thus constituted, had remained unperceived, only because until then that head had been seldom brought into action.

The Declaration of Independence announced the severance of the thirteen United Colonies from the rest of the British Empire, and the existence of their people from that day forth as an independent nation. The people of all the colonies, speaking by their representatives, constituted themselves one moral person before the face of their fellow men. Frederic I., of Brandenburg, constituted himself king of Prussia, by putting a crown upon

his own head. Napoleon Bonaparte ingested his brows with the iron crown of Lombardy, and declared himself king of Italy. The Declaration of Independence was the crown with which the people of United America, rising in gigantic stature as one man, encircled their brows, and there it remains; there, so long as this globe shall be inhabited by human beings, may it remain, a crown of imperishable glory!

The Declaration of Independence asserted the rights, and acknowledged the obligations of an independent nation. It recognized the laws of nations, as they were observed and practiced among Christian communities. It considered the state of nature between nations as a state of peace; and, as a necessary consequence, that the new confederacy was at peace with all other nations, Great Britain alone excepted. It made no change in the laws—none in the internal administration of any one of the confederates, other than such as necessarily followed from the dissolution of the connection with Great Britain. It left all municipal legislation, all regulation of private individual rights and interests, to the people of each separate colony; and each separate colony, thus transformed into a State of the Union, wrought for itself a constitution of government.

Declaration of Independence.

Facsimile of the original document in the handwriting of Thomas Jefferson

[Copied by permission from the MS. in the Department of State, at Washington.]

A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for ^{one} people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to ~~assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to ~~the~~ ^{the} separation.~~

We hold these truths to be ^{self-evident}, that all men are created equal, & independent; that ^{they are endowed by their creator with} ~~from that equal creation they derive~~ ^{certain} ~~inherent~~ ^{unalienable} rights, among ^{which} ~~these~~ are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these ^{rights}, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government ~~shall~~ becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles & organising its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety & happiness. ^{Providence indeed} will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light & transient causes: and accordingly all experience hath shewn that mankind are more disposed to suffer while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed but

then a long train of abuses & usurpations, [began at a distinguished period] pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to ~~reduce~~ reduce ^{under absolute Despotism.} them ~~to a state of~~ ^{to} ~~absolute~~ ^{absolute} Despotism. It is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government & to provide new guards for their future security. such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, & such is now the necessity which constrains them to ^{alter} [expunge] their former systems of government. The history of ^{the} ~~his~~ present ^{King of Great Britain} ~~usurpation~~ ^{repeated} is a history of [unremitting] injuries and usurpations, [among which, ~~appears no solitary fact~~ ^{but all} ~~appear to~~ ^{have} to contradict the uniform tenor of the rest, all of which ^{have}] in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these states. to prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. [for the truth of which we pledge a faith not sullied by falsehood]

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good:

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate & pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained, and when so suspended, he has ^{utterly} neglected ~~attending~~ to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accomodation of large districts of people unless those people would relinquish the right of ^{in the legislature} representation, a right inestimable to them, & formidable to tyrants only:

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, & distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures;

He has dissolved Representative houses repeatedly [& continually] for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people:

~~He has~~ he has refused for a long ^{time after such Dissolutions*} ~~space of time~~ to cause others to be elected,

wherely the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise, the state remaining in the mean times exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, & convulsions within:

he has endeavored to prevent the population of these states; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migrations hither; & raising the conditions of new ap-
-propriations of lands:

he has ^{obstructed} [suffered] the administration of justice [totally to cease in some of these ~~states~~ ^{states}] refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers:

he has made [our] judges dependant on his will alone, for the tenure of their office ^{the + & payment} and amount of their salaries:

he has erected a multitude of new offices [by a self-assumed power,] & sent hi-
-ther swarms of officers to harass our people & eat out their substance:

he has kept among us in times of ~~peace~~ ^{without the consent of} standing armies [the sheps of war] ^{legisla}

he has affected to render the military independent of & superior to the civil power:

he has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitu-
tions and unacknoleged by our laws; giving his assent to their ^{acts of} pretended ~~acts~~
of legislation, for quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

for protecting them by a mock-trial from punishment for any murder ^{which}
they should commit on the inhabitants of these states;

for cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

for imposing taxes on us without our consent;

for depriving us of the benefits of trial by jury; ^{in many cases}

for transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

for abolishing the free system of English law in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example & fit instrument for introducing the same abro-
out into these colonies: [etc.]

abolishing our most ^{valuable} ~~important~~ laws
for taking away our charters, ^{altering} fundamentally the forms of our governments,
for suspending our own legislatures & declaring themselves invested with power to
legislate for us in all cases whatsoever:
he has abdicated government here, ^{by declaring us out of his protection & waging war against us.} [withdrawing his governors, & declaring us out
of his allegiance & protection:]

he has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns & destroyed the
lives of our people:

he is at this time transporting large armies of ^{Scotch and other} foreign mercenaries to complete
the works of death, desolation & tyranny, already begun with circumstances
scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages and totally
of cruelty & perfidy unworthy the head of a civilized nation.
^{he has endeavored to excite domestic insurrections amongst us and has}
he has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian
savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of
all ages, sexes, & conditions [of existence.]

He has incited treasonable insurrections of our fellow-citizens with the
allurements of forfeiture & confiscation of our property
^{who constrained others to take arms against their country & to}
^{take up arms against their friends or to fall themselves by their hands}
he has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's most sa-
cred rights of life & liberty in the persons of a distant people who never of-
fended him, captivating & carrying them into slavery in another hemi-
sphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This
piratical warfare the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the
Christian king of Great Britain [determined to keep open a market
where MEN should be bought & sold ^{and} he has prostituted his negative
for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this
^{determining to keep open a market where MEN should be bought & sold:}
execrable commerce: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact

of distinguished one, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms
amongus, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them,
by murdering the people upon whom he also abused them: thus paying
off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes
which he urges them to commit against the lives of another.]

in every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble
terms: our repeated petitions have been answered ^{only} by repeated injuries. a prince
whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, "is unfit
to be the ruler of a people. [who mean to be free" future ages will scarce believe
that the hardness of one man, adventured within the short compass of twelve years
to ~~lay~~ ^{erect} a foundation for broad & undisguised, for tyranny
only, ~~over a people fostered & fixed in principles~~
of ~~liberty~~ "freedom"]

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren: we have
warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend ^{an unwarrantable} a juris-
-diction over [these our ^{us} states]. we have reminded them of the circumstances of
our emigration & settlement here, [no one of which could warrant so strange a
pretension: that these were effected at the expence of our own blood & treasure,
unassisted by the wealth or the strength of Great Britain: that in constituting
indeed our several forms of government, we had adopted one common king, thereby
laying a foundation for perpetual league & amity with them: but that submission to their
parliament was no part of our constitution, nor ever in idea if history may be
credited: and] we ^{have} appealed to their native justice & magnanimity [as well as to] the ties
of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations which [were likely to] ^{would inevitably} interrupt
our ^{connection &} correspondence. ^{connection.} They too have been deaf to the voice of justice &
of consanguinity. [When occasions have been given them, by the regular course of
^{We must therefore}

their laws, of removing from their councils the disturbers of our harmony, they have by their free election re-established them in power. at this very time too they are permitting their chief magistrate to send over not only soldiers of our common blood, but Scotch & foreign mercenaries to invade ^{destroy us.} ~~our~~ ~~land~~. these ~~etc~~ have given the last stab to a agonizing affection, and manly spirit bids us to renounce for ever these unfeeling brethren. we must endeavor to forget our former love for them, and to hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends we might have been a free & a great people together; but a communication of grandeur & of freedom it seems is below their dignity, be it so since they will have it: the road to ^{to glory} ~~glory~~ & happiness, is open to us too; we will ~~stand~~ ^{not tread} it ~~apart from them,~~ ^{apart from them,} and acquiesce in the necessity which ^{den-} ~~pronounces~~ ^{den-} our ~~separation~~ ^{separation}. ~~and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind enemies in war, in peace~~ ^{and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind enemies in war, in peace} ~~friends~~ ^{friends}

We therefore the representatives of the United States of America in General Congress assembled, ^{appealing to the sensible judgment of the world for the rectitude of our intentions} do in the name & by authority of the good people of these ^{colonies} [States] ~~reject and renounce all allegiance & subjection to the kings of Great Britain & all others who may hereafter claim by, through, or under them; we utterly dissolve & break off all political connection which may have heretofore~~ ^{heretofore} ~~subsisted between us & the people or parliament of Great Britain; and finally we do assert and declare these colonies to be free and independant states, and that as free & independant states they shall hereafter have~~ ^{full} ~~power to levy~~ ^{power to levy} war conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, & to do all other acts and things which independant states may of right do. And for the support of this declaration] we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, & our sacred honour.

John Hancock

Robt Morris	Lewis Morris
Benjamin Rush	
Benj. Franklin	Samuel Chase
John Morton	James Wilson
Wm Hooper	Geo Ross
Joseph Hewes	Richd Stockton
John Penn	Geo Witherspoon
Wm Paten	Bras Hopkinson
Thos Stone	John Hart
Geo Taylor	Abra Clark
W Lloyd	Button Gwinnett
Phil. Livingston	Lyman Hall
Jaas Lewis	Geo Walton

Francis Lightfoot Lee
 Carter Braxton ^{Benj. Harrison}
 Casar Rodney ^{Thos Nelson jr}
 Geo. Read ^{Matthew Thornton}
 Tho. M. Peck ^{Step. Hopkins}
 Edward Rutledge ^{William Clergy}
 Thos. Mays ^{Roger Sherman}
 Thomas Lynch ^{John Jay}
 Arthur Middleton ^{Charles Carroll of Carrollton}
 Geo. Lymer
 George Wythe ^{Sam^l Smith}
 Richard Henry Lee ^{Sam^l Huntington}
 Josiah Bartlett ^{Wm Williams}
 Wm Whipple ^{Oliver Wolcott}
 Sam^l Adams ^{John Adams}
 Th. Jefferson ^{Robt Treat Paience}
 Elbridge Gerry

Book Third.

FROM

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

TO THE

TREATY OF PEACE.

1776—1783.



HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CHAPTER I.

1776.

EVENTS OF THE WAR DURING 1776.

The Declaration of Independence read to the army—How received in New York—Position of the loyalists—Course pursued by Congress—Necessity of some articles of confederation—Measures adopted—Defence of New York to be provided for—Arrival of the British forces under General and Lord Howe—Proclamation of the English Commissioners—Howe's sincerity—Attempt at communication with Washington—Account of the matter—American army and operations in Canada—Carleton's vigorous efforts—Naval battle on Lake Champlain—Carleton's failure to advance southwardly—Washington's position in New York—Sectional jealousies and quarrels—Washington's dignified rebuke—Howe's force—Exploits of Captain Talbot—The battle of Long Island—Its disastrous result—Retreat from Brooklyn—Encampment at Harlem Heights—Washington's letter to Congress—Howe's renewed attempts at negotiations fail—Depression of the Americans—Hale's self-sacrificing expedition—His death as a spy—Howe's plan of operation—Disgraceful conduct of the militia—Washington's danger—Retreat from New York—Narrow escape—Great fire in New York—Sickness in the camp, desertions, etc.—Washington's letter to Congress on the inefficiency of the force under his command—Army to be reorganized—Howe's change of plan—Washington's retreat—Battle of White Plains—The loss of Fort Mifflin—Retreat through the Jerseys begun—Howe's proclamation—Washington continues to retreat—Nearness of the armies to one another—Lee's erratic course and capture—Gloomy prospect of affairs—British movements in Rhode Island—Howe's military conduct censured by some writers—Washington's nobleness of character—APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.—Judge Drayton's remarks on Lord and General Howe's Declaration.

It had long been foreseen by Washington that the contest between England and the United States must be settled by an appeal to the sword. We may well believe, therefore, that the Declaration of Independence afforded him, as commander-in-chief of the army, the highest satis-

faction; since now, the position of affairs was no longer of that anomalous and unsettled character, which had interfered with the vigorous carrying out the various plans with which he was entrusted for sustaining the rights and liberties of his country. On the 9th of July, he caused the Declaration to be

read, at six o'clock in the evening, at the head of each brigade of the army. "The general hopes," said he, in his orders, "that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier, to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depends, under God, solely on the success of our arms; and that he is now in the service of a State, possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit and advance him to the highest honors of a free country."

The people in the city of New York, not only indulged themselves in the usual demonstrations of joy by ringing of bells and the like, but also concluded that the leaden statue of his Majesty, George III., in the Bowling Green, might now be turned to good account: they, therefore, pulled down the statue, and the lead was run into bullets for the good cause. Everywhere throughout the country the Declaration was hailed with joy. Processions were formed; bells were rung; cannon were fired; orations delivered; and in every possible way the popular approbation was manifested.

Matters had now reached such a crisis that it became necessary for every member of the community to make his election between one side or the other. Doubt was now to be put an end to; and the people must choose either to enroll themselves on the side of those who were now solemnly pledged to independence, or take the consequences of adhering to the side of the king and the invading army sent to reduce their countrymen to absolute and unconditional submission. Without undertak-

ing here to discuss the question as to the motives and conduct of the loyalist party in America, it appears quite certain that the indignities frequently heaped upon them by private malice, under color of patriotic zeal, such as tarring and feathering, carting them about as spectacles, and the like, were of the most odious description; and it need excite no surprise that the spirit of revenge was roused into active and savage fury. We shall have abundant evidence of this in the course of our narrative. At the same time it is perfectly evident, that Congress and the various state governments were, of necessity, compelled to insist upon the allegiance of *all* without distinction; and they who refused to yield obedience, or adhered to the enemy, were exposed to severe penalties, confiscation of property, imprisonment, banishment, and finally, death. Congress, before the passage of the Declaration of Independence, declared, that "all persons abiding within any of the United Colonies, and deriving protection from the laws of the same, owed allegiance to the said laws, and were members of such colony; and that all persons passing through, or making a temporary stay in any of the colonies, being entitled to the protection of the laws, during the time of such passage, visitation, or temporary stay, owed, during the same, allegiance thereto." It was also declared, "that all persons, members of, or owing allegiance to any of the United Colonies, who should levy war against any of the said colonies, within the same; or be adherent to the king of Great Britain, or other enemies of the said colonies, or

any of them, within the same, giving to him or them aid or comfort, were guilty of treason against such colony."

From motives of policy as well as propriety, there was not much disposition to resort to extremities on the part of those having in charge the popular governments; and, notwithstanding some were in favor of stringent measures, it was wisely concluded for the present to admonish delinquents, put them under recognizances, etc.

The necessity of some terms of confederation between the states was plainly evident, and Congress took steps immediately for considering the subject. As early as July, 1775, Dr. Franklin had submitted to Congress a sketch of articles of confederation between the colonies; but his plan does not appear to have been discussed at all. On the 7th of June, a committee was appointed, consisting of one member from each colony, to prepare and digest a form of confederation. The report of this committee, made on the 12th of July, eight days after the Declaration of Independence, was debated almost daily, to the 20th of August, in a committee of the whole house, when a new draft was reported. The articles thus reported were laid aside until April of the following year. The subject was a very difficult one to agree upon in the then position of affairs, the great variety of interests involved, and especially the tenacious regard entertained for state rights and state sovereignty.

Washington was, not unreasonably, anxious as to the position and probable means of defending the city of New York. Its importance, in every point

of view, the strong Tory influence in it and its vicinity, the almost certainty that the British commander would make it the central point of operations against the Americans, and the like considerations, urged him to put forth every exertion to meet the emergency. Under Putnam's direction, obstructions were sunk in the Hudson and East Rivers, and forts and batteries were hastily erected, to guard the narrowest passages. Fort Washington and Fort Lee were the strongest of these works; but the commander-in-chief found it no easy matter to place the city in what might be considered a tolerable state of defence.

Just at the end of June, General Howe, who had found his quarters at Halifax not comfortable, arrived at New York, and landed his troops on Staten Island, which Washington had not felt himself able to occupy. He was received with exultation by the Tory inhabitants, and was encouraged by Tryon to look for an extensive rising of the loyalist party in various directions. 1776.

On the 12th of July, Admiral Lord Howe arrived from England with large reinforcements. He and his brother were empowered to act as Commissioners for restoring peace, by receiving the submissions of such individuals and communities, as might desire to return to their allegiance, and throw themselves upon the king's mercy. A circular letter to the late royal governors, dated off the coast of Massachusetts, containing offers of pardon to all who would submit, was sent on shore under a flag, and it was requested of

these governors, that the offer contained in the letter might have as wide a circulation as possible. Washington immediately sent this letter to Congress, and that body, on the 19th of July, ordered it to be published in all the newspapers, "that the good people of the United States might be informed of what nature are the commissions, and what the terms, with the expectation of which, the insidious court of Great Britain, has endeavored to amuse and disarm them; and that the few, who still remain suspended by a hope founded either in the justice or moderation of their late king, may now, at length, be convinced, that the valor alone of their country is to save its liberties."

There is no reason to doubt that Lord Howe was sincerely anxious for peace. He addressed a note to Dr. Franklin, to whom he was personally well known, earnestly expressing his wishes, that the differences between the Americans and the mother country might be amicably settled. Franklin, in his reply, courteously regretted that he had crossed the Atlantic on an errand so fruitless, as to expect to obtain submission from his countrymen. "It is impossible," he writes, "that we should think of submission to a government, that has, with the most wanton barbarity and cruelty, burnt our defenceless towns, in the midst of winter; excited the savages to massacre our peaceful farmers, and our slaves to murder their masters; and is now bringing foreign mercenaries to deluge our settlements with blood. Long did I endeavor, with unfeigned and unwearyed zeal, to preserve from breaking,

that fine and noble China vase, the British empire; for I knew that being once broken, the separate parts could not retain even their share of the strength and value that existed in the whole; and that a perfect reunion could scarce ever be hoped for." In conclusion, he says, "I know your great motive in coming hither, was the hope of being instrumental in a reconciliation; and I believe, when you find that to be impossible, on any terms given you to propose, you will then relinquish so odious a command, and return to a more honorable private station."

Failing in these efforts, the Commissioners next attempted to open a communication with Washington, whom they addressed as *George Washington, Esq.*; but as they were not prepared to acknowledge the official position and station of the commander-in-chief, a difficulty at once arose. Washington never suffered the slightest deviation from exact propriety in all his public relations. The Commissioners, anxious to accomplish something, next had recourse to an expedient, by which they hoped to obviate all difficulty; they changed the address of their letter for the superscription following; *to George Washington, etc., etc.* Adjutant-general Patterson was sent with this dispatch. Being introduced to Washington, he gave him in conversation, the title of *Excellency*. The general received him with great politeness, but at the same time with much dignity. The adjutant expressed himself greatly concerned, on behalf of his principals, on account of the difficulties

that had arisen about the superscription of the letter; assured him of their high regard for his personal character, and that they had no intention to undervalue his rank. It was hoped, therefore, that the *et ceteras*, being in use between ambassadors, when they were not perfectly agreed upon points of etiquette, would remove all obstructions to their mutual intercourse.

Washington answered, that a letter written to a person invested with a public character, should specify it, otherwise it could not be distinguished from a private letter; that it was true the *et ceteras* implied every thing; but it was no less true, that they implied any thing; and that, as to himself, he would never consent to receive any letter, relating to public affairs, that should be directed to him, without a designation of his rank and office. Patterson requested that this question might be waived; and turned the conversation upon prisoners of war. He expatiated in magnificent terms, upon the goodness and clemency of the king, who had chosen for negotiators Lord and General Howe. He affirmed that their desire to terminate the differences which had arisen between the two peoples, was as earnest as their powers were ample; and that he hoped the general would consider this visit, as the first step towards it. Washington replied, that he was not authorized to negotiate; but that it did not appear that the powers of the Commissioners consisted in any more than in granting pardons; that America, not having committed any offence, asked for no forgiveness; and was only defending her unquestionable

rights. Patterson remarked, that this subject would open too vast a field of discussion. He expressed his acknowledgments for the favor done him, in omitting the usual ceremony of blinding his eyes, when passing the American works. Washington invited him to partake of a collation, and he was introduced to the general officers. After many compliments, and polite expressions, and repeating his regrets, that a strict observation of formalities should interrupt the course of so important an affair, he took leave of Washington, and withdrew. This conference thus remained without result, and all thoughts were again turned towards hostilities. Congress were perfectly aware, on the one hand, of the shame they must incur, by departing from the resolution so recently taken, of asserting independence, and they feared, on the other, that the propositions of England might contain some secret poison. They caused an exact relation to be printed of the interview between the commander-in-chief and the English adjutant-general.

As stated on a previous page, (p. 374) the American army had retreated from Canada, in a state of great suffering, and their condition was very naturally a source of anxiety to Congress. General Schuyler was in command of the northern division of the army, his headquarters being at Albany. In June, Gates was raised to the rank of brigadier-general, and appointed to the command of the forces in Canada. A reinforcement of six thousand men was voted, in the hope that Gates might retrieve some of the severe losses of the

previous year. Military punctilio caused some trouble between Schuyler and Gates, which led Congress to recommend the generals to act conjointly; but it was a rather clumsy expedient, and Schuyler, feeling himself aggrieved, offered to resign. Congress, perfectly satisfied as to his patriotism and ability, declined to accept his resignation, of course. Crown Point was decided to be untenable, and the troops fell back upon Ticonderoga. Sickness and hardships had made sad inroads upon the American forces, and of the six thousand who had reached the fort, not more than half were fit for duty.

General Carleton's force, including the German mercenaries, amounted to thirteen thousand men, in excellent condition, and eager to pursue the disorganized and weakened American troops. In his well-conducted retreat from Canada, General Sullivan had made way with all the boats on the lake, in consequence of which, the British general was unable to advance against the Americans. Thick forests lined the shores of Lake Champlain, and as there was no passage except by water, it was evident that nothing effective could be done, until a suitable supply of shipping was obtained on the lake. Vigorous preparations were made by both parties for the approaching contest. Carleton, on his side, had the advantage, and the men worked with uncommon zeal and activity, in the hope that they would readily triumph over the Americans, and have a share in the glory of a successful and speedy termination of the war. The frames of five large vessels, prepared in England,

and brought across by land from Montreal to St. John's, were soon put together on the lake. A large number of gun-boats were also brought from the St. Lawrence, and dragged over the rapids of the Sorel at Fort Chambly. This formidable flotilla, which sprung into existence, as it were by magic, consisted of nearly thirty vessels, which were manned by seven hundred picked seamen.

By the middle of August, the Americans succeeded in completing a small flotilla, which was subsequently augmented to sixteen vessels, of various size and sort; the whole was placed under the command of Arnold, who was ready for fighting of any kind, and at any time. From the necessity of the case, the vessels were manned by soldiers taken from the ranks.

Arnold, who was well aware of his probable inferiority to the British forces, had posted himself with great judgment, in a position between Valcour Island and the shore, where he could neither be surrounded nor attacked, except in front, by a portion of the enemy's flotilla. Early on the morning of the 11th of October, they came in sight, led by Captain Pringle, in the *Inflexible*, Sir Guy Carleton taking his station on the deck of the flag ship. Sweeping round the southern point of the island, the English vessels were soon engaged with the American, and the combat raged for four hours with the most desperate fury. Arnold had posted himself on board the Congress galley; he pointed every gun with his own hand, and cheered on his men with his characteristic enthu-

siasm. His men fell dead around him; the hull of his ship was riddled with cannon-balls, the mainmast shattered, and the rigging cut to pieces; yet still he continued to fight on;—and when the night closed in, the battle was yet undecided. One of the American vessels had been burned, another sunk, and the rest had suffered very severely. To renew the combat on the morrow, was so obviously hopeless, that Arnold and his officers, after holding consultation, determined upon falling back to Crown Point. This, however, was much easier to resolve on than to execute, for the British commander had disposed his ships in a line from the island to the shore, so as to prevent the retreat of his enemy till daylight should enable him to attack and overpower him. But the night happened to be unusually dark; it blew a strong breeze from the north, and as soon as the English sailors had retired to rest after a hard-fought day, the American ships hoisted their sails, and slipped unperceived between those of the foe, Arnold fetching up the rear in the battered and crazy Congress, and by daylight some ten miles intervened between him and the English ships. Here he came to anchor, to stop leaks, and make repairs, and about noon resumed the retreat.

The next morning, Carleton urged forward in pursuit. A contrary wind baffled them during the day, but on the following morning, they were close upon the fugitives. The foremost ships continued their flight, and succeeded in effecting their escape, but the rear, consisting of Arnold's galley, with the

Washington, were attacked with redoubled fury. The Washington was soon obliged to strike, but Arnold continued to fight on till his ship was reduced to a mere wreck, and surrounded by the enemy's squadron. He then ran the Congress on shore, set fire to her, and she blew up with her colors flying. Arnold then effected a retreat, with his men, through the woods to Crown Point, narrowly escaping an Indian ambush. The Americans lost eleven vessels, principally gondolas. The British had two gondolas sunk, and one blown up. The loss in men was about ninety on each side.*

Carleton appeared off Crown Point on the 15th of October. On his approach, the American force stationed there, set fire to the houses, and retired to Ticonderoga, which Generals Schuyler and Gates had determined to defend to the last extremity. Carleton took possession of Crown Point, and purposed attacking Ticonderoga; but on examination of the works, and in consequence of the lateness of the season, he retired, and put his army into winter-quarters on the Sorel and its vicinity.

Thus, that part of the British plan which depended on Carleton's pushing forward, so as to form a junction with the force at New York, completely failed; and, as all apprehensions of danger in the north were now at an end, a small garrison was left at Ticonderoga, and most of the troops marched in November, under Gates, to join the commander-in-chief.

* Cooper's "*Naval History*," vol. i., p. 75.

Having, for the sake of continuity, carried forward, thus far, the narrative of doings in the north, we now turn our attention to the critical position of affairs in and about New York.

Well may Washington have looked with anxiety upon his position and the probable issue of the contest now near at hand. When General Howe landed on Staten Island, Washington's force consisted of only ten thousand men, of whom many were disabled by sickness.

1776. Some regiments joined him from other states, yet on the 8th of August, in a letter to Congress, the commander-in-chief states, that his force is little more than seventeen thousand, and over three thousand of these were sick. Yet even under this melancholy state of things, Washington expressed the hope, that the enemy would not gain any great advantage, except at a dear price. Further reinforcements soon after raised the army to twenty-seven thousand men, of whom one-fourth were on the sick list. Besides being miserably equipped, and badly disciplined, sectional jealousies and dislikes prevailed to an alarming extent. The aristocratic southerner, as well as the men from the middle states, looked down upon the rough homespun of New England; and these, in turn, did not fail to express themselves very freely, as to the pride and insolent airs of their neighbors from under a warmer sky.* Washington was compelled

to interfere, and to point out in the plainest language, the intense mischief that must result from these disgraceful quarrels. His words deserve to be well weighed, even in our day. "It is with great concern, that the general understands that jealousies have arisen among the troops, from the different provinces, and reflections are frequently thrown out, which can only tend to irritate each other, and injure the noble cause in which we are engaged, and which we ought to support with our hand and our heart. The general most earnestly entreats the officers and soldiers to consider, that they can no way assist our enemies more effectually, than by making divisions among themselves; that the honor and success of our army and the safety of our bleeding country depend upon harmony and good agreement with each other; that the provinces are all united to oppose the common enemy, and all distinctions sunk in the name of an AMERICAN. To make this name honorable, and to preserve the liberty of our country, ought to be our only emulation, and he will be the best soldier, and the best patriot, who contributes most to this glorious work, whatever his station, and from whatever part of the continent he may come. Let all distinctions of nations, countries, and provinces, therefore, be lost in the generous contest, who shall behave with the most courage against the enemy, and the most kindness and good humor to each other. If there be any officers, or soldiers, so lost to virtue and a love of their country, as to continue in such practices after this order, the general assures them, and is

* An American officer, writing to a friend, gives it as his opinion, that the Pennsylvania and New England troops, were as ready to fight each other as the enemy.

authorized by Congress, to declare to the whole army, that such persons shall be severely punished, and dismissed from the servîcē with disgrace."

The British troops, under General Howe, numbered some twenty-four or twenty-five thousand men. They were provided with every thing they needed, were well disciplined, and were confident of an easy victory over the rebel forces. Aided, too, by a numerous and well-appointed fleet, it was no unreasonable expectation, that a single battle might crush the Americans at once. But the British commander, and they who sent him to America, were compelled, ere long, to learn, that freemen, fighting for liberty, enter into the contest with a patient energy and zeal that are well nigh invincible.

In this connection, we are tempted to quote a page or two from an admirable little volume by Mr. Tuckerman, in which are graphically narrated the life and services of one of our early naval heroes. "The lovely harbor of this now great metropolis, then offered a scene of rare and exciting interest. Riding at anchor in the vicinity of Staten Island, appeared the British fleet, with the army under Lord Howe. Every spar and line of cordage in those swarming battle-ships, was defined to the eye of the distant spectator, against the lucid azure of the sky; and, on quiet nights, reflected to the gaze of the boatmen that haunted the adjacent shore. Their dark, massive hulls and scowling cannon wore a portentous aspect, and seemed to cast long and prophetic shadows upon the free waters into which they had ruthlessly in-

truded—significant of the years of bitter trial of which they were ominous harbingers.

"Upon the heights of Brooklyn, at York Island, and Paulus Hook, rose the newly-heaped batteries of the Americans. Never smiled that lovely bay more cheerfully than during those clear days of that eventful spring. More solitary than at present, with its constantly plying steamers and forest of shipping, the position of the belligerents was plainly obvious. The comparative silence that hung over the broad waters, the fast-skimming clouds that, for a moment, darkened their crystal sheen, and the occasional furrows raised by sudden breezes that swept across them, stimulated the imagination of the lonely enthusiast, who, from some isolated point, looked forth, and mused upon the landscape.

"It was evident that neither party had, as yet, determined upon its course. The considerate, on both sides, felt the importance of a successful blow, at the existent juncture; yet the actual state of the colonial defences was but partially known to their opponents, and a premature manœuvre might occasion temporary discomfiture, even in that well-appointed squadron. On the other hand, it was of the highest moment, that the Americans should be assured of the readiness of our troops to cope with their formidable invaders. It was needful that the spell of vague alarm should be, in a measure, broken, which had been inspired by the presence of those destructive engines, whose thunders seemed to gather new potency from their long quiescence; whose shrouds

and decks bristled with pikes and bayonets, and whose black and heavy sides contrasted vividly with the red hues of the soldiers' uniforms, grouped thickly at the port-holes, and on the taffrails, as if impatient to pour forth upon the land so invitingly spread below and around. To one gallant heart, this inaction was especially irksome. Captain Talbot had obtained the command of a fire-ship, and lay directly before the city, awaiting orders. To secure a more efficient position, and the better to disguise his purpose, he took advantage of a light wind, ascended the Hudson fifteen miles, and anchored just above Fort Washington.

“For three days, in this romantic spot, he quietly awaited an opportune moment for action. On the one side, the banks of the noble river sloped gradually upward, half-covered with low cedars, whose dark umbrage already wore the refreshing tints of spring; on the other, like natural fortifications, rose the gray and upright rocks of the tufted palisades. Few dwellings were then visible; the ripple of the water on the pebbly shore was audible in the lull of the wind, and the tranquil and sequestered beauty of the scene gave no hint of the deadly preparations then making on board the unwarlike craft that swung so gently at her moorings. The lapse of a few hours after Captain Talbot had chosen his anchorage, evidenced the sagacity of his movements. Three of the enemy's ships, in order to protect the left of their army, in case of need, had shifted their ground from the harbor, to a spot about half way between the mouth of

the Hudson and the fire-ship. Orders were therefore soon forwarded to the latter, to make a night attack. She was filled with combustibles, and besmeared with turpentine. Several trains of powder were laid; and one of the crew was easily induced to strip himself, and lie down upon deck, with a lighted match, ready, at a moment's warning, to ignite the vessel.

“At two o'clock in the morning they weighed anchor, and dropped slowly down with the tide. The nearest of the three ships was the *Asia*, of sixty-four guns, whose tall spars and towering hull no sooner loomed upon the eager gaze of Captain Talbot's hardy band, than they steered directly for her broadside. Unsuspecting of any danger, it was but a moment before her little adversary had flung her grappling irons, that the *Asia* fired; and then a scene ensued, that baffles description. From the depth, as it were, of profound silence, there echoed the reverberation of cannon, the cries of the wounded, and the piercing shouts of alarm and revenge. In an instant, the darkness of a cloudy night gave place to a red flashing glare, that revealed the fort, the waters, and the fields, with the distinctness of noonday; and brought into vivid relief the huge vessels of war now alive with their startled crews, who hastened to the relief of the *Asia*;—some pouring water on the rising flames, others disengaging the fire-ship from her side, and not a few intent at the guns, which hurled an incessant shower of balls at the boat in which the daring originator of this sudden conflagration, was propelled by his brave men to

wards the nearest shore. Although lighted in their aim by a pyramid of fire, of all the shot from the three vessels, but two struck the crowded bark of fugitives. Captain Talbot, however, in his anxiety to render the experiment certain, had lingered amid the burning timbers of the fire-ship, and was the last to escape, the seaman who applied the match, having, according to a previous understanding, immediately jumped overboard, and been picked up by his expectant comrades. When, therefore, the boat reached the Jersey shore in safety, the appearance of the gallant leader was frightful, and his sufferings intense. His skin was blistered from head to foot, his dress almost entirely consumed, and his eye-sight gone.

"Sadly, yet with gentle care, his humble companions in danger, bore him through the solitary woods, in the gray, cold twilight of morning, to a thin but hospitable settlement, then called the English Neighborhood; but, on their arrival, his dreadful condition so alarmed the children of the place, that no house would give him shelter. At last a poor and aged widow opened her cabin door, and allowed the weary and scorched bearers to lay him on the floor, and cover his tortured frame with a blanket. Fortunately, in the course of that day, two American officers, General Knox and Dr. Eastis, passed the vicinity on business; and hearing of the case, hastened to visit their countryman. The seasonable medical aid of the latter gentleman, soon essentially relieved his anguish; and although for a considerable period deprived of vision, he was soon able to

bear a removal to Hackensack, to await his convalescence. Meantime, the Asia had been extricated, with great difficulty, from her perilous situation; and the bold enterprise that so nearly proved her destruction, created such apprehension and loss of confidence in the enemy, that they slipped their cables, fell down the river, and anchored below the city. The hopes of the Americans revived in the same proportion as those of the British were discouraged. So obvious, indeed, was the auspicious influence of this event, that by a resolution of Congress, passed on the tenth of the ensuing October, this "spirited attempt," as it was designated, of Captain Talbot, was made the occasion of a vote of thanks, and a special recommendation of that officer to the commander-in-chief, besides, promoting him to the rank of major.

"*October 10th, 1777. Resolved, That Captain Silas Talbot, of the State of Rhode Island, be promoted to the rank, and have the pay, of major in the army of the United States, in consideration of his merit and services, in a spirited attempt to set fire to one of the enemy's ships of war, in the North River, last year; and that he be recommended to General Washington, for employment agreeable to his rank.*"*

Washington had expected that the attack would be made by way of Long Island. He had, accordingly, made his arrangements with reference to this result. General Greene had carefully studied the ground, and fortifications

* "*Life of Silas Talbot, Commodore in the U. S. Navy,*" by Henry T. Tuckerman, pp 22-30.

were hastily thrown up, extending from the deep inlets of Wallabout Bay, on the north, to Gowanus Cove, on the south; and nine thousand men, under General Sullivan, were encamped at Brooklyn. About two miles and a half in front of the entrenchments and redoubts, was a range of densely wooded heights, extending from south-west to north-east, forming a natural barrier across the island. It was crossed by three roads; one on the left, eastwardly towards Bedford, and thence by a pass through to Bedford Hills, to the village of Jamaica; another, central and direct, to Flatbush; and a third, on the right of the lines, by Gowanus Cove, to the Narrows and Gravesend Bay. Most unfortunately, General Greene was seized with a violent fever about the middle of August, and the command devolved on General Putnam, whose want of thorough knowledge of the ground, led to the Jamaica road being left without sufficient protection, and most unhappily afforded the British commander an opportunity of assaulting the Americans in front and rear at the same time. In the confusion and want of discipline which prevailed, the orders to watch and guard the passes were imperfectly obeyed; and, as Washington apprehended, the chances of success were greatly in favor of the enemy.

The British force, ten thousand strong, with forty cannons, landed on Long Island, on the 26th of August, and made their arrangements for a vigorous assault. Opposite the middle of the heights was General De Heister, with the centre, composed of Hessians; the

left wing, under General Grant, prepared to attack by the lower road; while General Clinton, supported by Earl Percy and General Cornwallis, **1776.** was to advance at the head of the right wing towards the unprotected Jamaica road, with the purpose of turning the American left, placing them between two fires, and cutting off their retreat to the camp. This skillful plan of operations was, unhappily for the Americans, successfully carried out. About nine o'clock, on the evening of the 26th, Clinton's division, guided by a Long Island Tory, passed the narrow causeway over a marsh, near the village of New Lots, called Shoemaker's Bridge,—where, it is said, a single regiment might have prevented the advance of the entire British force,—and, ascertaining by a patrol which was captured, that the Jamaica road was unguarded, hastened to seize the pass, and before daylight, was in possession of that and the Bedford pass, General Sullivan, meanwhile, being ignorant that Clinton had left Flatlands.

General Grant—the same braggart, who, in the House of Commons, had declared that the Americans “could not fight”—on his part, advanced at midnight along the lower road, and thus came into direct contact with the troops under Lord Stirling; while at daybreak, De Heister assaulted the American force, posted under Colonel Hand, upon the crest of the hills. One of the ships, meanwhile, kept thundering away at the fort at Red Hook. The object of the English was to draw the attention of their enemy from what was passing on their left, but no sooner





were they aware, by the signal guns of Clinton, that he was prepared to act on the offensive, than they advanced quickly to the attack, forced the passages without serious difficulty, and gradually entrapped the Americans in the snare laid for them.

Clinton, marching rapidly through Bedford, threw himself upon the left flank of the American troops, who, driven backward and forward between a double fire, were, the greater part of them, taken prisoners. "Hemmed in and entrapped between the British and Hessians, and driven from one to the other, the Americans fought, for a time, bravely, or rather, desperately. Some were cut down and trampled by the cavalry; others bayoneted without mercy by the Hessians. Some rallied in groups, and made a brief stand with their rifles from rocks, or behind trees. The whole pass was a scene of carnage, resounding with the clash of arms, the tramp of horses, the volleying of fire-arms, and the cries of the combatants, with now and then the dreary braying of the trumpet." Some of the Americans, by a desperate effort, cut their way through the host of foes, and effected a retreat to the lines, fighting as they went; others took such refuge as they could find in the fastnesses of the hills; but, as we have said above, the greater part were killed or taken prisoners, General Sullivan being among the latter.

The corps under Stirling maintained a steady front against the force commanded by Grant, who waited the signal of Clinton's cannon, to push the attack. Sensible of his danger, Stir-

ling attempted to retreat to the camp, but, met by Cornwallis and his grenadiers, he was unable to accomplish his purpose. A desperate fight ensued; more than two hundred and fifty men perished in the deadly struggle; a part of the corps effected a retreat across the Gowanus Creek; but Lord Stirling was made prisoner. Washington, who had witnessed the attack from a hill within the lines, wrung his hands in agony at the sight. "Good God!" cried he, "what brave fellows I must this day lose!"

The victory of the British was complete. Their loss was about four hundred men; while the Americans lost, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, not much short of two thousand men.* Washington expected that the enemy would storm the works directly, and had they done so, probably the result would have been disastrous; but the British commander, restraining the ardor of his men, and encamping in front of the American lines, made preparations for regular approaches. Whether General Howe dreaded the result of thus attacking a desperate foe, or supposed that with the co-operation of the ships the enemy could not escape him, he preferred the course he had determined upon, and began immediately to open trenches. The rain poured incessantly for two days, and the Americans were exposed to it unsheltered. Had the English ships advanced up the East River, and stationed themselves

* Marshall discusses at length, and very ably, the question as to the expediency of Washington's attempting to defend Long Island. See "*Life of Washington*," vol. i, pp. 92-94.

between Brooklyn and New York, nothing, probably, could have saved the camp; but a strong north-east wind had hitherto prevented them from doing so. Every moment was precious, since a sudden shift of wind would cut off the possibility of escape. It was known besides, that Clinton was threatening to send part of his army across the Sound, thus menacing New York. Washington called a council of war, at which it was resolved to retreat with the troops at once. The hour of eight in the evening of the 29th of August was fixed upon for the embarkation. Every thing had been prepared, and the troops were ready to march down, but the force of the wind and ebb tide delayed them for some hours, and seemed as if it would entirely frustrate the enterprise. The enemy, toiling hard at the approaches, were now so near, that the blows of their pickaxes and instruments could be distinctly heard, while the noise of these operations deadened all sound of the American movements, which were carried on in the deepest silence. About two in the morning, a thick fog settling over Long Island prevented all sight of what was going on, and the wind shifting round to the south-west, the soldiers entered the boats, and were rapidly transferred to the opposite shore. So complete were the arrangements, that almost all the artillery, with the provisions, horses, wagons, and ammunition, safely crossed over to New York. Washington, who for forty-eight hours had hardly been off his horse, and never closed his eyes, though repeatedly entreated, refused to enter a boat

until all the troops were embarked, and crossed the river in the last boat of all.*

Washington, leaving a considerable force in the city of New York, encamped with the main body on Harlem Heights, at the northern end of the Island; he was also prepared to retreat into Westchester county, if need be. The British had entire possession of Long Island; the ships of war anchored within cannon-shot of the city; and Howe was gradually making his arrangements to pursue the dispirited and defeated American troops.

It was under no ordinary suffering of mind that the commander-in-chief addressed the President of Congress on the 2d of September: "Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo, has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances, almost by whole regiments, by half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but, when their example

* Mr. Irving gives a graphic account of the Long Island tradition respecting the manner in which the news of the retreat of Washington and his forces was prevented from reaching the British until the next morning. See "*Life of Washington*," vol. ii., pp. 334, 335.

has infected another part of the army, when their want of discipline, and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have produced a like conduct but too common to the whole, and an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary to the well-doing of an army, and which had been inculcated before, as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of,—our condition becomes still more alarming; and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops.”

Howe, not unnaturally, supposing that the defeat of the Americans on Long Island would make a profound impression, dispatched General Sullivan, who had been taken prisoner, to Philadelphia, to offer to Congress a renewal of overtures for peace. He expressed a desire to meet some members of that body, simply as private gentlemen, since he was unable to recognize their official position. Congress after considerable debate, concluded to send a committee to wait upon the Howes, upon whom the British commanders might look, in whatever light they thought fit. Franklin, John Adams and Edward Rutledge, were deputed to Staten Island, “to receive the communications of Lord Howe.” The conference, held on the 11th of September, resulted as might have been expected. The Howes had no authority, except to receive submission to the crown; the delegates from Congress neither would nor could listen to any terms short of the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States.

Negotiations having failed, there was of necessity renewed preparations for hostilities. The position of affairs was such, that no one, perhaps, except Washington, could have resolved to persevere in the face of the difficulties that beset his path on every side. The character of the struggle, he had the sagacity to see, must be tedious, desultory, and painful, redeemed by few of those brilliant exploits requisite to dazzle the public mind and sustain the enthusiasm of his country. With so ill-compacted a force, it must be long ere he could hope to face the enemy in a pitched battle with any chance of success; all he could expect was to impede his march, cut off his supplies, and harass his progress; forced to retreat from prudential motives, when his natural temper would have led him to solicit the combat; blamed for inevitable defeats, and looked to for impossible victories. Until the check on Long Island, the Americans had flattered themselves that success would constantly favor their arms. From excessive confidence they now fell into unreasoning dejection. At first, they supposed courage without discipline could do all; now they thought that it could do nothing. Thus disheartened, the militia abandoned their colors by hundreds, and even entire regiments left for their homes.

Howe having made his approaches to New York, it became an object of the first consequence to Washington, to ascertain, if possible, the plans of the enemy, in order to counteract them by the proper movements on his side. Accordingly he applied to the brave Colo-

nel Knowlton to select a suitable man for the enterprise. Knowlton called together his officers, and stated to them the wish of the general. The appeal was responded to by Nathan Hale, a native of Connecticut, educated at Yale College, an excellent scholar, winning in his manners, possessing a fine taste, and animated above all with the most ardent enthusiasm in his country's cause. After the battle of Lexington, he had obtained a commission in the army, and had already given excellent promise as an officer. Contrary to the remonstrances and forebodings of his friends, he determined to assume the perilous mission. About the middle of September, he crossed over to Long Island, passed through the camp of the enemy, and obtained the necessary information; but just as he was endeavoring to return, he was apprehended and sent to Sir William Howe. Avowing his design without scruple, Hale was convicted as a spy, September 21st, and was ordered to be hung the next morning. Cunningham, the provost marshal, treated Hale with brutality and harshness. The attendance of a clergyman and even the use of the Bible were denied the unhappy captive, and his last affectionate letters to his mother and sister were destroyed. For this last

1776. piece of cruelty the provost marshal assigned a reason, which ought rather to have excited his admiration than called forth his savage bitterness: "He would not have," he said, "the rebels to know, that they had a man in their army who could die with so much firmness." Unknown and unfriended, young Hale met his

ignominious fate with unflinching courage. His last words were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."*

It soon became evident what plan General Howe had formed. He did not think it well to bombard New York, which contained a great number of adherents, and would be desirable as quarters for his army. Instead of this, sending several ships up the North and East rivers, the fire from which swept entirely across the island, he began, under cover of it, to land his troops, on the 15th, at Kip's Bay, about three miles above the city. Works had been thrown up on the spot, sufficient at least to maintain a resistance till further succor could arrive; but no sooner did the English set foot on shore, than the troops posted in them were seized with a panic, broke, and fled, communicating their terror to two Connecticut brigades, Parsons' and Fellows', who on the first alarm of a landing had been dispatched to their support.

Just at this critical moment, Washington rode rapidly forward to the lines. Equally astonished and mortified at the shameful disorder and confusion which met his eye, he endeavored to rally the terrified militia; but in vain. Panic-stricken, the very shadow of an enemy hastened their ignominious flight. In a transport of indignation and rage, Washington dashed his hat upon the ground, and exclaimed, "Are

* See the recently published and interesting "*Life of Captain Nathan Hale, the Martyr Spy of the American Revolution*," by I. W. Stewart, pp. 230.

these the men with which I am to defend America!" Snapping his pistols at some of them, and drawing his sword in the bootless effort to check others, he became utterly regardless of his own safety, and was so near the enemy, only eighty paces distant, that he might easily have been made prisoner. One of his aides seized the reins of his horse and hurried him away from that point of imminent danger. Such moments as these reveal, in part, at least, the depth and vehemence of Washington's spirit when it was thoroughly roused.*

Orders were given to evacuate the city of New York at once. The retreat was effected, not without loss and in great haste; all the heavy artillery, and a large portion of the baggage, provisions and military stores were unavoidably abandoned to the enemy. Had it not been for delays on the part of the British for refreshments at Murray Hill, the entire force of the Americans, under Putnam, would almost certainly have been cut off. Hence, there was as much truth as poetry in the remark of Colonel Grayson, that "Mrs. Murray saved the American army."

The royal troops immediately entered the city, where they were warmly received by the Tories. The bitterest feelings existed between the two hos-

tile parties, and it was fearfully exemplified by means of an accident that occurred a few nights after the occupation. This was a fire, which broke out in the dead of the very night when Hale reached New York, September 21st, and owing to the drought of the season and a strong south wind, increased with alarming rapidity. Upwards of a thousand buildings, Trinity church among the number,* were consumed, and but for the exertions of the soldiers and sailors, the whole city would probably have been destroyed. In the excited state of party feeling, it was said that the "Sons of Liberty" were the incendiaries, with a view to drive out the army, and several suspected persons were hurled into the blazing buildings by the British soldiers.

It was with no little satisfaction that Washington beheld the good conduct of the very troops who had so scandalously abandoned the field at Kip's Bay; for, in a skirmish, on the 16th, the day after the British took possession of New York, a detachment, under the brave Colonel Knowlton, supported by troops under Major Leitch, met the enemy, repulsed them with spirit, and were with difficulty recalled from the pursuit. Unhappily, both Major Leitch and Colonel Knowlton were mortally wounded. Washington's praise of the latter was, that he was a man who "would have done honor to any country." The effect of this encounter with the British, was of the best description upon the whole army.

* General Greene, in writing to a friend, as quoted by Mr. Irving, says, "We made a miserable, disorderly retreat from New York, owing to the conduct of the militia, who ran at the appearance of the enemy's advanced guard. Fellows' and Parsons' brigades ran away from about fifty men, and left his Excellency on the ground, within eighty yards of the enemy, so vexed at the infamous conduct of his troops, that he sought death rather than life."

* See Dr. Berrian's "*History of Trinity Church*," pp. 144, 5.

Washington being strongly entrenched at Harlem Heights, General Howe did not think it prudent to attack him, and remained inactive on the plains below more than three weeks.* Much sickness prevailed in the American camp; suitable hospital arrangements were entirely wanting, and the suffering soldiers were compelled to find such accommodation as they could anywhere, in barns, or stables, or even by the road side. Desertions were becoming frequent; and there was a general and scandalous tendency to disobedience of orders, plundering, and various irregularities in the camp. No wonder that the mind of the commander-in-chief was filled with anxiety as to the future: the army, enlisted for one year, was now again on the eve of its dissolution, and the experience of the past year had confirmed all Washington's fears as to the ruinous policy of short enlistments, and of relying on the militia to act against veteran troops.

Borrowing "a few moments from the hours allotted to sleep," Washington, on the night of the 24th of September, addressed an energetic and admirable letter to the President of Congress, showing most conclusively, the inefficiency, insubordination, confusion, and harassing cares and vexations of the present system under which the army was organized. Pointing out the only effectual remedy, in

* On the 19th of September, the brothers Howe issued a DECLARATION, addressed to the people. For this document, and the acute and spirited remarks of Judge Drayton, of South Carolina, upon it, we refer to the Appendix at the end of the present chapter.

clear and full terms, his letter concludes with these words: "There is no situation upon earth less enviable, or more distressing, than that person's, who is at the head of troops regardless of order and discipline, and unprovided with almost every necessary. In a word, the difficulties, which have forever surrounded me since I have been in the service, and kept my mind constantly upon the stretch; the wounds, which my feelings, as an officer, have received by a thousand things, that have happened contrary to my expectations and wishes; the effect of my own conduct, and present appearance of things, so little pleasing to myself, as to render it a matter of no surprise to me, if I should stand capitally censured by Congress; added to a consciousness of my inability to govern an army composed of such discordant parts, and under such a variety of intricate and perplexing circumstances;—induce not only a belief, but a thorough conviction in my mind, that it will be impossible, unless there be a thorough change in our military system, for me to conduct matters in such a manner, as to give satisfaction to the public, which is all the recompense I aim at, or ever wished for."

The expostulations of Washington were finally productive of the result which he so earnestly desired. It was determined that the army should be reorganized and placed on a permanent footing. Eighty-eight battalions were decreed to be furnished in quotas, by the different states, according to their abilities.* The pay of the officers was

* They were to be raised as follows: three in

raised. The troops which engaged to serve throughout the war, were to receive a bounty of twenty dollars and a hundred acres of land, besides a yearly suit of clothes while in service. Those who enlisted for but three years, received no bounty in land. The bounty to officers was on a higher ratio.* The states were to send commissioners to the army, to arrange with the commander-in-chief, as to the appointment of officers in their quotas; but, as they might occasionally be slow in complying with this regulation, Washington was empowered to fill up vacancies.

While engaged in the arduous duties of his post connected with the reorganization of the army, Washington was not unmindful of the powerful enemy who lay near his encampment. Greatly perplexed at the inactivity of Howe, whose troops were in a first rate condition, and well supplied with all that they needed, Washington looked anxiously to see what movements were being made against him. Howe had already determined upon a change of plans. He sent some ships of war up the Hudson, which, in spite of the American batteries, succeeded in forcing a passage, thus, to some extent, intercepting the communication, and preventing supplies from reaching Washington by

the river. Leaving behind him a force to cover New York, he transferred the rest of his army to Pell's Point, on Long Island Sound, and took up a position on the neighboring heights of New Rochelle. Hence, having received a strong reinforcement of Hessians and Waldeckers, under General Knyphausen, he threatened a movement in the rear of Washington, so as to cut him off from all communication either by land or water, or compel him to a general action. A council of war was now called, when, to defeat this plan, it was resolved to evacuate York Island, and advance into the interior. The question arose, whether a garrison should be left behind in Fort Washington, a measure which seemed of little use, inasmuch as the British had obtained the command of the river. Washington and Lee were opposed to this plan, but it was strenuously urged by Greene, who considered the fort to be sufficiently strong to resist an attack from the enemy. It was supposed, too, that the besieged would always be able to escape, if needful, by crossing the river; and a garrison of about three thousand men was accordingly left in the fort, under the command of Colonel Magaw. Congress expressed their opinion, likewise, "that Fort Washington should be retained as long as possible."

Washington finding it necessary to retire before the enemy, did so in the best manner he was able; the great deficiency, however, in every description and means of transportation, made it a very laborious and tedious operation. He gradually moved to White Plains, maintaining a line parallel to that in

New Hampshire, fifteen in Massachusetts, two in Rhode Island, eight in Connecticut, four in New York, four in New Jersey, twelve in Pennsylvania, one in Delaware, eight in Maryland, fifteen in Virginia, nine in North Carolina, six in South Carolina, and one in Georgia.

* A colonel was to receive five hundred acres; a major, four hundred; a captain, three hundred; a lieutenant, two hundred; and a hundred and fifty to an ensign.

which the British army was marching, and separated from it by the river Bronx. On the 26th of October, the Americans encamped on the east side of the Bronx. A bend in the river covered their right flank, and Washington posted a body of about sixteen hundred men, under General M'Dougall, on Chatterton's hill, in a line with his right wing, but separated from it by the Bronx. Frequent skirmishes ensued, and though, on the whole, the British gained the advantage, yet it was of service to the Americans, who were thus becoming accustomed to face the enemy without apprehension. On the 28th, the British force came in view, and displayed itself on the sides of the hills in front of Washington's lines, and within two miles of his camp. Howe, having observed the detachment on Chatterton's Hill, ordered it to be dislodged, which was accomplished after a short but severe action, with about equal loss on either side. Washington certainly expected a general assault would now be made; but it was not attempted. Meanwhile, the commander-in-chief occupied the neighboring heights of North Castle, where, two or three days after, when Howe had received reinforcements, he seemed to be too strongly entrenched, to make it all safe to venture upon an assault.

General Howe now made another change in his plans. Finding that Washington was too cautious to be drawn into a general engagement, the British commander withdrew his army towards the Hudson and Kingsbridge. Perceiving clearly, that the plan of the enemy would be, to invest Fort Wash-

ington, pass the Hudson, carry the war into New Jersey, and probably push for Philadelphia, Washington made his arrangements accordingly. Leaving General Lee at the head of about four thousand men, including the New England militia, whose term of enlistment was about to expire, he ordered all the forces west of the Hudson, to make a tedious circuit, and cross the river at King's Ferry, at the entrance of the Highlands, the enemy's ships occupying the lower part of the river. He next visited the strong posts in the Highlands, ordered fresh works to be thrown up, and crossing the river, joined his troops at Hackensack. Howe had already invested Fort Washington, and it was resolved to make the assault on the fort from four different points. The policy of maintaining this post had always seemed exceedingly doubtful to Washington; but it was now too late to evacuate it; the troops could not be got off in face of the enemy. Colonel Magaw had already been summoned to surrender, but replied, that it was his intention to defend the post to the uttermost. The evening before the attack, Washington was crossing the river to inspect the post, when he met Greene and Putnam coming over from it, who assured him, the men were in high spirits, and would make a good defence, which induced him to return with them to the camp. Greene sent over reinforcements, and early the next morning, November 16th, Colonel Magaw awaited the assault. The defence was sustained with bravery, the British having lost some four hundred men in gaining possession

of the outworks. But when the enemy were within a hundred yards or so of the fort, into which the soldiers had crowded, Magaw could not prevail upon his men to man the lines; and hence the whole force, nearly three thousand in number, and all the artillery, were surrendered into the hands of the enemy. "Washington,"—to use Mr. Irving's words—"surrounded by several officers, had been an anxious spectator of the battle from the opposite side of the Hudson. Much of it was hidden from him by intervening hills and forests; but the roar of cannonry from the valley of Harlem River, the sharp and incessant reports of rifles, and the smoke rising above the tree-tops, told him of the spirit with which the assault was received at various points, and gave him for a time a hope that the defence might be successful. The action about the lines to the south, lay open to him, and could be distinctly seen through a telescope; and nothing encouraged him more, than the gallant style in which Cadwalader, with an inferior force, maintained his position. When he saw him, however, assailed in flank, the line broken, and his troops overpowered by numbers, retreating to the fort, he gave up the game as lost. The worst sight of all, was to behold his men cut down and bayoneted by the Hessians, while begging quarter. It is said so completely to have overcome him, that he wept 'with the tenderness of a child.'"^{*}

The surrender of Fort Washington rendered Fort Lee untenable. Wash-

ington accordingly directed it to be evacuated, and a removal of the stores to be immediately commenced. But before this could be effected, Lord Cornwallis landed on the Jersey side, six or seven miles above Fort Lee, with the purpose of enclosing the garrison between the Hudson and Hackensack Rivers. The retreat, consequently, had to be hastened, and the heavy cannon and military stores were left behind.

Washington was quite aware that he could not dispute the passage of the river; he therefore only made a show of resistance, until his stores could be removed, and then, crossing the Passaic took post at Newark. There he remained several days, making the most urgent entreaties for reinforcements from any and every quarter, and particularly pressing upon General Lee, whom he had left with a strong force at North Castle, to join him at the earliest possible moment.

It was a gloomy prospect which the commander-in-chief had before him at this date. With his army reduced to some three thousand men, who were dispirited and almost hopeless, badly furnished, with no means of entrenching themselves, without tents to shelter them from the approaching winter's snow and ice, and in the midst of a lukewarm if not hostile population, it required a power of endurance, such as few men possess, to bear up at all under such a pressure of adversity. The British army, more than twenty thousand strong, composed of veteran troops, were in excellent condition, and confident of an easy victory over the frag-

^{*} Irving's *Life of Washington*, vol. ii., p. 423.
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ments of Washington's army. They were well supplied with that efficient arm in the service, cavalry, while the Americans had none whatever, except a few ill-mounted Connecticut militia, under Major Shelden. The Americans were also no better provided with artillery than with horses. The militia from New Jersey, about a thousand in number, were considered quite unreliable, and the time of service of the few regulars in the army expired with the year. In a little while, it was to be feared, there would be no army at all.

Consternation seemed to have seized upon the neighboring states; each trembling for itself, refused to attempt to succor others. There still remained a few regiments of regular troops upon the frontiers of Canada; but they were necessary there to arrest the progress of the enemy; and, besides, the term of their engagement was near its end. Upon the heel of so many trials was the imminent danger of seditions on the part of the disaffected, who, in various places were ready to do all in their power to favor the cause of the British. An insurrection was about to break out in the county of Monmouth, in this very province of New Jersey, so that Washington found himself constrained to detach a part of his army, already a mere skeleton, to overawe the agitators. The presence of a victorious royal army had dissipated the terror with which the patriots at first had inspired the loyalists. They began to abandon themselves without reserve to all the fury which animated them against their adversaries.

The English commissioners, in this

gloomy state of American affairs, ventured to assume bolder ground in addressing the people. On the 30th of November, they drew **1776.** up a third proclamation, in which they charged and commanded all persons assembling in arms, against his majesty's government, to disband themselves and return to their dwellings; and all those who exercised magistracies, or were in anywise concerned in executing orders for levying money, raising troops, fitting out armed vessels, and imprisoning or molesting his majesty's subjects, were commanded "to desist and cease from all such treasonable actings and doings, and to relinquish all such usurped power and authority." They, at the same time, engaged, that all such as should, within sixty days from the date of the proclamation, appear before any governor or lieutenant-governor, or commander-in-chief of the British army in America, or any officer commanding a detachment of the same, and claim the benefit of the proclamation, and subscribe a declaration that they would remain in a peaceable obedience to his majesty, and would not take up arms, or encourage others to take up arms, against his authority, should obtain a full and free pardon of all treasons or misprisions of treason."

On the advance of Lord Cornwallis, Washington abandoned Newark, and retreated to Brunswick, a small village on the Raritan. While there, the term of service of the Maryland and Jersey levies expired, and no remonstrances or entreaties of the commander-in-chief were sufficient to induce them to re-

main. The British general continued to press forward, and Washington had no alternative but to retire before him. "On the 7th of December," says Steadman, "our army marched from Brunswick, at four o'clock in the morning, and about the same hour in the afternoon arrived at Princeton. This place General Washington, in person, with Stirling's brigade, left not one hour before the British arrived. At Princeton, the British general waited seventeen hours, marched at nine o'clock in the morning of the 8th, and arrived at Trenton at four o'clock in the afternoon, just when the last boat of General Washington's embarkation crossed the river, as if he had calculated, it was observed, with great accuracy, the exact time necessary for his enemy to make his escape."

While at Trenton, a reinforcement of about two thousand men came in from Pennsylvania, the raising of which was principally due to the exertions of General Mifflin, in Philadelphia. Washington had thoughts of attempting something against the enemy, but learning that Cornwallis had received accessions to his force, he abandoned the idea, and, as just stated, on the 8th of December, placed the Delaware between himself and the British troops. He had taken the precaution of collecting and securing all the boats on the Delaware from Philadelphia for seventy miles higher up the river. Washington was also careful to secure all the boats on the south side of the river, and to guard all those places where it was probable that the British army might attempt to pass; so that the dan-

ger of an immediate attack was prevented. The British troops made demonstrations of an intention to cross the river, and detachments were stationed to oppose them; but the attempt was not seriously made. In this situation Washington anxiously waited for reinforcements, and sent some parties over the river to observe and harass the enemy.

Congress, on the 12th of December, deemed it prudent to remove their sittings to Baltimore, where they waited anxiously but firmly the progress of affairs.

While the commander-in-chief was retreating through the Jerseys, he earnestly desired General Lee, who had been left in command of the division of the army at North Castle, to hasten his march to the Delaware, and join the main army. But that officer, notwithstanding the critical nature of the case, and the pressing orders of his commander, was in no haste to obey. Reluctant to give up his separate command, and subject himself to superior authority, he did not begin his march until the 4th of December, and then he advanced slowly to the southward, at the head of about three thousand men; but his sluggish movements and unwary conduct proved fatal to his own personal liberty, and excited a lively sensation throughout America. He lay carelessly without a guard, and at some distance from his troops, at Baskingridge, in Morris county, where, on the, 13th of December, Colonel Harcourt, who, with a small detachment of light horse, had been sent to observe the movements of that division of the American army, by

a sudden dash, under the guidance of a tory, made him prisoner, and conveyed him rapidly to New York. For some time he was closely confined, and considered not as a prisoner of war, but as a deserter from the British army.*

The capture of General Lee was regarded as a great misfortune by the Americans; for at that time he enjoyed, in a high degree, the esteem and confidence of the army and of the country: on the other hand, the British exulted in his captivity, as equal to a victory, declaring that they "had taken the American palladium."†

General Sullivan, who, on the 4th of September, had been exchanged for General Prescott, when Lord Stirling also had been exchanged for General M'Donald, succeeded to the command on the capture of Lee; he immediately pressed forward, and on the 20th of December, crossing the Delaware at Philipsburg, joined the commander-in-chief. On the same day General Gates, with part of the army of Canada, ar-

rived in camp. But even after the junction of those troops, and a number of militia of Pennsylvania, Washington's force did not exceed seven thousand men; for though many had joined the army, yet not a few were daily leaving it; and of those who remained, the greater part were raw troops, ill-provided, and all of them dispirited by defeat.

General Howe, with an army of twenty-seven thousand men, completely armed and disciplined, well-provided, and flushed with success, lay on the opposite side of the Delaware; stretching from Brunswick to the vicinity of Philadelphia, and ready, it was believed, to pass over as soon as the severity of the winter was set in, and the river completely frozen. To the Americans this was a very dark period of the contest; and their affairs appeared in a hopeless condition. To deepen the gloom of this period, so alarming to the Americans, and to confirm the confidence of the British army, General Clinton, with two brigades of British and two of Hessian troops, escorted by a squadron of men-of-war under Sir Peter Parker, was sent against Rhode Island. The American force was incapable of making any effectual resistance, and retreated on Clinton's approach; so that on the day that Washington crossed the Delaware, he took possession of Rhode Island, without opposition. This loss was a very serious one, as well from the situation of the province, as because the American squadron, under Commodore Hopkins, was compelled to withdraw as far up the Providence River as it was practicable, and to continue there blocked up and useless for a long time.

* See Irving's "*Life of Washington*," vol. ii., pp. 452, etc., for a full and graphic account of Lee's probable purpose in the course he pursued.

† Lee being of superior rank to any prisoner in the hands of the Americans, could not be exchanged. Six field-officers were offered in exchange for him and refused; and Congress was highly irritated at its being reported that he was to be treated as a deserter, because he had been a half-pay officer in the British service previous to the war. In consequence of this they issued a proclamation, threatening to retaliate on the prisoners in their possession whatever punishment should be inflicted on any of those taken by the British, and especially that their conduct should be regulated by the treatment of General Lee. A great deal of suffering, on both sides, by the unfortunate prisoners, resulted from the course adopted by the British to refuse the usual comity of war in the case of Lee.

Two pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy; but they made few prisoners. The conquest of Rhode Island was of great utility for their ulterior operations: from this province they could harass Massachusetts; and the reinforcements that General Lincoln had assembled with the intention of conducting them to the army of Washington, were detained in that province, to observe General Clinton, and prevent him from disturbing its tranquillity. Even Connecticut shared the alarm, and retained the reinforcements it was upon the point of sending to the camp of Washington.

General Howe, as an English writer remarks, has been severely censured for not pressing the pursuit of the Americans with more activity, and overwhelming Washington before he found refuge behind the Delaware. Probably, however, the censure is not quite just, although it may be regarded as certain that the delay of the British force proved the salvation of the American army. Howe's conduct was marked by cool prudence rather than by daring en-

terprise or unwary impetuosity. He was on the whole as successful as any other British general during the war, and he exposed himself to none of those disasters which fell upon others of his compeers.

But however this may be, it is undoubtedly true, that Washington gave evidence of superior generalship in this retreat through the Jerseys; and not only of superior qualities as a commander-in-chief, but also of possessing the higher and nobler endowments of the most exalted patriotism. Painful, indeed, is it to see what trials and perplexities, and humiliations waited upon his every step, and how his soul was racked with the cares and burdens laid upon him. But trials are not sent without design. Washington was formed of that material which is purified and strengthened by trial. Bravely did he endure; profoundly learned and wise did he become by endurance; and no man of his day ever attained such vast influence as he did by the irrefragable proofs which he exhibited of the purity, integrity, and decision of his character and conduct.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I.

ADDRESS TO THEIR EXCELLENCIES RICHARD VISCOUNT HOWE, ADMIRAL, AND WILLIAM HOWE, ESQ., GENERAL OF HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S FORCES IN AMERICA.

MY LORD AND SIR—Your declaration at New York, has reached this place. It has occasioned surprise and concern. The known honor and abilities of your Excellencies, and your declaration, appear perfect contrasts. The latter is an unnatural production. Hurt, as I am, to see your names so prostituted, I cannot restrain myself from making a few remarks to your Excellencies upon a subject, which, by endangering your reputation, distresses every generous mind. I shall first state your declaration.

“By RICHARD VISCOUNT HOWE, of the Kingdom of Ireland, and WILLIAM HOWE, Esq., General of His Majesty's forces in America, the King's COMMISSIONERS for restoring peace to his Majesty's Colonies and Plantations in North America, etc., etc., etc.”

DECLARATION.

“Although the Congress, whom the misguided Americans suffer to direct the opposition to a re-establishment of the constitutional government of these provinces, have disavowed every purpose of reconciliation not consonant with their extravagant and inadmissible claim of independence,—the King's Commissioners think fit to declare that they are equally desirous to confer with His Majesty's well affected subjects upon the means of restoring the public tranquillity, and establishing a permanent union with every colony, as a part of the British Empire. The king being most graciously pleased to direct a revision of such of his royal instructions to his governors as may be construed to lay an improper restraint on the freedom of legislation in any of his Colonies, and to concur in the revival of all acts, by which His Majesty's subjects there may think themselves aggrieved, it is recommended to the inhabitants

at large, to reflect seriously upon their present condition and expectations, and judge for themselves, whether it be more consistent with their honor and happiness, to offer up their lives as a sacrifice to the unjust and precarious cause in which they are engaged, or return to their allegiance, accept the blessings of peace, and to be secured in a free enjoyment of their liberties and properties upon the true principles of the Constitution.

“Given at New York, 19th September, 1776.

“HOWE.

“W. HOWE.

“By command of their Excellencies,
STRAGHEY.”

And now, not to detain your Excellencies by making observations upon Lord Howe's not assuming his military title, displaying the nature of his supreme hostile command in America, by which unusual and designed omission, the ignorant, seeing his name contrasted with that of a general clothed in all his terrors, may be entrapped to believe that his lordship is to be considered in a more amiable point of view, a mere Commissioner only, for restoring peace, without any military command to intimidate and coerce: not to wound your delicacy, by admiring the wisdom of your appealing from the Congress to people confessed by you to be directed by that honorable assembly: my remarks shall be confined to the more material parts of your Declaration, which, I am sorry to say, are in every respect unworthy your good sense and high characters.

Your Excellencies “think fit to declare,” that you are desirous “of restoring the public tranquillity.” But is the end your Excellencies aim at our honor and advantage? Is it to give a free scope to our natural growth? Is it to confirm to us our rights by the law of nature? No! It is to cover us with infamy. It is to chill the sap,

and check the luxuriance of our imperial plant. It is to deprive us of our natural equality with the rest of mankind, by "*establishing*" every state "as a part of the British Empire." In short, your Excellencies invite men of common sense, to exchange an independent station for a servile and dangerous dependence? But, when we recollect, that the king of Great Britain has, from the throne, declared his "firm and steadfast resolutions to withstand every attempt to weaken or impair the supreme authority of that legislature over all the dominions of his crown;" that his hirelings in Parliament and tools in office, abhorred by the English nation, have echoed the sentiment; and that America, for ten years, has experienced that king's total want of candor, humanity, and justice; it is, I confess, a matter of wonder, that your Excellencies can submit to appear so lost to decency, as to hold out subjection as the only condition of peace: and that you could condescend to sully your personal honor, by inviting us to trust a government, in which you are conscious we cannot, in the nature of things, place any confidence; a government that you are sensible, has been, now is, and ever must be jealous of our prosperity and natural growth; a government that you know is absolutely abandoned to corruption! Take it not amiss, if I hint to your Excellencies, that *your very appearing* in support of such a proposal, furnishes cause to doubt even of your integrity; and to reject your allurements, lest they decoy us into slavery.

The Declaration says, "the king is most graciously pleased to *direct a revision* of such of his royal instructions to his governors," etc., "and to *concur in the revisal* of all acts, by which His Majesty's subjects may think themselves aggrieved." But what of all this? Your Excellencies have not told the people, who "think themselves aggrieved," that they are to be a party in the revision. You have not even told them who are to be revisers. If you had, it would be nothing to the purpose; for you have not, and *cannot* tell them, and *engage* that even any of the instructions and acts, being revised, shall be revoked, and repealed, *particularly those* by which people "may think themselves aggrieved." But, if such are not to be repealed, why have you mentioned "*think themselves aggrieved?*" If they are intended to be repealed, why did not your Excellencies come to the point at once, and say

so? It is evident your Excellencies are by your superiors, precipitated into a dilemma. You have not been accustomed to dirty jobs, and *plain dealing* does not accord with your instructions; otherwise, in the latter case, I think you are men of too much sense and honor, to have overlooked or suppressed so material a point of information. However, you say instructions and acts are to be revised. We see that you have laid an ambushcade for our liberties; the clause is carefully constructed, without the least allusion to the revisors, or to the words redress, revoke, repeal. In short, it appears to be drawn up entirely on the plan of a declaration by King James the Second, after his abdication, as confidentially explained by James' secretary of state, the earl of Melford, to Lord Dundee, in Scotland. For Melford writes to Dundee, "that notwithstanding of what was promised in the declaration, *indemnity* and *indulgence*, yet he had couched things so, that the king *would break them* when he pleased; nor would he think himself obliged to *stand to them.*" And your Excellencies have "*couched things so,*" that more words upon this subject are unnecessary.

"It is recommended to the inhabitants at large, to reflect seriously upon their present condition." Is it possible your Excellencies can be serious, and mean any thing by this recommendation? Can you be ignorant, that ever since the birth of the Stamp Act, the inhabitants at large, have been reflecting upon their deplorable condition? Can you have an idea, that, after such a length of time, during which they have been continually kept to their reflections, by the declaratory law, the Tea Act, the Boston Port Bill, and those then passed to annihilate the charter of Massachusetts Bay, the Quebec Bill to establish Popery, the Fishery Bill, to coerce by famine, the British commencement of the late civil war, and the Act of Parliament, in December last, declaring the inhabitants rebels; I say, after *such a series* of causes for reflection, and that your Excellencies *now find us in arms* against you, determined on independence or death, can you possibly entertain an idea, that we have not reflected seriously? On the contrary, you know, that we are prepared to offer up our lives in evidence of our serious reflections! In addressing a world, you ought to have some attention to the propriety of your recommendations, if only from a regard to your own reputation.

You are pleased to term our cause "unjust." In this there is nothing so surprising, as your being lured to give such a sentiment under your hands, signing your own disgrace with posterity. You know, that the virtuous characters throughout Europe, on this point, differ with your Excellencies; and I most respectfully submit, whether there is not some little degree of presumption in your signing an opinion, in contradiction to the opinion of thousands, who, without derogating from your Excellencies, are, at least, as well able to judge upon the point as you are?

But you add, that our cause is "precarious." Allow me to make a *proper return* to your Excellencies, by informing you, that all the affairs of men are precarious, and that war is particularly so. However, if your Excellencies meant to insinuate, that our cause is precarious, from an inability in us to maintain it, I beg leave to ask General Howe what progress his arms made during his command at Boston? And what shining victories, and important conquests you have achieved since your junction at Staten Island? The eulogium,

— *duo fulmina belli*
Scipiadæ —

cannot yet be applied to your Excellencies. General Howe's repulse from the lines on Long Island, and his victory over the advanced guard of three thousand men, reflect no great degree of glory on the corps of at least twelve thousand men that he commanded. Nor can you boast much of the action on New York Island on the 15th of September, when a few more than eight hundred Americans, attacking three companies of light troops, supported by two regiments, the one Scotch, the other Hessian, drove them from hill to hill, back to your lines, and carried off three pieces of brass cannon as trophies of their victory. And when General Washington, on the second of October, caused a large detachment to draw up to Harlem plains, to cover the inhabitants between the two armies, while they carried off their effects, the march and *continuance* of the British troops in order of battle, within long shot, without firing a gun to interrupt the service, is at least some slight degree of evidence, that they respect and stand in awe of the American arms. In short, without being unreasonable, I think I may be allowed to say, that these particulars do not show, that our cause is so precarious as your

Excellencies would insinuate it to be; and to recommend that your Excellencies "reflect seriously upon your present condition," and abandon "the unjust cause in which you are engaged," while you yet may preserve your reputation from the reproaches of posterity.

Your Excellencies call upon the inhabitants at large "to return to their allegiance." It is as if you had commanded a body of troops to advance to the assault, before you had put them in order of battle. I tell your Excellencies, that protection must *precede* allegiance; for the latter is *founded* on the benefit of the former. That the operations of the forces by sea and land, under your orders, demonstrate that your king is not our protector. And, that the allegiance of America to the king of Great Britain is *now utterly out of the question*.

But you attempt to allure the inhabitants, by telling them they may "be secured in a free enjoyment of their liberties and properties, upon the true principles of the Constitution." Will your Excellencies tell us where those principles are to be found? You must say they are not to be found in the present British government. Do we not know that the majority of the two houses of Parliament are absolutely under the king of Great Britain's direction? They make and repeal laws; they agree with or reject motions; they vote money *even without limitation of sum*, at the pleasure of that king's minister, in whose pay they actually are; and your Excellencies, as men of honor, *dare not deny these things*. Will you then say, that, where there is such a dependence, the true principles of the Constitution operate! The history of the present reign, all Europe would witness against you. Those principles have been long despised by the rulers, and lost to the people; otherwise, even at the commencement of the present reign, we should not have seen the dismissal of the virtuous chancellor of the exchequer, LEGGE, because he would not quit his seat in Parliament at the instigation of the *last* Prince of Wales; nor the massacre in St. George's fields, and the royal thanks to the assassins; nor the repeated and unredressed complaints to the throne; nor the unheard of profusion of the public treasure, far exceeding the extravagance of a Caligula, or a Nero; nor the present ruinous situation of Great Britain; nor the present war in America, *for the worst of pur-*

poses, kindled by your king. Can your Excellencies be so wanting to yourselves, *as, at this time of day*, on the part of your master, seriously to talk to us of a *security* upon the true principles of the Constitution? Did it never strike you, that the Americans would expect to see such principles operating in England, before they could be duped into a belief, that America could possibly feel their effects from the dark recess of the royal palace? The lord mayor of London has openly charged Lord North, and the lords of the admiralty, with licensing ships to trade to all parts of America, in direct disregard, contempt, and defiance of an Act of Parliament to the contrary, passed so late as December last. And yet your Excellencies do not scruple to talk to us of a *security upon the true principles of the constitution!* Let the fountain be sweet, and then its stream may be salutary.

Your Excellencies say, "the king is *most graciously pleased* to direct a revision" of instructions and acts. If you really mean to conciliate, why will you insult the inhabitants at large. It was "the king's" bounden *duty* to have directed, not only a revision, but an *amendment* of his instructions; and to have *recommended a repeal* of the acts, when the people first complained of them. But he, having been criminally deaf to the cries of the injured, to terrify them into silence, having burnt their towns, restrained their trade, seized and confiscated their vessels; driven them into enormous expenses; sheathed his sword in their bowels, and adorned the heads of their aged women and children, with a cincture made by the *scalping knife* of HIS ALLY, the Indian savage; you now tell these injured people, that "the king is *graciously pleased* to direct a revision!" His very mercies are insults!

And so your Excellencies, besides your military commands, as Admiral and General, are also "Commissioners for restoring peace." Is there not some error in this title? Ought we not, instead of "peace," to read *tyranny*? You seem armed at all points for this purpose; and your very language detects the latent design. But you are Commissioners, and for the important purpose of "restoring peace," you are honored with a power—"to confer." And you have condescended to be *mere machines*, through which, as, through speaking trumpets, words are to be sounded from America to Britain! HOW MUCH LOWER IS IT

POSSIBLE FOR YOUR EXCELLENCIES TO DEGRADE YOURSELVES IN THE EYES OF THE WORLD? By this, it is most evident, the British king has not one generous thought respecting America. Nor does he mean to grant terms upon the true principles of the Constitution. For, if to grant such terms, was *bona fide* the intention of your master, without doubt you would have been vested with competent powers. But he plainly means to grant nothing that he can possibly avoid; and therefore he would have the matter of negotiation drawn into length under his own eye. Can we place any confidence in such a prince? His aim is to divide, not to redress, and your Excellencies' Declaration is but a continuation of Lord North's conciliatory plan.

Thus, while we remember that Lord North declared, on the 20th of February, 1775, that his famous conciliatory plan was rather calculated to *break a link* in the American chain of union, than to give satisfaction to the people; and that the exercise of the right of taxing every part of the British dominions, must *by no means* be given up; that Lord Mansfield, on the third reading of the bill, declaring war against the United Colonies, affirmed that *he did not consider who was originally in the wrong*; they were now to consider only where they were, and *the justice of the cause* must now *give way* to their present situation; when we consider the king of Great Britain's speech to the Parliament on the last of November, and the Commons' address and his answer on the 7th of December, 1774; the Commons' address of the 9th of February, 1775, and the royal answer; and the speech from the throne at the last opening of the Parliament, October the 26th, 1775; all declaring an unalterable purpose to maintain the *supreme authority* of that legislature over all the dominions of the crown; in other words, their unalterable purpose, TO BIND US IN ALL CASES WHATSOEVER; when we see your hostile array and operations, in consequence of those declarations; I say, when we consider *these things*, we can be at no loss to form a just idea of the intentions of your king; or to conceive what your Excellencies mean, by "the true principles of the Constitution." Nor are we to be caught by any allurements your Excellencies may throw out; you confess, and we know that you, as Commissioners, have not any power to negotiate and determine any thing.

But, unanswerable as the reasons are against America returning to a subjection under the British crown, *now in fact become despotic*; and America, after unheard of injuries, infinite toil, hazard and expense, her inhabitants called *cowards* by your master's servants, civil and military, having declared herself independent; did not your Excellencies feel a little for *our honor*, when you, at the head of your armies, held out to us, *subjection and peace!* Did not you feel the dignity of your characters affected, when you, under *the guise of a security* upon the true principles of the Constitution, *recommend* to "the inhabitants at large," to rescind their decree, and BY THEIR OWN MOUTHS DECLARE themselves *the most contemptible people* in history, which gives no example of such baseness—RENDER their name *a term of reproach* among all nations, and FORBID *each other* from placing any, the least degree of confidence in, and *all foreign states from paying* the least degree of credit to, *their most solemn declarations!* In short, *to submit* to a govern-

ment abandoned to corruption, lost to a sense of justice, and already but a step behind absolute despotism; a government that has long been, and ever must be, jealous of our rise, and studious *to depress our natural growth!* Did not your Excellencies blush, and *shrink within yourselves*, when you asked men, who had been almost ruined by your *gracious* master, to abandon the honorable and natural station of independence, and stoop to kiss *his hand*, now *daily BATHED* in, and which ever must continue *stained* by, the blood of a friend, a brother, a son, a father!

That your Excellencies may "reflect seriously" upon "the unjust cause in which you are engaged;" and that the name of HOWE may be enrolled with the names of MARLBOROUGH and EFFINGHAM, are the wishes of,

A CAROLINIAN.

[Judge Drayton.]

CHARLESTON, October 22, 1776.

CHAPTER II.

1776-1777.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

Committee on Foreign Relations — Franklin's letter to Dumas — Deane in Paris — Commissioners to France — Extent to which France was willing to go — Commissioners to other courts — Progress of negotiations — Position of Congress — Washington's letter to the President of Congress — Vast powers conferred on him — Action of Parliament — Washington's plans to retrieve losses in New Jersey — Surprise and Capture of the Hessians at Trenton — Effects of this success — Movement of Cornwallis — Washington's retreat and attack on Princeton — General Mercer's death — Washington's proclamation — His generalship — Botta's eulogy — Excesses and abominations of war — Effect on the people — Similar excesses on the side of the Americans — Sufferings of the prisoners in New York — The army inoculated — Heath's attempt on New York — British attack on Peekskill, and on Danbury — General Wooster's death — American success at Sag Harbor — Howe inactive — Washington's arrangements to meet him — Washington advances to Middlebrook — Howe attempts to surprise him — New Jersey evacuated by the British — Great preparations in New York for an expedition by sea — Washington's first interview with Lafayette — Seizure of General Prescott — British fleet enter the Chesapeake — Washington's determination to defend Philadelphia — Battle of the Brandywine — Further movements — Wayne surprised — Fresh powers conferred on Washington — Hamilton's activity — Philadelphia abandoned — Battle of Germantown — Obstructions in the Delaware — British efforts to clear the navigation — Howe's offer of battle declined — State of the armies — Approach of winter — APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II. — I. Letter from General Robertson, and Governor Livingston's Reply.—II. Charge of John Jay, Esq., to the Grand Jury.

It had not escaped the attention of those sagacious men who exercised preponderating influence in Congress, that the Declaration of Independence would necessarily involve an appeal to the nations of Europe for countenance and aid. Accordingly, as early as the close of 1775, a committee, consisting of Mr. Harrison, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dickinson, and Mr. Jay, was appointed for the sole purpose of holding a secret correspondence with the friends of America, in Great Britain, Ireland, and other parts of the world. The main object of this Committee, was to sound indirectly some of the principal powers of Europe, particularly France and Spain, in regard to American affairs. Dr. Franklin, not long after, addressed a letter to a gentleman in

Holland, named Dumas, making inquiries as to the prospect of aid being extended to the Americans, in the struggle upon which they had entered with the mother country. "That you may be better enabled," wrote Franklin, "to answer some questions which will probably be put to you, concerning our present situation, we inform you, that the whole continent is very firmly united—the party for the measures of the British ministry being very small, and much dispersed; that we had on foot the last campaign, an army of near twenty thousand men, wherewith we have been able, not only to block up the king's army in Boston, but to spare considerable detachments for the invasion of Canada, where we have met with great success, as the printed papers

sent herewith will inform you, and have now reason to expect the whole province may be soon in our possession; that we purpose greatly to increase our force for the ensuing year; and thereby, we hope, with the assistance of a well-disciplined militia, to be able to defend our coast, notwithstanding its great extent; that we already have a small squadron of armed vessels, to protect our coasting trade, who have had some success in taking several of the enemy's cruizers, and some of their transport vessels and stores."

Aware that France, on every account, would favor any measures calculated to diminish the superiority of England, Mr. Silas Deane was sent, early **1776.** in March, 1776, as a commercial and political agent to the French court. He was directed to state that clothing and arms for twenty-five thousand men, as well as ammunition and field-pieces, were needed by the Americans; and also to sound the French minister in respect to the probabilities of effecting an alliance with France in case the colonies should be able to attain independence.

Deane arrived in Paris early in July, and devoted himself to the objects of his mission. Having been introduced to the Count de Vergennes, the French minister, he stated the purpose had in view by his appointment, and was favorably and courteously received by the court. Vergennes informed Mr. Deane, that the importance of American commerce was well known, and that no country could so well supply the American colonies, and in return receive their produce, as France;

that an uninterrupted intercourse was, therefore, for the interest of both; and for this reason, the court had already ordered their ports to be kept open, and equally free to America, as to Britain. That considering the good understanding between the courts of Versailles and London, they could not *openly* encourage the shipping of warlike stores, but no obstructions, of any kind, he said, would be given; if there should, as the custom-houses were not fully in their *secrets* in this matter, such obstructions should be removed, on the first application. That he might consider himself perfectly free, to carry on any kind of commerce in the kingdom, which any subject of any other state in the world might, as the court had resolved their ports should be equally free to both parties. That he might consider himself, as under his immediate protection; if he should meet with any difficulty either from their police, or from any other quarter, on application to him every thing should be settled. On the subject of the independence of the colonies, Vergennes declined to say any thing decisive, looking upon that as an event too far into the future and too uncertain, to base upon it any present action.

In June, 1776, immediately after the question of independence was determined upon, Congress appointed Mr. Dickinson, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, Mr. Harrison, and Robert Morris, a committee, to prepare a plan of treaties with foreign powers. On the 10th of July, the committee reported a plan, which was amended, and after further consideration, was adopted on the 17th

of September. Congress immediately appointed Franklin, Deane, and Jefferson, commissioners to proceed to France. Jefferson not being able to leave America, Arthur Lee, then in London, was substituted. Special instructions were prepared for these commissioners relative to the duty charged upon them.

"It is highly probable," was the language of Congress, "that France means not to let the United States *sink*, in the present contest. But as the difficulty of obtaining true accounts of our condition, may cause an opinion to be entertained, that we are able to support the war, on our own strength and resources longer than, in fact, we can do, it will be proper for you to press for the immediate and explicit declaration of France in our favor, upon a suggestion, that a *re-union* with Great Britain, may be the consequence of a delay. Should Spain be disinclined to our cause, from an apprehension of danger to her dominions in South America, you are empowered to give the strongest assurances, that that crown will receive no molestation from the United States, in the possession of those territories.

"You will solicit the court of France for an immediate supply of twenty or thirty thousand muskets and bayonets, and a large supply of ammunition, and brass field-pieces, to be sent under a convoy by France. The United States engage for the payment of the arms, artillery and ammunition, and to indemnify France for the convoy.

"You are desired to obtain, as early as possible, a public acknowledgment of the independency of these States of

the crown of Great Britain, by the court of France."

They were instructed, in October, to procure from the court of France, at the expense of the United States, eight line-of-battle ships, and to expedite the fitting them out with all possible diligence. In December, Dr. Franklin and Mr. Lee arrived in Paris, and put themselves in communication with the French minister. The question of independence was still looked upon as too doubtful, and the French court were not ready to acknowledge it, and openly espouse the American cause. It was evident, that there was a strong disposition to aid America; but it was equally evident, that caution and prudence had been resolved upon, and that France wished to obtain benefits proportionally valuable with those conferred.

The campaign of 1776, proving very discouraging to the American arms, Congress, at the close of that year, gave earnest attention to the necessity of securing foreign aid. A committee was appointed to prepare a plan for this purpose. The report of this Committee was a subject of much debate. Some of the members were disposed to make great sacrifices, to obtain the aid of France, and were almost prepared to offer her the same monopoly of American commerce, as had been enjoyed by Great Britain.

On the 30th of December, Congress came to the resolution of sending commissioners to the courts of Vienna, Spain, and Prussia, and to the grand duke of Tuscany. These commissioners were instructed to assure

the courts to which they were sent, that the Americans were determined to maintain their independence, notwithstanding the insidious suggestions of the British to the contrary. They were, also, directed to use every means in their power, to procure the assistance of the emperor of Germany, and the kings of France, Spain, and Prussia, to prevent German and other foreign troops being sent to America, for hostile purposes, and to obtain the recall of those already sent.

To induce France to embark in the war, the American envoys were authorized to stipulate, that all the trade between the United States and the West India islands, should be carried on, either in French or American vessels; and were specially instructed to assure the French king, that, if, by their joint efforts, the British should be excluded from any share in the cod-fishery of America, by the reduction of the islands of Newfoundland and Cape Breton, and ships of war should be furnished, at the expense of the United States, to reduce Nova Scotia, that the fishery should be enjoyed equally between them, to the exclusion of all other nations; and that one half of Newfoundland should belong to France, and the other half, with Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, to the United States. Should these proposals be insufficient to induce France to join in the war, and the commissioners were convinced that the open co-operation of France could not otherwise be obtained, they were directed to assure his most Christian majesty, that such of the West India Islands, as might, in the course

of the war, be reduced, should be yielded to him in absolute property; and the United States were to engage to furnish efficient help in the way of armed vessels and supplies. Offers of a similar kind were directed to be made to the court of Spain. William Lee was appointed commissioner to the courts of Vienna and Berlin; Ralph Izard, to the Duke of Tuscany, and Dr. Franklin, to Spain. Arthur Lee was afterwards sent to Spain in place of Franklin.

The French court were not to be induced to depart from the line of policy which they had adopted. They were waiting for events evincing, beyond all doubt, the determination and ability of the Americans to maintain their independence; and were unwilling openly to afford assistance, until perfectly satisfied, that such assistance would render reconciliation impossible. The American commissioners, however, were secretly permitted to fit out a number of vessels from French ports, to cruise against the British; and prizes were brought in and sold in France. Lord Stormont, the British minister, made loud complaints of the course pursued by the French court; but his remonstrances produced only the usual diplomatic assurances, that nothing of the kind should happen again,—assurances which were received for what they were worth, which, as both sides well knew, was just nothing at all. Negotiations dragged on slowly, as might be expected, and the commissioners were occupied mainly in endeavoring to counteract the false statements, industriously circulated by English em-

issaries, in every direction, respecting America, and the actual position of affairs.

At this point we leave the consideration of the foreign relations of the United States, and return to a narrative of events at home.*

Congress, it will be recollected, had deemed it prudent to retire to Baltimore, on the approach of the British army, and when it was apprehended that Philadelphia would immediately fall into their hands. That body of patriots, however, manifested unshaken firmness in the midst of the difficulties and trials to which they were exposed. Their energy did not forsake them, and there was neither humiliation in their attitude, nor despondency in their language. They resolved upon active measures in behalf of the great cause of liberty, and the step which they decided upon was one which probably no man in the country could have called forth except Washington.

The commander-in-chief was aware that the bitter lessons of experience had now sufficiently taught Congress that greater vigor and efficiency must be infused into the military system, or the cause of America must be hopeless. On the 20th of December, he addressed a memorable letter to the president of Congress, in which, with mingled dignity, firmness and pathos, he gives expression to the views which he urged upon their attention: "My feelings as an officer and a man have been such as to force me to say, that no person ever

had a greater choice of difficulties to contend with than I have. It is needless to add, that short enlistments, and a mistaken dependence upon militia, have been the origin of all our misfortunes, and the great accumulation of our debt. We find, Sir, that the enemy are daily gathering strength from the disaffected. This strength, like a snowball, by rolling, will increase, unless some means can be devised to check effectually the progress of the enemy's arms. Militia may possibly do it for a little while; but in a little while, also, and the militia of those states which have been frequently called upon, will not turn out at all; or if they do, it will be with so much reluctance and sloth, as to amount to the same thing. Instance New Jersey! Witness Pennsylvania! Could any thing but the river Delaware have saved Philadelphia? Can any thing, (the exigency of the case may indeed justify it,) be more destructive to the recruiting service, than giving ten dollars bounty for six weeks' service of the militia, who come in, you cannot tell how, go, you cannot tell when, and act, you cannot tell where, consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at a critical moment? These, Sir, are the men I am to depend upon ten days hence; this is the basis on which your cause will and must forever depend, till you get a large standing army sufficient of itself to oppose the enemy." Pointing out that, in his judgment, the eighty-eight battalions already ordered were not sufficient to carry on the war, Washington urged that the number be increased, concluding his

* The reader will find this subject more fully treated by Pitkin, vol. i., pp. 381-95.

letter in the following words: "It may be thought that I am going a good deal out of the line of my duty, to adopt these measures, or to advise thus freely. A character to lose, an estate to forfeit, the inestimable blessings of liberty at stake, and a life devoted, must be my excuse."

Congress, deeply impressed with the weight and importance of the subjects thus urged upon them, and being at a distance from the scene of active military operations, promptly met the emergency. They resolved to place unlimited powers in the hands of Washington, constituting him, in fact, a military DICTATOR. Declaring that "the unjust, but determined purpose of the British court to enslave these free states, obvious through every insinuation to the contrary, having placed things in such a situation, that the very existence of civil liberty now depends on the right exercise of military powers; and the vigorous and decisive conduct of these being impossible to distant, numerous, and deliberative bodies;" Congress passed the following resolve: "That General Washington shall be, and he is hereby, vested with full, ample, and complete powers to raise and collect together, in the most speedy and effectual manner, from any and all of these United States, sixteen battalions of infantry, in addition to those already voted by Congress; to appoint officers for the said battalions of infantry; to raise, officer, and equip three thousand light horse, three regiments of artillery, and a corps of engineers, and to establish their pay; to apply to any of the states for such aid of the militia, as he

shall judge necessary; to form such magazines of provisions, and in such places as he shall think proper; to displace and appoint all officers under the rank of brigadier-general, and to fill all vacancies in every other department of the American armies; to take, wherever he may be, whatever he may want for the use of the army, if the inhabitants will not sell it, allowing a reasonable price for the same; to arrest and confine persons who refuse to take the continental currency, or are any otherwise disaffected to the American cause; and return to the states, of which they are citizens, their names, and the nature of their offences, together with the witnesses to prove them."

These extraordinary powers were entrusted to Washington for the term of six months, unless revoked by Congress before that period. In acknowledging the resolves of Congress, Washington assured that **1776.** body, that all his faculties should be employed, to direct properly the powers they had been pleased to vest him with, to advance those objects and those only, which had given rise to so honorable a mark of distinction. "If my exertions," he said, "should not be attended with the desired success, I trust the failure will be imputed to the true cause,—the peculiarly distressed situation of our affairs, and the difficulties I have to combat,—rather than to a want of zeal for my country, and the closest attention to her interests, to promote which has ever been my study." The exercise of these dictatorial powers was marked by all the

prudence, sagacity and lofty spirit of patriotism which belonged to the commander-in-chief.

In England, large majorities in both houses of Parliament supported the ministry in all their violent proceedings; and although a small majority, including several men of distinguished talents, who trembled for the fate of British liberty if the court should succeed in establishing its claims against the colonists, vigorously opposed the measures of the administration, yet the great body of the people seemed to be in favor of the war; and the ill success of the Americans, in the campaign of 1776, led them to think that it would speedily be brought to a close.

But, amidst all the popularity of their warlike operations, the difficulties of the ministry soon began to multiply. In consequence of hostilities with the American provinces, the British West India Islands experienced a scarcity of the necessaries of life. About the time when the West India fleet was ready to set sail, under convoy, on its homeward voyage, it was discovered that the negroes of Jamaica meditated an insurrection. By means of the draughts to complete the army in America, the military force in that island had been weakened; and the ships of war were detained to assist in suppressing the negroes. By this delay, the Americans gained time for equipping their privateers. After the fleet sailed, it was dispersed by stormy weather; and many of the ships, richly laden, fell into the hands of the American cruisers, who were permitted, as stated above, to sell their prizes in the ports

of France, both in Europe and in the West Indies.

This unfriendly conduct of France was so openly manifested, that it could no longer be winked at, and it drew forth a remonstrance from the British cabinet. The remonstrance received the answer usual in such cases, but the traffic in British prizes was still carried on, though not quite so openly, in the French ports in Europe; and it was evident, that both France and Spain were in a state of active preparation for war. The British ministry could no longer shut their eyes against the gathering storm, and began to prepare for it. About the middle of October, 1776, they put sixteen additional ships into commission, and made every exertion to man them.

On the 21st of October, Parliament met, and was opened by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty stated, that it would have given him much satisfaction if he had been able to inform them that the disturbances in the revolted colonies were at an end, and that the people of America, recovering from their delusion, had returned to their duty; but so mutinous and determined was the spirit of their leaders, that they had openly abjured and renounced all connection and communication with the mother country, and had rejected every conciliatory proposition. Much mischief, he said, would accrue, not only to the commerce of Great Britain, but to the general system of Europe, if this rebellion were suffered to take root. The conduct of the colonists would convince every one of the necessity of the measures pro-

posed to be adopted, and the past success of the British arms promised the happiest results; but preparations must be promptly made for another campaign. A hope was expressed of the general continuance of tranquillity in Europe, but that it was thought advisable to increase the defensive resources at home.

The addresses to the speech were in the usual form, but amendments were moved in both houses of Parliament; in the Commons by Lord John Cavendish, and in the Lords by the Marquis of Rockingham. After an animated debate, the amendment was rejected in the House of Commons, by two hundred and forty-two against eighty-seven, and in the Lords by ninety-one against twenty-six. During the session of Parliament, some other attempts were made for adopting conciliatory measures, but the influence of the ministry was so powerful that they were all completely defeated, and the plans of the administration received the approbation and support of Parliament.

In the present alarming position of American affairs, it was of great moment that something should be done to rouse the spirit of the country, greatly depressed by the retreat through the Jerseys. Washington devoted anxious thought to a plan which, at the earliest moment, he determined to carry into effective action. At the time that the Americans crossed the Delaware, winter was fast setting in; and it was no part of the British general's intentions to carry on military operations during that inclement season of the year. Fearless of a feeble enemy,

whom he had easily driven before him, and whom he confidently expected soon to annihilate, he cantoned his troops rather with a view to the convenient resumption of their march, than with any regard to security against a fugitive foe. As he entertained not the slightest apprehension of an attack, he paid little attention to the arrangement of his several posts for the purpose of mutual support. He stationed a detachment of about fifteen hundred Hessians at Trenton, under Colonel Rahl, and about two thousand at Bordentown, farther down the river, under Count Donop; the rest of his army was quartered over the country, between the Hackensack and the Delaware. Certainly, so far as appearances went, Howe had no cause to fear any thing from the Americans; for with an overpowering force, well disciplined, and flushed with victory, he might seem quite justified in treating with contempt the small and broken army of Washington. Probably the idea that the commander-in-chief would venture upon offensive measures never entered Howe's mind. But Washington, with the force under his command, determined to anticipate the movements of Howe, and to strike a blow which should be felt, and which should demonstrate to the enemy, as well as America, that the cause of independence was by no means hopeless.

Washington formed his available forces into three divisions, and accompanied by Greene and Sullivan, proposed to pass the Delaware at McKonkey's Ferry, nine miles above Trenton, and fall upon the Hessians in that town. The second division, under

General Ewing, was to cross over at Trenton ferry, and by stopping the bridge over the Assumpink, cut off the enemy's retreat; while the third, under General Cadwallader, was to cross lower down, from Bristol over to Burlington. Had the plan been executed at all points it must have resulted in the capture of the whole line of British cantonments, but owing to a variety of obstacles it was but partially successful.

The evening of Christmas Day was selected, because it was very probable that the troops of the enemy would be more than ordinarily given up to festivity and indulgence, and hence would be, to a considerable extent, off their guard. The night proved to be most intensely cold; the Delaware was choked with masses of floating ice; the current was strong; and the wind blew keenly and sharply. The soldiers, exhorted to be firm, remembered, with unconquerable indignation, the outrage and injury inflicted upon the people of New Jersey by the insolent enemy, and the no less insolent and vindictive Tories. They were now ready to do or die for their houses and their country.

Washington had expected that the passage of his division might have been effected by midnight, but the dreadful weather, the encumbered state of the river, and the difficulty of getting across the artillery, occasioned so much delay, that it was four o'clock before the whole body were in marching order on the opposite shore. The darkness of a winter morning was still further deepened by a heavy fog, and the road was rendered slippery, by a frosty mist. The snow and hail beat upon

them during the whole march. As it would be daylight before they could reach Trenton, a surprise of that post was now out of the question; there was, however, no alternative left but to proceed. Washington took the upper road, while Sullivan commanded the lower; and about eight in the morning, both parties encountered the pickets of the enemy, who, keeping up a fire from behind the houses, fell back upon the town, and aroused their comrades. The Americans followed them up so closely, that they were able to open a battery at the end of the main street, before the astounded Hessians could offer any effectual resistance.

Washington's situation had, in reality, been a very critical one. Rahl had received warning from Grant, at Princeton, of the intended attack, and of the time when it was to be made. That officer was accordingly on the alert. About dusk, on the 25th, a party had fired upon the picket, and immediately retired.* Nothing further resulting at the time, Rahl supposed that the attack had been given up, and as the night was very cold and stormy, he allowed the soldiers to retire to quarters, and lay aside their arms. This was the very time that Washington was crossing the Delaware.

It is said, that on the morning of the surprise, Rahl, who had been carousing all night after an entertainment, was still engaged at cards, until aroused, at

* Gordon, (vol. ii., p. 153) states, that Captain Washington was in command of a scouting party, of about fifty soldiers, and performed this exploit without being aware of the advancing force under the commander-in-chief.

length, by the roll of the American drums, and the sound of musketry, he started to his legs, hurried to his quarters, mounted his horse, and in a few moments, was at the head of his troops, vainly attempting to atone for his fatal neglect. In a few moments, he fell to the ground mortally wounded, and was carried away to his quarters. All order was now at an end; the Hessians, panic-struck, gave way, and endeavored to escape by the road to Princeton; but were intercepted by a party judiciously placed there for the purpose, and compelled to surrender at discretion, to the number of about a thousand men. Six cannon, a thousand stand of arms, and four colors, adorned the triumph of Washington. In this moment of brilliant success, purchased at the expense of others, he was not unmindful of the duties of humanity; but, accompanied by Greene, paid a visit to the dying Hessian leader, and soothed his passage to the grave, by the expression of that grateful and generous sympathy, which one brave man owes to another, even when engaged in opposite causes.

The divisions under Ewing and Cadwallader, had not been able to cross, as was proposed, owing to the accumulations of floating ice, and the impossibility of landing the artillery. Had Ewing been successful in what was marked out for him, the party of light horse that fled from Trenton, would have been intercepted and captured; and Cadwallader would likewise have done good service at Burlington.

In this attack upon the Hessians, the Americans lost only four or five men, two of whom were frozen to death, a

proof of the intense severity of the night. Washington, on the evening of the 26th of December, **1776.** recrossed the Delaware, carrying his prisoners with him, and their arms, colors, and artillery. Although the enterprise failed in several of its parts, it was completely successful, so far as it was under the immediate direction of the commander-in-chief; and it had a happy effect on the affairs of America. It was the first wave of the returning tide. It filled the British with astonishment; and the Hessians, whose name had before inspired the people with fear, ceased to be terrible. The prisoners were paraded through the streets of Philadelphia, to prove the reality of the victory, which the friends of the British government had denied. The hopes of the Americans were revived, and their spirits elevated: they had a clear proof that their enemies were not invincible; and that union, courage, and perseverance, would ensure success. The British also discovered, that they had to deal with a commander no less daring than he was cautious and prudent, whose steady determination no defeat could shake; who, on the one hand, was prepared to retreat, if needful, even to the fastnesses of the Alleghanies; and on the other, was ready to take advantage of the least oversight on their own part, to convert defeat into victory.*

* It was towards the close of the year, that Congress earnestly recommended the observance of a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer to God, in order to beseech Him, both to pardon the sins of the people, and to mercifully send His blessing upon the American arms. See Holnes's "*Annals*," vol. ii., p. 255.



Although General Cadwallader had not been able to pass the Delaware at the appointed time, yet, believing that Washington was still on the Jersey side, on the 27th, he crossed the Delaware, with fifteen hundred men, about **1776.** two miles above Bristol; and even after he was informed that the commander-in-chief had again passed into Pennsylvania, he proceeded to Burlington, and next day marched on Bordentown, the enemy hastily retiring as he advanced. The spirit of the people was again fully roused in Pennsylvania, and considerable numbers of the militia repaired to the standard of Washington, who again crossed the Delaware, on the 29th, and marched to Trenton, where, at the beginning of January, 1777, he found himself at the head of five thousand men.

The alarm was now spread throughout the British army. A strong detachment under General Grant marched to Princeton; and Lord Cornwallis, who was on the point of sailing for

1777. England, was ordered to resume his command in the Jerseys. Cornwallis, joining Grant, pressed forward expeditiously to Trenton. On his approach, Washington crossed to Assumpink Creek, and took post on some high ground, with the rivulet in his front.* The British troops ad-

vanced, on the afternoon of the 2d of January, and a cannonade ensued, which was kept up until night. Cornwallis, though urged to an immediate attack by some of his officers, concluded to wait till the next morning, when, he doubted not, victory would not be difficult of attainment.

It was a critical moment for Washington and his troops. To await the attack would be temerity; to attempt escape by crossing the Delaware, would be even more hazardous. A council of war was called, at which the bold design was adopted, of getting into the rear of the English, falling upon their magazines at Brunswick, and carrying the war again from the neighborhood of Philadelphia into the mountainous interior of New Jersey. No time was lost in putting the plan into operation. The superfluous baggage was sent down the river to Burlington; the watch-fires were kept up; the patrols were ordered to go their rounds; and still further to deceive the enemy, parties were sent out to labor at the entrenchments, within hearing of their sentinels. About midnight, the army silently defiled from the camp, and marched off in a circuitous route through Allentown, towards Princeton.

Although it was the most inclement season of the year, the weather greatly favored the Americans. For two days, it had been rather warm, soft, and foggy, and great apprehension was entertained lest the roads should be almost impassable for a march requiring rapidity; but about the time the march commenced, there was a sudden change in the weather. The wind shifted; an

* Marshall, speaking of the importance to Washington of obtaining secret intelligence of the plans of Cornwallis, states, that at that critical moment, Mr. Robert Morris raised on his private credit, in Philadelphia, five hundred pounds in specie, which he transmitted to the commander-in-chief, who employed it in procuring information not otherwise to have been obtained.—“*Life of Washington*,” vol. i., p. 130.

intense frost set in, and the road speedily became solid and easy of passage. The soldiers were encouraged by this, and, believing that Providence had again interposed in their hour of difficulty, they marched forward with high spirit.

Cornwallis had left three regiments at Princeton, under Colonel Mawhood, with orders to advance on the 3d of January. Toward daybreak, they suddenly came in sight of the approaching continental troops, with whom they were almost immediately in action. The Americans, posted behind a fence, poured in a heavy and well-directed volley, after receiving which, the British, with fixed bayonets, charged them with such impetuosity, that abandoning their shelter, they broke and fled precipitately, closely pursued by their victorious enemies. Both fugitives and pursuers, however, were suddenly arrested by the sight of the force under Washington, who, beholding the rout, hastened on, colors in hand, to rally the discomfited troops. At no time in his life, perhaps, was he exposed to more imminent hazard. The Americans immediately rallied, the English re-formed their line, both levelled their guns, and prepared to fire, while Washington, whose ardor had hurried him forward into a most perilous position, stood like a mark for the bullets of both. But God preserved him for his country and mankind. He escaped without a hurt, and urged his men forward to the attack. The British, however, did not wait the onset. Mawhood, already severely handled, and seeing reinforcements coming up, wheeled off, leaving

his artillery, and regaining the Trenton road, continued his march to join Cornwallis.

Washington advanced to Princeton, putting to flight a regiment of British troops, and taking a number of prisoners in the town. The loss of the British was about a hundred killed, and some three hundred were made prisoners. The American loss was only about thirty killed, including several officers. The principal loss was General Mercer, a gallant soldier and able officer, who was mortally wounded, and expired on the 12th of January. His death was deeply deplored by his countrymen.

Early in the morning, Cornwallis was greatly chagrined at discovering that Washington had escaped out of his hands, and he was for a time perplexed to ascertain where he had betaken himself. But the booming of cannon in the direction of Princeton opened his eyes, and showed him how Washington had out-generaled him. Alarmed, as well he might be, for the safety of the British stores at Brunswick, he advanced rapidly towards Princeton. In the American army, it had indeed been proposed to make a forced march to Brunswick, where all the baggage of the British army was deposited; but the complete exhaustion of the men, who had been without rest, and almost without food, for two days and nights, prevented the adoption of the measure. General Washington proceeded towards Morristown, and Lord Cornwallis pressed on his rear; but the Americans, on crossing Millstone River, broke down the bridge at Kingston, to im-

pede the progress of their enemies; and there the pursuit ended. Both armies were completely worn out, the one being as unable to pursue as the other was to retreat. General Washington took a position at Morristown, and Lord Cornwallis reached Brunswick, where no small alarm had been excited by the advance of the Americans, and where every exertion had been made for the removal of the baggage, and for the defence of the place.

Washington fixed his head-quarters at Morristown, situated among hills of difficult access, where he had a fine country in his rear, from which he could easily draw supplies, and was able to retreat across the Delaware, if needful. Giving his troops little repose, he overran both East and West Jersey, spread his army over the Raritan, and penetrated into the county of Essex, where he made himself master of the coast opposite Staten Island. With a greatly inferior army, by judicious movements, he wrested from the British almost all their conquests in the Jerseys. Brunswick and Amboy were the only posts which remained in their hands, and even in these they were not a little harassed and straitened. The American detachments were in a state of unwearied activity, frequently surprising and cutting off the British advanced guards, keeping them in perpetual alarm, and melting down their numbers by a desultory and destructive warfare.*

* For a letter from General Robertson to Governor Livingston, of New Jersey, and the Governor's reply, both of interest, as illustrating the state of affairs at the beginning of 1777, we refer the reader to Appendix I., at the end of the present chapter.

General Howe, as stated on p. 442, had issued a proclamation on the last day of November, calling on the people to yield submission to the British government, and promising them protection as well in person as in property. Taking advantage of this proclamation, many Americans in the vicinity of the British troops, and among these Joseph Galloway, who was a member of Congress, in 1774, from Pennsylvania, abandoned their country and joined the British standard. Washington, on the 25th of January, 1777 — before the sixty days named by Howe were ended — in virtue of the extraordinary powers with which he was charged, issued a counter proclamation, in which he strictly commanded all persons, who had subscribed the declaration, taken the oaths, and accepted the protections mentioned in the declaration of the British commissioners, to repair to head-quarters, or to the quarters of the nearest general officer of the continental army, or militia, and there deliver up such protection and take the oath of allegiance to the United States; granting liberty, however, to such as preferred "the interest and protection of Great Britain to the freedom and happiness of their country," to withdraw themselves and families, within the enemy's lines. He, also, declared, that all those who should neglect or refuse to comply with his order, within thirty days from its date, should be deemed adherents to the king of Great Britain, and be treated as common enemies to the American States.*

* Mr. Curtis notices the fact that the legislature of New Jersey were disposed to complain of this

This was a seasonable proclamation, and produced much effect. Intimidated by the desperate aspect of American affairs, when Washington retreated into Pennsylvania, many of the inhabitants of the Jerseys, looking upon the cause of America as hopeless, had been induced to submit to the British authority; but with respect to the promised protection, they had been entirely disappointed. Instead of protection and conciliation, they had been insulted by the rude insolence of a licentious soldiery, and plundered with indiscriminate and unsparing rapacity. Their passions were exasperated; they thirsted for vengeance, and were prepared for the most vindictive hostility against the British troops. Roused by a burning sense of the wrongs to which they had been subjected, they were ready to join the standard of their country, with more alacrity and determination than they had ever before manifested.

On a review of the results of Washington's vigorous movements, it is plain that he displayed energy, fire, and consummate generalship, the effects of which were at once of the most favorable description upon the country at large. "Achievements so astonishing," as Botta finely says, "obtained an immense glory for the captain-general of the United States. All nations shared in the surprise of the Americans; all

equally admired and applauded the prudence, the constancy, and the noble intrepidity of General Washington. An unanimous voice pronounced him the saviour of his country; all extolled him, as equal to the most celebrated commanders of antiquity; all proclaimed him the *FABIUS OF AMERICA*. His name was in the mouth of all; he was celebrated by the pens of the most distinguished writers. The most illustrious personages of Europe lavished upon him their praises and their congratulations. The American general, therefore, wanted neither a cause full of grandeur to defend, nor occasion for the acquisition of glory, nor genius to avail himself of it, nor the renown due to his triumphs, nor an entire generation of men perfectly well disposed to render him homage."*

It is one of the saddest features of war, under any circumstances, that it leads to shocking excesses, and outrageous violations of almost every thing held sacred among men. The evil and brutal passions are roused, and thousands of opportunities are offered for their unlicensed exercise. When the royal army entered the Jerseys, the inhabitants generally remained in their houses, and many thousands received printed protections, signed by order of the commander-in-chief. But neither the proclamation of the commissioners, nor protections, saved the people from plunder any more than from insult. Their property was taken or destroyed without distinction of persons. They showed their protections; Hessians

act of Washington as an invasion of their state rights and sovereignty. One of the delegates from that state, in Congress, even went so far as to denounce it as improper. It is a curious illustration of the extreme jealousy and sensitiveness of many in the community on the subject of the power and authority of the federal government. See Curtis's "*History of the Constitution*," vol. i., pp. 107, 8.

* Botta's "*History of the War of Independence*," vol. ii., p. 227.

could not read them, and would not understand them; and the British soldiers thought they had as good a right to a share of the booty as the Hessians. The loyalists were plundered even at New York. General De Heister was considered the arch-plunderer. He offered the house he lived in at New York to public sale; though the property of a very loyal subject, who had voluntarily and hospitably accommodated him with it. The goods of others, suffering restraint or imprisonment among the Americans, were sold by auction. The carriages of gentlemen of the first rank were seized, their arms defaced, and the plunderer's arms blazoned in their place; and this, too, by British officers. Discontents and murmurs increased every hour at the licentious ravages of the soldiery, both British and foreigners, who were shamefully permitted, with unrelenting hand, to pillage friend and foe in the Jerseys. Neither age nor sex was spared. Indiscriminate ruin attended every person they met with. Infants, children, old men and women, were left in their shirts, without a blanket to cover them, under the inclemency of winter. Every kind of furniture was destroyed and burnt; windows and doors were broken to pieces: in short, the houses were left uninhabitable, and the people without provisions; for every horse, cow, ox, and fowl, was carried off. Horrid depredations and abuses were committed by that part of the army, which was stationed at or near Pennytown. Sixteen young women fled to the woods, to avoid the brutality of the soldiers; and were there seized and carried off.

Bitter complaints arose from all parts of America; and they were echoed throughout Europe, to the heavy reproach of England. Among those who exclaimed the loudest, were the French, who were naturally humane, and also enemies to the English, and partisans of the Americans. The cry was raised everywhere, that the English government had revived in the new world the fury of the Goths, and the barbarity of the northern hordes. But so much savage fury returned upon its source, and became more fatal to its authors than to their victims. The few remaining friends that England had, became enemies, and her enemies were filled with new hatred, and a more vehement desire of vengeance.

Citizens of all classes flew to arms, with a sort of rage, to expel from their territory, as they said, these infamous robbers. Thus, the excesses of the royal army were probably more injurious to the cause of the British, than even the efforts of Washington, and the resolves of Congress. Had General Howe, and those under his command, pursued the course which Carleton adopted in Canada, a course of kindness and gentleness towards the prisoners and the people, in general, there is every reason to believe that a large portion of those who were driven, in self-defence, to join the army of Washington, would have remained neutral, at least, and perhaps would have been persuaded to take up arms for the side of the king and the invading force.

Justice, however, requires that it be stated here, that excess and outrage were not confined altogether to the

British troops. Love of pillage contaminated the Americans, too, to some extent. The houses and property of the unfortunate inhabitants of New Jersey were sacked, under pretext that they belonged to loyalists: even the officers themselves gave their soldiers the example of depredation. Thus they were pillaged by the Hessians and English as rebels to the king, and by the Americans, as being his partisans. These excesses became so revolting, that Washington, to whom they caused infinite pain, was constrained, in order to put a stop to them, to issue a proclamation, denouncing the most rigorous penalties against the perpetrators of such enormities.*

As illustrating still further the terrible state of suffering and misery to which prisoners were subjected at this period of the war, we give an extract from Gordon's History, a work of decided value, and quite reliable. In the month of January, says Gordon, † General Howe discharged all the privates, who were prisoners in New York. Great complaints were made of the horrid usage the Amer-

icans met with after they were captured. The garrison of Fort Washington surrendered by capitulation to General Howe, the 16th of November. The terms were, that the fort should be surrendered, the troops be considered prisoners of war, and that the American officers should keep their baggage and side arms. These articles were signed and afterward published in the New York papers. Major Otho Holland Williams, of Rawlings's rifle regiment, in doing his duty that day, unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy. The haughty, imperious deportment of the officers, and the insolent scurrility of the soldiers of the British army, soon dispelled his hopes of being treated with lenity. Many of the American officers were plundered of their baggage, and robbed of their side arms, hats, cockades, etc., and otherwise grossly ill-treated. He and three companions were, on the third day, put on board the Baltic-Merchant, an hospital ship, then lying in the Sound. The wretchedness of his situation was in some degree alleviated, by a small pittance of pork and parsnip, which a good-natured sailor spared him from his own mess. The fourth day of their captivity, Rawlings, Hanson, M'Intire and himself, all wounded officers, were put into one common dirt-cart, and dragged through the city of New York, as objects of derision, reviled as rebels, and treated with the utmost contempt. From the cart they were set down at the door of an old waste house, the remains of Hampden Hall, near Bridewell, which, because of the openness and filthiness of the place,

* In the General Orders issued at the time, it was declared: "The general prohibits, both in the militia and continental troops, in the most positive terms, the infamous practice of plundering the inhabitants, under the specious pretence of their being Tories. It is our business to give protection and support to the poor distressed inhabitants, not to multiply and increase their calamities. After this order, any officer found plundering the inhabitants, under the pretence of their being Tories, may expect to be punished in the severest manner. The adjutant-general to furnish the commanding officer of each division, with a copy of these orders, who is to circulate copies among his troops immediately."

† "*History of the American Revolution*," vol. ii., p. 173-5.

he had, a few months before, refused as barracks for his privates; but now was willing to accept for himself and friends, in hopes of finding an intermission of the fatigue and persecution they had perpetually suffered. Some provisions were issued to the prisoners in the afternoon of that day, what quantity he could not declare, but it was of the worst quality he ever, till then, saw made use of. He was informed the allowance consisted of six ounces of pork, one pound of biscuit, and some peas, per day for each man, and two bushels and a half of sea coal per week for the officers to each fire-place. These were admitted on parole, and lived generally in waste houses. The privates, in the coldest season of the year, were close confined in churches, sugar-houses, and other open buildings (which admitted all kinds of weather) and consequently were subjected to the severest kind of persecution that ever unfortunate captives suffered. Officers were insulted, and often struck for attempting to afford some of the miserable privates a small relief. In about three weeks he was able to walk, and was himself a witness to the extreme wretchedness his countrymen suffered. He could not describe their misery. Their constitutions were not equal to the rigor of the treatment they received, and the consequence was the death of many hundreds. The officers were not allowed to take muster-rolls, nor even to visit their men, so that it was impossible to ascertain the numbers that perished; but from frequent reports, and his own observations, he verily believed, as well as had heard many officers give it as

their opinion, that not less than fifteen hundred prisoners perished in the course of a few weeks in the city of New York, and that this dreadful mortality was principally owing to the want of provisions, and extreme cold. If they computed too largely, it must be ascribed to the shocking, brutal manner of treating the dead bodies, and not any desire of exaggerating the account of their sufferings. When the king's commissary of prisoners intimated to some of the American officers, General Howe's intention of sending privates home on parole, they all earnestly desired it; a paper was signed expressing that desire; the reason for signing was, they well knew, the effects of a longer confinement, and the great numbers that died when on parole justified their pretensions to that knowledge. In January, almost all the officers were sent to Long Island on parole, and there billeted on the inhabitants, at two dollars per week.

The filth in the churches (in consequence of fluxes) was beyond description. Seven dead were found in one of them, at the same time, lying among the excrements of their bodies. The British soldiers were full of their low and insulting jokes on those occasions, but less malignant than the Tories. The provisions dealt out to the prisoners were not sufficient for the support of life; and were deficient in quantity, more so in quality. The bread was loathsome and not fit to be eaten, and was thought to have been condemned. The allowance of meat was trifling, and of the baser sort. The consequence was, a suspicion of pre-

meditated and systematic plan to destroy the youths of the land, and thereby ruin the country. The integrity of these suffering prisoners was hardly credible. Hundreds submitted to death, rather than enlist in the British service, which they were most generally pressed to do. It was the opinion of the American officers that General Howe perfectly understood the condition of the private soldiers; and they from thence argued, that it was exactly such as he and his council had devised. After General Washington's success in the Jerseys, the obduracy and malevolence of the royalists subsided in some measure. The surviving prisoners were ordered to be sent out for an exchange; but several of them fell down dead in the streets, while attempting to walk to the vessels.

General Washington wrote to General Howe in the beginning of April,—“It is a fact not to be questioned, that the usage of our prisoners while in your possession, the privates at least, was such as could not be justified. This was proclaimed by the concurrent testimony of all who came out. Their appearance sanctified the assertion, and melancholy experience in the speedy death of a large part of them, stamped it with infallible certainty.”

We turn from these painful details of the miseries of war to the consideration of other matters in this year of trial and suffering.

Washington, at the beginning of 1777, determined to have the army inoculated for the small-pox, which had made fearful ravages in the ranks. It was carried forward as secretly and

carefully as possible, and the hospital physicians in Philadelphia were ordered at the same time to inoculate all the soldiers who passed through that city on their way to join the army. The same precautions were taken in the other military stations, and thus the army was relieved from an evil, which would have materially interfered with the success of the ensuing campaign. The example of the soldiery proved a signal benefit to the entire population: the practice of inoculation became general; and, by little and little, this fatal malady disappeared almost entirely.

In the hope that something might be effected at New York, Washington ordered General Heath, who was in command in the Highlands, to move down towards the city with a considerable force. Heath did so, and in a rather grandiloquent summons called upon Fort Independence to surrender. The enemy, however, stood their ground, and Heath, after a few days, retreated, having done nothing, and exposed himself to ridicule for not having followed up his words with suitable deeds.*

Washington, in view of the probable plans of Howe for the next campaign, was full of anxious thought as to how he should be prepared to meet him with any hope of success. His force was reduced to the lowest point; the pernicious system of short enlistments was producing disastrous effects; and the attempts to raise the army contemplated by the late resolves of Congress

* See Irving's "*Life of Washington*," vol. ii., p. 514.

were, as yet, of no avail. The vexatious questions of rank and the choice of officers, as well as the immense hardships and trials of the service, exposed as the troops were to hunger and cold and nakedness, rendered it exceedingly difficult to fill up the ranks. The commander-in-chief was unceasing in his urgency upon the different states to forward the enlistment as rapidly as possible, in order that he might make preparations for the opening of the spring.*

Howe, while waiting reinforcements from England, set on foot an expedition against the depot of American stores, at Peekskill, which, we are sorry to say, owing to the smallness of the force at that point, and the suddenness of the attack, was in great measure success-

ful. Not long afterwards, in 1777. the latter part of April, a similar expedition was made upon the borders of Connecticut. Two thousand men, under Governor Tryon, marched against Danbury, for the purpose of destroying the stores there collected for the use of the army. The Connecticut militia bravely met the enemy, but were unable to prevent the loss of the stores, among which were more than a thousand tents, at that time of special value to the Americans. The brave General Wooster, although now at the advanced age of seventy, engaged with ardor in the conflict, and fell mortally wounded. Arnold, who was recruiting in the vicinity, took post at Ridgefield,

to dispute the passage of the British, but gave way after a sharp conflict, in which he was wounded. The British reached New York, after having burned and destroyed, with a species of savage ferocity, every thing they could lay their hands upon.

As an offset to these expeditions against the Americans, a bold plan was formed in Connecticut to retaliate upon the enemy on Long Island. They were informed that the British had collected immense stores of forage, grain, and other necessaries for the troops, at Sag Harbor, and that it was defended by only a detachment of infantry, and a sloop of twelve guns. The English, however, believed themselves sufficiently protected by their armed vessels which cruised in the Sound: they deemed it hardly possible that the Americans would dare to pass it, and attempt any thing upon Long Island. But the latter were nowise intimidated by the obstacles, and resolved to surprise Sag Harbor, by a sudden incursion. Accordingly, Colonel Meigs, one of the intrepid companions of Arnold in the expedition of Canada, crossed the Sound with as much rapidity as ability, and arrived before day at the place where the magazines were situated. Notwithstanding the resistance of the garrison and the crews of the vessels, he burned a dozen brigs and sloops which lay at the wharf, and entirely destroyed every thing on shore. Having accomplished the object of the expedition, he returned without loss to Guilford, in Connecticut, bringing with him many prisoners. The Americans manifested, in this enterprise, the greatest

* In February of this year, Congress resolved — That the flag of the thirteen United States be thirteen stripes, alternate red and white; that the Union be thirteen stars, white in a blue field, representing a new constellation.

humanity: they abstained from the pillage of private property, and even permitted the prisoners to retain what belonged to them. Congress presented Colonel Meigs with a sword, and publicly thanked him and the brave men under his command.

General Howe's plans for the opening of the campaign, appear to have been well laid, and had he been sufficiently furnished with troops, and acted **1777.** with promptitude and vigor, there was every reason to suppose that he might have been successful. But Howe was not well supplied with reinforcements, and late into the spring he remained singularly inactive. Washington, accordingly, was gradually filling up the ranks, to be able to sustain the contest. Unable, as yet, to penetrate the designs of Howe, he watched anxiously for the earliest indications, by which he might learn where the British commander intended to strike the first blow. In the present uncertainty, Washington made such disposition of his forces, as seemed best calculated to meet the emergency. Accordingly, the troops raised in the northern provinces, were stationed partly at Ticonderoga, and partly at Peekskill; those of the middle and southern provinces, as far as North Carolina, occupied New Jersey; leaving a few corps for the protection of the more western provinces.

In this manner, if General Howe moved against Philadelphia, he would find in front all the forces assembled in New Jersey, and in addition, those encamped at Peekskill, who would have descended to harass his right flank. If,

on the other hand, he took the direction of Albany, the corps at Peekskill would defend the passages in front, while his left flank might also be attacked by the troops of New Jersey, upon the banks of the Hudson. If, on the contrary, the English force in Canada were to come by sea, to join that of General Howe upon the shores of New Jersey, the troops at Peekskill could immediately unite with those that occupied the same province, and thus compose a formidable army for the defence of Philadelphia. If, finally, the army in Canada attacked Ticonderoga, the troops at Peekskill might carry succors to those who were charged with the defence of that fortress. But as it was of great importance to preserve Philadelphia in the power of the United States, Congress ordered the formation of a camp upon the western bank of the Delaware, with the double object of receiving all the troops that arrived from the south and west, and of serving, in case of need, as a reserve. Here also were to assemble all the recruits from Pennsylvania, reinforced by several regiments of continental troops. Arnold, who was at the time in Philadelphia, was placed in command at this post.

Washington, having received a seasonable supply of twenty-four thousand muskets, just arrived from France, left Morristown, and towards the latter part of May, occupied a strong position at Middlebrook, nine miles from New Brunswick. On the 13th of **1777.** June, Howe marched out of New Brunswick, ostensibly to attack Philadelphia, but in reality, if possible,

to draw Washington from his defences, and bring on a general engagement, which the commander-in-chief was determined to avoid. Having remained six days in this position without success, Howe made a retrograde movement towards Amboy, which drew down Washington from the high ground as far as Quibbletown, when Howe, suddenly turning round, endeavored to cut him off from the hills; but Washington retired again to Middlebrook. Foiled in this object, Howe crossed over to Staten Island, and evacuated the Jerseys.

It was a matter of great perplexity to Washington, as to what might be the meaning of several movements at this time, on the part of the British. Burgoyne, it was well known, was in command of a large force in Canada, and was advancing upon Ticonderoga. In New York, preparations were made for some expedition by sea, which might be either to proceed against Philadelphia, or to attack New England, for the purpose of creating a diversion in favor of Burgoyne. It was not unlikely, also, that the real intention of all these measures might be, to ascend the Hudson, and to endeavor to form a junction with Burgoyne. Washington moved his force slowly, so as to be ready for this latter plan; but when, in July, the British fleet went to sea, he retraced his steps towards the Delaware, in order to be prepared to guard Philadelphia.

During this period of suspense, Washington passed a few days in Philadelphia, in conference with Congress. It was here, for the first time, he saw the

enthusiastic and generous-hearted Marquis de Lafayette. Our limits do not admit of entering into the details of his romantic adventures; his being roused, at the age of nineteen, with the story of the American resistance to British oppression; his leaving a young wife, to whom he was tenderly attached; despite the prohibition of the French ministry, anxious to avoid openly assisting the Americans, his purchasing a vessel, and, with a chosen body of military comrades, his reaching America in safety; and his presenting his credentials to the Committee of Foreign Affairs. At first, owing to the numerous applications for employment, he received a very discouraging answer; but when he expressed his desire to serve as a volunteer, without pay, his claims were admitted, and he received the grade of major-general, before he was twenty years old.* Washington seems to have been charmed, at once, with the youthful patriot, and Lafayette attached himself to the grave commander-in-chief, with a zeal and earnestness of devotion, that never flagged. Washington invited him to consider head-quarters as his home, and

1777.

* The language of Congress, July 31st, 1777, was:—

“Whereas, the Marquis de Lafayette, out of his great zeal to the cause of liberty, in which the United States are engaged, has left his family and connections, and, at his own expense, come over to offer his services to the United States without pension, or particular allowance, and is anxious to risk his life in our cause:

“Resolved, That his service be accepted, and that, in consideration of his zeal, illustrious family, and connections, he have the rank and commission of major-general in the army of the United States.”

Lafayette availed himself of the honorable privilege. "The bond of indissoluble friendship—the friendship of heroes, was sealed from the first hour of their meeting to last throughout their lives, and to live in the memory of mankind forever."

In this connection, it is but right to remind the reader of other illustrious men, who came from the old world, to aid our fathers in the struggle for liberty. Kosciusko, Pulaski, De Kalb, Steuben, and others, are ever to be held in honorable remembrance.

On the 10th of July, by a bold movement, an important capture was effected, which served fully to offset the capture of Lee. General Prescott, who commanded the British troops in Rhode Island, finding himself on an island, surrounded by ships, and with a force greatly superior to what the Americans could assemble in this quarter, became extremely negligent of his guard. Earnestly desiring to retaliate the capture of General Lee, a plan was formed for surprising General Prescott in his quarters, and of bringing him off prisoner. Accordingly, Lieutenant-colonel Barton, at the head of a party of forty of the country militia, well acquainted with the places, embarked in whale-boats, and after having rowed a distance of above ten miles, and avoided with great dexterity the numerous vessels of the enemy, landed upon the western coast of Rhode Island, between Newport and Bristol Ferry. They repaired immediately, with the utmost silence and celerity, to the lodging of General Prescott. Having seized the astonished sentinels who guarded the

door, an aid-de-camp went up into the chamber of the general, and arrested him, without giving him time even to put on his clothes; and he was carried off with equal secrecy and success. This event afforded the Americans singular satisfaction. It was, however, particularly galling to General Prescott, who not long before had been delivered by exchange from the hands of the Americans, after having been taken prisoner in Canada. In addition to this, he had lately been guilty of a petty piece of insolence, in setting a price upon the head of General Arnold, as if he had been a common outlaw and assassin, an insult which Arnold immediately retorted, by setting an inferior price upon Prescott's head. Congress publicly thanked Lieutenant-colonel Barton, and presented him with a sword. Howe, who had heretofore refused to part with Lee on any terms, was now brought to a different view of the matter, and that officer was allowed to return to his post in exchange for Prescott.

Various and contradictory accounts reached Washington of the course which the fleet of Howe had steered. At one time, it was said to be returning to the Hudson; at another, that it was entering the Delaware; and at another, that it had sailed away towards Charleston. After a great deal of delay, late in the month of August, it was ascertained that the British had entered the Chesapeake, and were landing the troops at the head of Elk River, intending thence to march directly upon Philadelphia. 1777.

At the place of debarkation, the British army was within a few days'

march of Philadelphia; no great rivers were in its way; and there was no very strong position of which the Americans could take possession. On landing, General Howe issued a proclamation, promising pardon and protection to all who should submit to him; but, as the American army was at hand, the proclamation produced little effect.

Washington distinctly understood the nature of the contest in which he was engaged; and, sensible of the inferiority of his raw and undisciplined army, to the veteran troops under Sir William Howe, he wished to avoid a general engagement: but, aware of the effect which the fall of Philadelphia would produce on the minds of the mass of the people, who have no fixed principle or steady purpose, and who are incapable of just and general views, he determined to make every effort, in order to retard the progress and defeat the aim of the royal army. Accordingly, he marched to meet General Howe, who, from want of horses, many of which had perished in the voyage, and from other causes, was unable to proceed from the head of the Elk before the 3d of September. On the advance of the royal army, General Washington retreated across the Brandywine, a small stream which falls into the Delaware at Wilmington. He took post, with his main body, opposite Chad's Ford, where it was expected the British would attempt the passage; and ordered General Sullivan, with a detachment, to watch the fords above. He sent General Maxwell, with about one thousand light troops, to occupy the high ground on the other side of the

Brandywine, to skirmish with the British, and retard them in their progress.

On the morning of the 11th of September, the British army advanced in two columns; the right, under General Knyphausen, marched straight to Chad's Ford; the left, under Lord Cornwallis, accompanied by the commander-in-chief, and Generals Grey, Grant, and Agnew, proceeded by a circuitous route, towards a point named the Forks, where the two branches of the Brandywine unite, with a view to turn the right of the Americans, and gain their rear. General Knyphausen's van soon found itself opposed to the light troops under General Maxwell. A smart conflict ensued. Knyphausen reinforced his advanced guard, and drove the Americans across the rivulet, to shelter themselves under their batteries on the north bank. Knyphausen ordered some artillery to be placed on the most advantageous points, and a cannonade was carried on with the American batteries on the heights beyond the ford.

Meanwhile, the left wing of the British crossed the fords above the Forks. Of this movement, Washington had early notice; but the information which he received from different quarters, through his raw and unpracticed scouts, was confused and contradictory, and consequently his operations were embarrassed. After passing the fords, Lord Cornwallis took the road to Dilworth, which led him on the American right. General Sullivan, who had been appointed to guard that quarter, occupied the heights above Birmingham church, his left extending to

the Brandywine, his artillery judiciously placed, and his right flank covered by woods. About four in the afternoon, Lord Cornwallis formed the line of battle, and began the attack: for some time the Americans sustained it with intrepidity, but at length gave way. When Washington heard the firing in that direction, he ordered General Greene, with a brigade, to support Sullivan. Greene marched four miles in forty-two minutes, but, on reaching the scene of action, he found Sullivan's division defeated, and fleeing in confusion. He covered the retreat; and, after some time, finding an advantageous position, he renewed the battle, and arrested the progress of the pursuing enemy.

Knyphausen, as soon as he heard the firing of Lord Cornwallis's division, forced the passage of Chad's Ford, attacked the troops opposite to him, and compelled them to make a precipitate and disorderly retreat. Washington, with the part of his army which he was able to keep together, retired with his artillery and baggage, to Chester, where he halted, within eight miles of the British army, till next morning, when he retreated to Philadelphia. Night, and the exhaustion of the British troops, saved the American army from pursuit.

The battle at the Brandywine was attended with severe loss, three hundred having been killed, six hundred wounded, and four hundred taken prisoners. The British loss was reported to be much less, not exceeding some six hundred killed and wounded. Lafayette, who was on duty in this

battle, was severely wounded in the leg, which laid him up for two months. Count Pulaski also displayed great bravery on the field of battle: he was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, and placed in command of the cavalry. An inquiry was instituted into Sullivan's conduct; but he was honorably acquitted.

On the evening after the battle, Howe sent a party to Wilmington, who seized in bed Mr. M'Kinley, governor of the State of Delaware, and took a shallop lying in the stream, loaded with the rich effects of some of the inhabitants, together with the public records of the county, and other valuable and important property.

Having allowed his army one day for repose and refreshment, General Washington recrossed the Schuylkill, and proceeded on the Lancaster road, with the intention of meeting and again fighting his enemy. Sir William Howe passed the night of the 11th of September, on the field of battle; and on the two succeeding days advanced towards Chester, and also took possession of Wilmington, to which place his sick and wounded were conveyed. On the 15th, the American army, intending to gain the left of the British, reached the Warren tavern, on the Lancaster road, twenty-three miles from Philadelphia. Intelligence being received early next morning, that Howe was approaching in two columns, Washington determined to meet and engage him in front.

Both armies prepared with alacrity for battle. The advanced parties had met, and were beginning to skirmish, when they were separated by a heavy

rain, which rendered the retreat of the Americans a measure of absolute necessity. Their gun-locks not being well secured, their muskets soon became unfit for use. Their cartridge-boxes had been so inartificially constructed as not to protect their ammunition, and very many of the soldiers were without bayonets. The design of giving battle was reluctantly abandoned, and the retreat was continued all day and great part of the night, through a most distressing rain, and very deep roads. A few hours before day, the troops halted at the Yellow Springs, where the alarming fact was disclosed, that scarcely one musket in a regiment could be discharged, and scarcely one cartridge in a box was fit for war. The army retired to Warwick furnace, on the south branch of the French Creek, where a small supply of muskets and ammunition might be obtained, in time to dispute the passage of the Schuylkill.

General Wayne, with a detachment of fifteen hundred men, had taken post in the woods, on the left of the British army, with the intention of harassing it on its march. On the evening of the 20th of September, General **1777.** Grey was dispatched to surprise him, and successfully executed the enterprise; killing or wounding, chiefly with the bayonet, about three hundred men, taking nearly one hundred prisoners, and making himself master of all their baggage. Grey had only one captain and three privates killed, and four wounded. Wayne having been censured for this result, demanded a court-martial: he was acquitted with honor.

Foreseeing the necessity of speedily abandoning Philadelphia, Congress removed the magazines and public stores; but still continued to protract their sittings, and maintain their authority to the latest moment. So far from showing any decline of confidence in Washington, they invested him with still more ample authority than before. He was empowered to seize upon all provisions needful for the sustenance of his army, paying for them in the public certificates; and even to try by court-martial, and immediately execute, all persons giving any assistance to the British, or furnishing them with provisions, arms, or stores. A supply of blankets, shoes, and clothing, was also required from the citizens of Philadelphia, before that city passed into the enemy's hands. These stringent powers, often painful to insist upon, were considered to be of inevitable necessity in the face of an advancing British army, and with the knowledge of a numerous body of sympathizing Tories or hesitating neutrals. Alexander Hamilton, who was now of the grade of lieutenant-colonel,* was charged with this difficult and delicate matter; it is superfluous, perhaps, to say, that he executed his task with energy, judgment, and as great success as was possible under the circumstances.*

On the evening of the 18th of September, Congress left Philadelphia for the second time, and proceeded first

* The reader will be interested, we are sure, in reading a Charge to the Grand Jury, delivered at this date, by John Jay, Esq., chief justice of the State of New York. It will be found in the Appendix at the end of the present chapter.

to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown, where they continued for eight months, until Philadelphia was evacuated by the British. On the afternoon of the 22d, and early on the 23d of September, Sir William Howe, contrary to the expectation of the American commander-in-chief, crossed the Schuylkill at Fatland and Gordon's Ford. The main body of his army encamped at Germantown, a village, seven miles from Philadelphia; and, on the 26th, with a detachment of his troops, he took peaceable possession of the city, where he was cordially received by the Quakers and other royalists.

On receiving information of the success of the royal army, under his brother, at the Brandywine, Lord Howe left the Chesapeake and steered for the Delaware, where he arrived on the 8th of October. As soon as General Howe had gained possession of Philadelphia, he began his efforts to clear the course of the river, in order to open a free communication with the fleet.

The Americans had labored assiduously to obstruct the navigation of the Delaware; and, for that purpose, had sunk three rows of chevaux-de-frise, formed of large beams of timber bolted together, with strong projecting iron pikes, across the channel, a little below the place where the Schuylkill falls into the Delaware. The upper and lower rows were commanded by fortifications on the banks and islands of the river, and by floating batteries.

While the detachments employed in assisting to clear the course of the river weakened the royal army at Germantown, Washington, who lay encamped

at Skippack Creek, on the north side of the Schuylkill, about seventeen miles from Germantown, meditated an attack upon it. Germantown consisted of one street, about two miles long; the line of the British encampment bisected the village almost at right angles, and had its left covered by the Schuylkill. Washington, having been reinforced by fifteen hundred troops from Peekskill, and one thousand Virginia militia, marched from Skippack Creek on the evening of the 3d of October, and at dawn of day next morning attacked the royal army. After a smart conflict, he drove in the advanced guard, which was stationed at the head of the village, and, with his army divided into five columns, prosecuted the attack; but Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, of the 40th regiment, which had been driven in, and who had been able to keep five companies of the regiment together, threw himself into a large stone house in the village, belonging to Mr. Chew, which stood in front of the main column of the Americans, and there almost a half of Washington's army was detained for a considerable time. Instead of masking Chew's house with a sufficient force, and advancing rapidly with their main body, the Americans attacked the house, which was obstinately defended. The delay was very unfortunate; for the critical moment was lost in fruitless attempts on the house; the royal troops had time to get under arms, and be in readiness to resist or attack, as circumstances required. General Grey came to the assistance of Colonel Musgrave; the engagement for some time was general

and warm; at length the Americans began to give way, and effected a retreat, with all their artillery. The morning was very foggy, a circumstance which had prevented the Americans from combining and conducting their operations as they otherwise might have done, but which now favored their retreat, by concealing their movements.

In this engagement, the British had six hundred men killed or wounded; among the slain were Brigadier-general Agnew and Colonel Bird, officers of distinguished reputation. The Americans lost an equal number in killed and wounded, besides four hundred, who were taken prisoners. General Nash, of North Carolina, was among those who were killed. After the battle, Washington returned to his encampment at Skippack Creek.*

But although the British army had been successful in repulsing the Americans, yet their situation was not comfortable; nor could they easily maintain themselves in Pennsylvania, unless the navigation of the Delaware were opened, and a free communication established between the fleet and army. The upper line of chevaux-de-frise, was protected by a work named Fort Mifflin,

erected on a marshy island in the Delaware, called Mud Island, formed by an accumulation of sand and vegetable mould near the Pennsylvania bank of the river, and by a redoubt, called Redbank, on the Jersey side. At a small distance below Mud Island, and nearly in a line with it, are two others, named Province and Hog's Islands; between these and the Pennsylvania bank of the river was a narrow channel, of sufficient depth to admit ships of moderate draught of water. The reduction of Forts Mifflin and Redbank, and the opening of the Delaware, were of essential importance to the British army in the occupation of Philadelphia. In order, therefore, that he might be able more conveniently to assist in those operations, Howe, on the 19th of October, withdrew his army from Germantown, and encamped in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

He dispatched Count Donop, a German officer, with twelve hundred Hessians, to reduce Redbank. This detachment crossed the Delaware, at Philadelphia, on the evening of the 21st of October, and next afternoon reached the place of its destination. Count Donop summoned the fort to surrender; but Colonel Greene, of Rhode Island, who commanded in the redoubt, answered that he would defend his post to the last extremity. Count Donop immediately led his troops to the assault, advancing under a close fire from the fort, and from the American vessels of war, and floating batteries on the river; he forced an extensive and unfinished outwork, but could make no impression on the redoubt. The count

* Mr. Sparks, in recording this battle, speaks of the good effect of it upon the views of the Count de Vergennes, who remarked to the American commissioners in Paris, "That nothing struck him so much as General Washington's attacking and giving battle to General Howe's army; that to bring an army, raised within a year, to this, promises every thing;" From this, as well as other occurrences, it is evident that the French government narrowly scanned the military movements of Washington, and also, that, his being the commander-in-chief, had an important bearing upon their final decision to give aid to the American cause.

was mortally wounded; the second in command also was disabled; and, after a desperate conflict and severe loss, the assailants were compelled to retreat under a fire similar to that which had met them in their advance. Count Donop was made prisoner, and soon died of his wounds.

The affair did not terminate here. That part of the fleet which co-operated in the attack was equally unfortunate. The *Augusta*, *Roebuck*, *Liverpool*, *Pearl*, and *Merlin*, vessels of war, had passed through an opening in the lower line of *chevaux-de-frise*; and, on the commencement of Count Donop's attack, moved up the river with the flowing tide. But the artificial obstructions had altered the course of the channel, and raised sand banks where none existed before. Hence, the *Augusta* and *Merlin* grounded a little below the second row of *chevaux-de-frise*. At the return of the tide, every exertion was made to get them off, but in vain. In the morning, the Americans perceiving their condition, began to fire upon them, and sent fire-ships against them. The *Augusta* caught fire; and, the flames spreading rapidly, it was with the utmost difficulty that the crew were got out of her. The second lieutenant, chaplain, gunner, and some seamen, perished in the flames; but the greater part of the crew was saved. The *Merlin* was abandoned and destroyed.

Notwithstanding these misfortunes, the operations requisite for reducing the forts on the river, were carried on with great activity. Batteries were erected on the *Pennsylvania* bank, opposite *Mud Island*; but from the difficulty of con-

structing works on marshy ground, and of transporting heavy artillery through swamps, much time was consumed before they could be got ready to act with effect. The British also took possession of *Province Island*; and, although it was almost wholly overflowed, erected works upon it.

On the 15th of November, everything was ready for a grand attack on *Fort Mifflin*. The *Vigilant* armed ship and a hulk, both mounted with heavy cannon, passed up the strait between *Hog* and *Province Islands* and the *Pennsylvania* bank, in order to take their station opposite the weakest part of the fort. The *Isis*, *Somerset*, *Roebuck*, and several frigates, sailed up the main channel, as far as the second line of *chevaux-de-frise* would permit them, and placed themselves in front of the work.

The little garrison of *Fort Mifflin*, not exceeding three hundred men, had greatly exerted themselves in opposing and retarding the operations of the British fleet and army against them; and in this desperate crisis, their courage did not forsake them. A terrible cannonade against *Fort Mifflin* was begun and carried on by the British batteries and shipping; and was answered by the fort, by the American galleys and floating batteries on the river, and by their works on the *Jersey* bank. In the course of the day, the fort was in a great measure demolished, and many of the guns dismantled. The garrison, finding their post no longer tenable, retired, by means of their shipping, during the night. Two days afterwards, the post at *Redbank* was

evacuated also. Lord Cornwallis marched against it; but the garrison retreated before his arrival.

The American shipping in the river, being now left unprotected, retired up the stream: part of it, by keeping close to the Jersey side, passed the batteries at Philadelphia during the night, and escaped; the rest was set on fire, and abandoned. Even the part of it, however, which escaped at this time, was afterwards destroyed. Thus the navigation of the Delaware was opened, and a free communication established between the fleet and army; but the defence of the river was so obstinate, that a considerable part of the campaign was wasted in clearing it.

Washington having received a reinforcement from the northern army, after the termination of the campaign in that quarter, left his strong camp at Skippack Creek, and, advancing nearer the British, occupied an advantageous position at White Marsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia. He had a valley and rivulet in front, and his right was protected by an abattis, or fence of trees cut down, with their top branches pointed and turned outwards.

Sir William Howe thinking that Washington, encouraged by his reinforcements, would hazard a battle for the recovery of the capital of Pennsylvania, or that a successful attack might be made on his position, marched from Philadelphia on the evening of the 4th of December, and next morning took post on Chestnut Hill, in front of the right wing of the American army. During the two succeeding days, General Howe made several movements in

front of the hostile encampment, and some skirmishing ensued. But Washington remained within his lines; and Howe, deeming it unadvisable to attack him there, and seeing no probability of being able to provoke him to engage on more equal terms, returned with his army, on the 8th of December, to Philadelphia. At that time, the two armies were nearly equal in point of numerical force, each consisting of upwards of fourteen thousand men. Soon afterwards General Washington determined to quit White Marsh, and go into winter-quarters at Valley Forge, about twenty miles from Philadelphia.

During the active part of the campaign, the British army was most numerous; and although, in the beginning of December, the numerical force of the two armies was nearly equal, yet there was a great difference in the quality and equipment of the troops. Those under Howe were veterans, accustomed to the most exact discipline and subordination, well armed, and abundantly supplied with military stores and other necessaries: but those under Washington, were, for the most part, raw levies and militia, ill-disciplined, imperfectly armed, and strangers to military subordination; hence, the Americans were unable to meet the royal troops on equal terms. Washington was obliged to occupy strong positions, and to be wary in all his movements: he was beaten at the Brandywine, and repulsed at Germantown: on the other hand, although Howe was successful in all his operations, yet he gained nothing by the campaign, but good winter-quarters in Philadelphia.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER II

I. LETTER FROM MAJOR GENERAL ROBERTSON
TO HIS EXCELLENCY GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON.

NEW YORK, *January 4, 1777.*

SIR:—I am interrupted in my daily attempts to soften the calamities of persons, and reconcile their case with our security, by a general cry of resentment, arising from an information—

That officers in the king's service, taken on the 27th of November, and Mr. John Brown, a deputy commissary, are to be tried in Jersey for high treason; and that Mr. Iliff and another prisoner have been hanged.

Though I am neither authorized to threaten or to soothe, my wish to prevent an increase of horrors, will justify my using the liberty of an old acquaintance, to desire your interposition to put an end to, or prevent measures which, if pursued on one side, would tend to prevent every act of humanity on the other, and render every person who exercises this to the king's enemies, odious to his friends.

I need not point out to you all the cruel consequences of such a procedure. I am hopeful you'll prevent them, and excuse this trouble from,

Sir, your obedient humble servant,
JAMES ROBERTSON.

N. B. At the moment that the cry of murder reached my ears, I was signing orders that Fell's request to have the liberty of the city, and Colonel Reynold now be set free on his parole, should be complied with. I have not recalled the order, because, though the evidence be strong, I cannot believe it possible, a measure so cruel and unpolitic, could be adopted, where you bear sway.

TO WILLIAM LIVINGSTON, Esq., etc., etc.

GOVERNOR LIVINGSTON'S ANSWER.

January 7, 1777.

SIR:—Having received a letter under your signature, dated the 4th instant, which I have some reason to think you intended for me, I sit

down to answer your inquiries concerning certain officers in the service of your king, taken on Staten Island, and one Browne, who calls himself a deputy commissary; and also respecting one Iliff and another prisoner, (I suppose you must mean John Mee, he having shared the fate you mention,) who have been hanged.

Buskirk, Earl and Hammel, who are, I presume, the officers intended, with the said Browne, were sent to me by General Dickenson, as prisoners taken on Staten Island. Finding them all to be subjects of this state, and to have committed treason against it, the council of safety committed them to Trenton jail. At the same time I acquainted General Washington, that if he chose to treat the three first, who were British officers, as prisoners of war, I doubted not the Council of Safety would be satisfied. General Washington has since informed me, that he intends to consider them as such; and they are therefore at his service, whenever the commissary of prisoners shall direct concerning them. Browne, I am told, committed several robberies in this state, before he took sanctuary on Staten Island, and I should scarcely imagine that he has expiated the guilt of his former crimes, by committing the greater one, of joining the enemies of his country. However, if General Washington chooses to consider him also as a prisoner of war, I shall not interpose in the matter.

Iliff was executed after a trial by a jury, for enlisting our subjects, himself being one, as recruits in the British army, and he was apprehended on his way with them to Staten Island. Had he never been subject to this state, he would have forfeited his life as spy. Mee was one of his company, and had also procured our subjects to enlist in the service of the enemy.

If these transactions, sir, should induce you to countenance greater severities towards our people, whom the fortune of war has thrown into your

power, than they have already suffered, you will pardon me for thinking that you go farther out of your way to find palliatives for inhumanity than necessity seems to require; and if this be the cry of murder to which you allude, as having reached your ears, I sincerely pity your ears for being so frequently assaulted with cries of murder much more audible, because much less distant; I mean the cries of your prisoners, who are constantly perishing in the jails of New York, the coolest and most deliberate kind of murder, from the rigorous manner of their treatment.

I am, with all due respect, your most humble servant,

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON.

JAMES ROBERTSON, Esq., etc., etc., etc.

P. S. You have distinguished me by a title which I have neither authority nor ambition to assume. I know of no man, sir, who *bears sway* in this state. It is our peculiar felicity, and our superiority over the tyrannical system we have discarded, that we are not swayed by men. In New Jersey, sir, the laws alone *bear sway*.

II. JUDGE JAY'S CHARGE.

*The charge delivered by JOHN JAY, Esq., Chief Justice of the State of New York, to the Grand Jury of the Supreme Court, held at Kingston, in Ulster County, September 9, 1777.**

GENTLEMEN :—It affords me very sensible pleasure to congratulate you on the dawn of that free, mild and equal government, which now begins to rise and break from amidst those clouds of anarchy, confusion, and licentiousness, which the arbitrary and violent domination of the king of Great Britain had spread, in greater or less degrees, throughout this and the other American states. And it gives me particular satisfaction to remark, that the first fruits of our excellent Constitution appear in a part of this state, whose inhabitants have distinguished themselves, by having unanimously endeavored to deserve them.

This is one of those signal instances, in which

Divine Providence has made the tyranny of princes instrumental in breaking the chains of their subjects, and rendered the most inhuman designs, productive of the best consequences, to those against whom they were intended.

The infatuated sovereign of Britain, forgetful that kings were the servants, not the proprietors, and ought to be the fathers, not the incendiaries of their people, hath, by destroying our former Constitutions, enabled us to erect more eligible systems of government on their ruins, and, by unwarrantable attempts, *to bind us, in all cases whatever*, has reduced us to the happy necessity of being *free from his control in any*.

Whoever compares our present with our former Constitution, will find abundant reason to rejoice in the exchange, and readily admit, that all the calamities, incident to this war, will be amply compensated by the many blessings flowing from this glorious revolution. A revolution which, in the whole course of its rise and progress, is distinguished by so many marks of the Divine favor and interposition, that no doubt can remain of its being finally accomplished.

It was begun, and has been supported, in a manner so singular, and I may say, miraculous, that when future ages shall read its history, they will be tempted to consider great part of it as fabulous. What, among other things, can appear more unworthy of credit, than that in an enlightened age, in a civilized and Christian country, in a nation so celebrated for humanity, as well as love of liberty and justice, as the *English* once justly were, a prince should arise, who, by the influence of corruption alone, should be able to seduce them into a combination, to reduce three millions of his most loyal and affectionate subjects, to absolute slavery, under pretence of a right, appertaining to God alone, of binding them in all cases whatever, not even excepting cases of conscience and religion? What can appear more improbable, although true, than that this prince, and this people, should obstinately steel their hearts, and shut their ears, against the most humble petitions and affectionate remonstrances, and unjustly determine, by violence and force, to execute designs which were reprobated by every principle of humanity, equity, gratitude and policy—designs which would have been execrable, if intended against savages and enemies, and yet formed against men descended from the same cor-

* ADVERTISEMENT.—The following charge was given at a time when the Assembly and Senate were convening, and the whole system of government, established by the Constitution, about being put in motion. The Grand Inquest was composed of the most respectable characters in the county, and no less than twenty-two of them attended and were sworn.

mon ancestors with themselves; men, who had liberally contributed to their support, and cheerfully fought their battles, even in remote and baleful climates? Will it not appear extraordinary, that thirteen colonies, the object of their wicked designs, divided by variety of governments and manners, should immediately become one people and, though without funds, without magazines, without disciplined troops, in the face of their enemies, unanimously determine to be free; and, undaunted by the power of Britain, refer their cause to the justice of the Almighty, and resolve to repel force by force? Thereby presenting to the world an illustrious example of magnanimity and virtue scarcely to be paralleled. Will it not be matter of doubt and wonder, that, notwithstanding these difficulties, they should raise armies, establish funds, carry on commerce, grow rich by the spoils of their enemies, and bid defiance to the armies of Britain, the mercenaries of Germany, and the savages of the wilderness? But, however incredible these things may in future appear, we know them to be true, and we should always remember, that the many remarkable and unexpected means and events, by which our wants have been supplied, and our enemies repelled or restrained, are such strong and striking proofs of the interposition of heaven, that our having been hitherto delivered from the threatened bondage of Britain, ought, like the emancipation of the Jews from Egyptian servitude, to be forever ascribed to its *true cause*, and instead of swelling our breasts with arrogant ideas of our prowess and importance, kindle in them a flame of gratitude and piety, which may consume all remains of vice and irreligion.

Blessed be God! the time will now never arrive when the prince of a country, in another quarter of the globe, will command your obedience and hold you in vassalage. His consent has ceased to be necessary, to enable you to enact laws essential to your welfare; nor will you, in future, be subject to the imperious sway of rulers, instructed to sacrifice your happiness, whenever it might be inconsistent with the ambitious views of their royal master.

The Americans are the first people whom heaven has favored with an opportunity of deliberating upon, and choosing the forms of government under which they should live; all other constitutions have derived their existence from

violence or accidental circumstances, and are therefore probably more distant from their perfection, which, though beyond our reach, may nevertheless be approached under the guidance of reason and experience.

How far the people of this state have improved this opportunity, we are at no loss to determine. Their Constitution has given general satisfaction at home, and been not only approved, but applauded abroad. It would be a pleasing task to take a minute view of it, to investigate its principles, and remark the connection and use of its several parts; but that would be a work of too great length to be proper on this occasion. I must therefore confine myself to general observations; and among those which naturally arise from a consideration of this subject, none are more obvious, than that the highest respect has been paid to those great and equal rights of human nature, which should forever remain inviolate in every society; and that such care has been taken in the disposition of the legislative, executive and judicial powers of government, as to promise permanence to the Constitution, and give energy and impartiality to the distribution of justice. So that, while you possess wisdom to discern, and virtue to appoint men of worth and abilities, to fill the offices of the state, you will be happy at home and respectable abroad. Your life, your liberties, your property, will be at the disposal only of your Creator and yourselves. You will know no power but such as you will create, no authority unless derived from your grant; no laws, but such as acquire all their obligations from your consent.

Adequate security is also given to the rights of conscience and private judgment. They are, by nature, subject to no control but that of the Deity, and in that free situation they are now left. Every man is permitted to consider, to adore and to worship his Creator in the manner most agreeable to his conscience. No opinions are dictated; no rules of faith prescribed; no preference given to one sect to the prejudice of others. The Constitution, however, has wisely declared, that the "liberty of conscience, thereby granted, shall not be so construed, as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of this state." In a word, the Convention, by whom that Constitution was formed, were of opinion, that the Gospel of Christ, like the ark of

God, would not fall, though unsupported by the arm of flesh, and happy would it be for mankind, if that opinion prevailed more generally.

But let it be remembered, that whatever marks of wisdom, experience and patriotism there may be in your Constitution, yet, like the beautiful symmetry, the just proportions, and elegant forms of our first parent, before their Maker breathed into them the breath of life, it is yet to be animated, and till then, may indeed excite admiration, but will be of no use. ~~For~~ ^{For} the people it must receive its spirit, and by them be quickened. Let virtue, honor, the love of liberty and of science be, and remain, the soul of this Constitution, and it will become the source of great and extensive happiness to this and future generations. Vice, ignorance, and want of vigilance, will be the only enemies able to destroy it. Against these provide, and, of these, be forever jealous. Every member of the state, ought diligently to read and study the Constitution of his country, and teach the rising generation to be free. By knowing their rights, they will sooner perceive when they are violated, and be the better prepared to defend and assert them.

This, gentlemen, is the first court held under the authority of our Constitution, and I hope its proceedings will be such, as to merit the approbation of the friends, and avoid giving cause of censure to the enemies, of the present establishment.

It is proper to observe, that no person in this state, however exalted or low his rank, however

dignified or humble his station, but has a right to the protection of, and is amenable to the laws of the land; and that if those laws be wisely made, and duly executed, innocence will be defended, oppression punished, and vice restrained. Hence it becomes the common duty, and indeed the common interest, of every subject of the state, and particularly of those concerned in the distribution of justice, to unite in repressing the licentious, in supporting the laws, and thereby diffusing the blessings of peace, security, order, and good government, through all degrees and ranks of men among us.

I presume it will be unnecessary to remind you, that neither fear, favor, resentment, or other personal and partial considerations, should influence your conduct. Calm, deliberate reason, candor, moderation, a dispassionate, and yet a determined resolution to do your duty, will, I am persuaded, be the principles by which you will be directed.

You will be pleased to observe, that all offences committed in this county against the peace of the people of this state, from treason to trespass, are proper objects of your attention and inquiry.

You will pay particular attention to the practice of counterfeiting the bills of credit, emitted by the general CONGRESS, or other of the AMERICAN STATES, and of knowingly passing such counterfeits. Practices no less criminal in themselves, than injurious to the interest of that great cause, on the success of which the happiness of AMERICA so essentially depends.

CHAPTER III.

1777.

THE NORTHERN CAMPAIGN OF 1777.

Burgoyne appointed commander over Carleton — Force under his command — Indians employed by the British Government — Burgoyne's speech to the Indians — His grandiloquent proclamation — St. Clair at Ticonderoga — British occupy Sugar Hill — St. Clair determines to retreat — Pursued by the British — Severe loss to the Americans — Consternation throughout the colonies in consequence of Burgoyne's success — Schuyler's vigorous efforts to retard Burgoyne's advance — Proceedings of Congress — Washington's letter — Reinforcements sent to the North — Burgoyne's slow progress — Difficulties in his way — Determines to seek supplies by an expedition against Bennington — Zeal of Langdon — Stark in command — Baum Defeated — Praise due to Stark — St. Leger on the Mohawk — Invests Fort Stanwix — Battle near Oriskany — Herkimer's death — Willet's sally — Arnold's stratagem — Indian fickleness — British retreat — Gates appointed over Schuyler — Schuyler's chagrin — Gates's correspondence with Burgoyne — Death of Miss McCrea — Burgoyne's difficulties increase — Crosses the Hudson — Severe battle at Stillwater — Americans gain the advantage — Crisis in affairs — Second battle — Very sharp contest — Fraser's death — Lady Ackland's heroism — Burgoyne attempts to retreat — Unable to do so — Capitulation — Clinton on the Hudson — His success there — Vandalism of Vaughan — Botta's remarks — Kindness of Americans to the foe — Congress refuse to allow British troops to embark. APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.—I. Burgoyne's proclamation, etc. — Poetic Version of the proclamation. II. Extract from Gates's and Burgoyne's correspondence.

WHILE Washington was engaged, as we have related, in endeavoring to maintain the cause of liberty in New Jersey and Pennsylvania, the northern campaign was carried on with vigor and with brilliant success. We have before spoken of the plan of the British commander to open a passage by way of the Hudson to Canada, and thus sever the Eastern States from the remainder of the confederacy, a plan which, if it could have been effected, would have seriously injured the American cause. On a previous page (see pp. 370-4) we have told the story of the Canada expedition and its ill success, until in June, 1776, the Americans entirely evacuated Canada. We have also detailed the vigorous efforts of Carleton to advance southwardly, (p. 427, etc.) and the obstinate resistance of the

Americans on the Lake under Arnold. The approach of winter prevented that able British officer from further advances. We now take up the story at the opening of the campaign of 1777.

General Burgoyne, who was an ambitious enterprising man, had succeeded in obtaining the command of the British forces in Canada, notwithstanding Carleton had displayed superior ability in conducting operations in that quarter the year previous, and was entitled to a continuance of his command. Burgoyne had visited England during the winter, concerted with the ministry a plan of the campaign, and given an estimate of the force necessary for its successful execution. Several distinguished officers were sent out with him, as Generals Philips, Fraser, Powel, Hamilton, Reidesel, and Specht. Be-

sides a fine train of artillery and a suitable body of artillerymen, an army, consisting of more than seven thousand veteran troops, excellently equipped, and in a high state of discipline, was put under his command. Besides this regular force, he had a great number of Canadians and savages.

The employment of the Indians was deliberately determined upon by the British government at the very commencement of hostilities. This, though sometimes doubted, is clearly proved by the letters of Lord Dartmouth to Colonel Johnson, under date of the 5th and 24th of July, 1775. "It is his Majesty's pleasure," says the secretary, "that you do lose no time in taking such steps as may induce the Six Nations to take up the hatchet against his Majesty's rebellious subjects in America, and to engage them in his Majesty's service upon such plan as shall be suggested to you by General Gage, to whom this letter is sent, accompanied with a large assortment of goods for presents to them upon this important occasion."* As no small dependence was placed upon the Indian allies, General Carleton was directed to use all his influence to bring a large body of them into the field, and his exertions were very successful.

After detaching Colonel St. Leger, with a body of light troops and Indians, amounting to about eight hun-

dred men, by the way of Lake Oswego and the Mohawk River, to make a diversion in that quarter, and to join him when he advanced to the Hudson, General Burgoyne left **1777.** St John's, on the 16th of June, and, preceded by his naval armament, sailed up Lake Champlain, and in a few days landed and encamped near Crown Point, earlier in the season than it had been supposed possible for him to effect this movement.

It was here that Burgoyne gave the Indians a war-feast, and made a speech to them, calculated to inflame their zeal, and intended also to restrain their barbarous excesses. "Go forth," he said, "in the might of your valour; strike at the common enemies of Great Britain and America, disturbers of public order, peace, and happiness, destroyers of commerce, parricides of the state." He praised their perseverance and constancy, and patient endurance of privation, and artfully flattered them by saying, that in these respects they offered a model of imitation for his army. He then entreated of them, as the king's allies, to regulate their own mode of warfare by that prescribed to their civilized brethren. "I positively forbid," he further said to them, "all bloodshed when you are not opposed in arms. Aged men, women, and children, must be held sacred from the knife and hatchet even in the time of actual conflict. You shall receive compensation for the prisoners you take, but you shall be called to account for scalps. In conformity and indulgence to your customs, which have affixed an idea of honor to such badges

* See Judge Campbell's interesting paper, read before the "New York Historical Society," Oct. 7th, 1845, in relation to "the direct agency of the British Government in the employment of the Indians in the Revolutionary War." Appendix to "*The Border Warfare of New York*," pp. 321-337.

of victory, you shall be allowed to take the scalps of the dead when killed by your fire and in fair opposition, but on no account, or pretence, or subtlety, or prevarication, are they to be taken from the wounded, or even the dying, and still less pardonable, if possible, will it be held to kill men in that condition on purpose, and upon a supposition that this protection to the wounded would thereby be evaded." The Indians, were, as usual, ready to promise what was expected of them; but no reliance was to be placed upon their promises, and the English name received a stain not easy to efface, in having let loose upon the Americans the savage fury of their Indian confederates.

Burgoyne having advanced to Ticonderoga, under date of July 2d, issued a grandiloquent proclamation, addressed to the people of the country, threatening terrible things to the refractory, and holding out promises of protection and favor to those who would submit. This proclamation, coming from a man of some considerable literary pretension, is a curious document; the reader will find it in the Appendix to the present chapter, as also one of those keen, satirical replies to which it gave rise. In truth, nothing could have been more ill-judged; for the Americans were the last people in the world to be frightened or cajoled by bombastic words.

Ticonderoga was but poorly garrisoned, in consequence of the larger part of the force from the north having joined the commander-in-chief, in

New Jersey. General St. Clair was in command, and had about two thousand men under him; but the works were extensive enough to require ten thousand to man them fully against a strong invading force. Opposite Ticonderoga, on the east side of the channel, which is here between three hundred and four hundred yards wide, stands a high circular hill, called Mount Independence, which had been occupied by the Americans when they abandoned Crown Point, and strongly fortified. On the top of it, which is flat, they had erected a fort, and provided it sufficiently with artillery. Near the foot of the mountain, which extends to the water's edge, they had raised entrenchments, and mounted them with heavy guns, and had covered those lower works by a battery about half way up the hill.

With prodigious labor they had constructed a communication between those two posts, by means of a wooden bridge which was supported by twenty-two strong wooden pillars, placed at nearly equal distances from each other. The spaces between the pillars were filled up by separate floats, strongly fastened to each other and to the pillars, by chains and rivets. The bridge was twelve feet wide, and the side of it next Lake Champlain was defended by a boom formed of large pieces of timber, bolted and bound together by double iron chains an inch and a half thick. Thus an easy communication was established between Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and the passage of vessels up the strait prevented. Immediately after passing Ticonder-

oga, the channel becomes wider, and, on the south-east side, receives a large body of water from a stream, at that point called South River, but higher up, named Wood Creek. From the south-west come the waters flowing from Lake George; and in the angle formed by the confluence of those two streams rises a steep and rugged eminence, called Sugar Hill, which overlooks and commands both Ticonderoga and Mount Independence. That hill had been examined by the Americans; but General St. Clair, considering the force under his command insufficient to occupy the extensive works of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence, and flattering himself that the extreme difficulty of the ascent would prevent the British from availing themselves of it, neglected to take possession of Sugar Hill.

When the van of Burgoyne's army appeared, St. Clair was ignorant of the powerful force which was at hand. No news of the large reinforcements from Europe had reached him, and he supposed that it would not be difficult to repulse any assault upon the fort. The British, however, encamped with a large force only four miles from the forts, and the fleet anchored just beyond the reach of the guns. After a slight resistance, Burgoyne took possession of Mount Hope, an important post on the south of Ticonderoga, which commanded part of the lines of the fort, as well as the channel leading to Lake George, and extended his lines so as completely to invest the fort on the west side. The German division, under General Reidesel, occupied the eas-

tern bank of the channel, and sent forward a detachment to the vicinity of the rivulet which flows from Mount Independence. Burgoyne, being informed that Sugar Hill, if occupied, completely commanded the fortress, resolved to take possession of it at once; and with very great labor and difficulty, after five days' labor, the artillery was dragged to the top, and the hill was named Mount Defiance, because now the British were able to defy their enemies to good purpose.

The besieged were unable to oppose any check to these movements, and St. Clair was now nearly surrounded. Only the space between the stream which flows from Mount Independence and South River remained open, and that was to be occupied next day.

In these circumstances it was requisite for the garrison to come to a prompt and decisive resolution; either, at every hazard, to defend the place to the last extremity, or immediately to abandon it. St. Clair called a council of war, the members of which unanimously advised the immediate evacuation of the forts; and preparations were instantly made for carrying this decision into effect. The British had the command of the communication with Lake George; and, consequently, the garrison could not escape in that direction. The retreat could be effected by the South River only. Accordingly, the invalids, the hospital, and such stores as could be most easily removed, were put on board two hundred boats, and, escorted by Colonel Long's regiment, proceeded, on the night between the 5th and 6th of July, up the South River towards

Skeenesborough. The garrisons of Ticonderoga and Mount Independence marched by land through Castleton towards the same place. The troops were ordered to march out in profound silence, and particularly to set nothing on fire. But these prudent orders were disobeyed; and, before the rear-guard was in motion, the house on Mount Independence, which General Fermoy had occupied, was seen in flames. That served as a signal to the enemy, who immediately entered the works, and fired, but without effect, on the rear of the retreating army.

The Americans marched in some confusion to Hubbardton, whence the main body, under St. Clair, pushed forward to Castleton. But the English were not idle: General Fra-
1777. ser, at the head of a strong detachment of grenadiers and light troops, commenced an eager pursuit by land, upon the right bank of Wood Creek. General Reidesel, behind him, rapidly advanced with his Brunswickers, either to support the English, or to act separately, as occasion might require. Burgoyne determined to pursue the enemy by water. But it was first necessary to destroy the boom and bridge which had been constructed in front of Ticonderoga. The British seamen and artificers immediately engaged in the operation, and in less time than it would have taken to describe their structure, those works, which had cost so much labor and so vast an expense, were cut through and demolished. The passage thus cleared, the ships of Burgoyne immediately entered Wood Creek, and proceeded

with extreme rapidity in search of the enemy. All was in movement at once upon land and water. By three in the afternoon, the van of the British squadron, composed of gun-boats, came up with and attacked the American galleys near Skeenesborough Falls. In the mean time, three regiments which had been landed at South Bay, ascended and passed a mountain with great expedition, in order to turn the enemy above Wood Creek, to destroy his works at the Falls of Skeenesborough, and thus to cut off his retreat to Fort Anne. But the Americans eluded this stroke by the rapidity of their flight. The British frigates having joined the van, the galleys, already hard pressed by the gun-boats, were completely overpowered. Two of them surrendered; three of them were blown up. The Americans now despaired: having set fire to their boats, mills, and other works, they fell back upon Fort Anne higher up Wood Creek. All their baggage, however, was lost, and a large quantity of provisions and military stores fell into the hands of the British.

The pursuit by land was not less active. Early on the morning of the 7th of July, the British overtook the American rear-guard, who, in opposition to St. Clair's orders, had lingered behind and posted themselves on strong ground in the vicinity of Hubbardton. Fraser's troops were little more than half the number opposed to
1777. him, but aware that Reidesel was close behind, and fearful lest his chase should give him the slip, he ordered an immediate attack. Warner

opposed a vigorous resistance, but a large body of his militia retreated, and left him to sustain the combat alone, when the firing of Reidesel's advanced guard was heard, and shortly after his whole force, drums beating and colors flying, emerged from the shades of the forest; and part of his troops immediately effected a junction with the British line. Fraser now gave orders for a simultaneous advance with the bayonet, which was effected with such resistless impetuosity that the Americans broke and fled, sustaining a very serious loss. St. Clair, upon hearing the firing, endeavored to send back some assistance, but the discouraged militia refused to return, and there was no alternative but to collect the wrecks of his army, and proceed to Fort Edward to effect a junction with Schuyler.

Burgoyne lost not a moment in following up his success at Skeenesborough, but dispatched a regiment to effect the capture of Fort Anne, defended by a small party under the command of Colonel Long. This officer judiciously posted his troops in a narrow ravine through which his assailants were compelled to pass, and opened upon them so severe a fire in front, flank, and rear, that the British regiments, nearly surrounded, with difficulty escaped to a neighboring hill, where the Americans attacked them anew with such vigor that they must have been utterly defeated, had not the ammunition of the assailants given out at this critical moment. No longer being able to fight, Long's troops fell back, and, setting the fort on fire, also

directed their retreat to the headquarters at Fort Edward.

Nothing, as Botta remarks,* could exceed the consternation and terror which the victory of Ticonderoga, and the subsequent successes of Burgoyne, spread through the American provinces, nor the joy and exultation they excited in England. The arrival of these glad tidings was celebrated by the most brilliant rejoicings at court, and welcomed with the same enthusiasm by all those who desired the unconditional reduction of America. They already announced the approaching termination of this glorious war; they openly declared it a thing impossible, that the rebels should ever recover from the shock of their recent losses, as well of men as of arms, and of military stores, and especially that they should ever regain their courage and reputation, which, in war, always contribute to success, as much, at least, as arms themselves. Even the ancient reproaches of cowardice were renewed against the Americans, and their own partisans abated much of the esteem they had borne them. They were more than half disposed to pronounce the colonists unworthy to defend that liberty, which they gloried in with so much complacency. But it deserves to be noted here especially, that there was no sign of faltering on the part of the people, no disposition to submit to the invading force. The success of the enemy did but nerve our fathers to

* "History of the War of Independence," vol. i, p. 280.

more vigorous resolves to maintain the cause of liberty even unto death.

Certainly, the campaign had been opened and prosecuted thus far in a very dashing style by Burgoyne, and had he been able to press forward, it is quite possible that success might have crowned his efforts. But there were some sixteen miles of forest yet to be traversed; Burgoyne delayed for his baggage and stores; and meanwhile, General Schuyler, who was in command of the American forces, took such steps as would necessarily put a stop to the rapid approach of the enemy. Trenches were opened; the roads and paths were obstructed; the bridges were broken up; and in the only practicable defiles, large trees were cut in such a manner, on both sides of the road, as to fall across and lengthwise, which, with their branches interwoven, presented an insurmountable barrier: in a word, this wilderness, of itself by no means easy of passage, was thus rendered almost absolutely impenetrable. Nor did Schuyler rest satisfied with these precautions; he directed the cattle to be removed to the most distant places, and the stores and baggage from Fort George to Fort Edward, that articles of such necessity for the troops might not fall into the power of the British. He urgently demanded that all the regiments of regular troops found in the adjacent states should be sent, without delay, to join him; he also made earnest and frequent calls upon the militia of New England and of New York. He likewise exerted his utmost endeavors to procure himself recruits in the vicinity

of Fort Edward and the city of Albany; the great influence he enjoyed with the inhabitants, gave him, in this quarter, all the success he could desire. Finally, to retard the progress of the enemy, he resolved to threaten his left flank. Accordingly, he detached Colonel Warner, with his regiment, into the state of Vermont, with orders to assemble the militia of the country, and to make incursions towards Ticonderoga. In fact, Schuyler did every thing which was possible to be done under the circumstances; and it is not too much to assert, in justice to the good name of General Schuyler, that the measures which he adopted paved the way to the victory which finally crowned the American arms at Saratoga.

Washington, equally with Congress, supposing that Schuyler's force was stronger, and that of the British weaker, than was really the case, was very greatly distressed and astonished at the disasters which befell the American cause in the north. He waited, therefore, with no little anxiety, later and more correct information before he was willing to pronounce positively upon the course pursued by St. Clair. When that officer joined Schuyler, the whole force did not exceed four thousand four hundred men; about half of these were militia, and the whole were ill clothed, badly armed, and greatly dispirited by the recent reverses. Very ungenerously and unjustly, it was proposed to remove the northern officers from the command, and send successors in their places. An inquiry was instituted by order of Congress, which resulted honorably for Schuyler and



THE PEASANTS OF THE MOUNTAINS OF SWITZERLAND, WITH THEIR CATTLE AND HORSES.

Engraved from the original painting by J. M. W. Turner.

his officers: and Schuyler, the able commander and zealous-hearted patriot, remained for the present at the head of the northern department.*

The commander-in-chief exerted himself with all diligence to send reinforcements and supplies to the army of Schuyler. The artillery and warlike stores were expedited from Massachusetts. General Lincoln, a man of great influence in New England, was sent there to encourage the militia to enlist. Arnold, in like manner, repaired thither: it was thought his ardor might serve to inspire the dejected troops. Colonel Morgan, an officer whose brilliant valor we have already had occasion to remark, was ordered to take the same direction with his troop of light horse. All these measures, conceived with prudence and executed with promptitude, produced the natural effect. The Americans recovered by degrees their former spirit, and the army increased from day to day.

During this interval, General Bur-

* Washington, writing to General Schuyler, clearly presaged the great and auspicious change in affairs which was soon to take place: "Though our affairs have for some days past worn a gloomy aspect, yet I look forward to a happy change. I trust General Burgoyne's army will meet sooner or later an effectual check; and, as I suggested before, that the success he has had will precipitate his ruin. From your accounts, he appears to be pursuing that line of conduct, which of all others, is most favorable to us. I mean acting in detachment. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprise on our part, and expose his parties to great hazard. Could we be so happy as to cut one of them off, though it should not exceed four, five, or six hundred men, it would inspire the people, and do away much of their present anxiety. In such an event, they would lose sight of past misfortunes, and urged on at the same time by a regard for their own security, they would fly to arms, and afford every aid in their power."

goyne actively exerted himself in opening a passage from Fort Anne to Fort Edward. But notwithstanding the diligence with which the whole army engaged in the work, their progress was exceedingly slow, so formidable were the obstacles which nature as well as art had thrown in their way. Besides having to remove the fallen trees with which the Americans had obstructed the roads, they had no less than forty bridges to construct, and many others to repair: one of these was entirely of logwork, over a morass two miles wide. In short, the British encountered so many impediments in measuring this inconsiderable space, that it was found impossible to reach the banks of the Hudson, near Fort Edward, until the 30th of July. The Americans, either because they were too feeble to oppose the enemy, or that Fort Edward was no better than a ruin, unsusceptible of defence, or finally, because they were apprehensive that Colonel St. Leger, after the reduction of Fort Stanwix might descend by the left bank of the Mohawk to the Hudson, and thus cut off their retreat, retired lower down to Stillwater, where they threw up entrenchments. At the same time they evacuated Fort George, having previously burned their boats upon the lake, and in various ways obstructed the road to Fort Edward.* Burgoyne

* General Schuyler's unselfish patriotism was nobly shown in the direction which he gave to Mrs. Schuyler to set fire, with her own hand, to his large and valuable fields of wheat, as well as to request his tenants and others to do the same, rather than suffer the enemy to reap them. The artist, in the accompanying drawing, has graphically depicted Mrs. Schuyler's spirit and energy.

might have reached Ford Edward much more readily by way of Lake George; but he had judged it best to pursue the panic-stricken Americans, and despite the difficulties of the route, not to throw any discouragements in the way of his troops by a retrograde movement.

At Fort Edward General Burgoyne again found it necessary to pause in his career; for his carriages, which, in the hurry, had been made of unseasoned wood, were much broken down, and needed to be repaired. From the unavoidable difficulties of the case, not more than one-third of the draught horses contracted for in Canada had arrived; and General Schuyler had been careful to remove almost all the horses and draught cattle of the country out of his way. Boats for the navigation of the Hudson, provisions, stores, artillery, and other necessaries for the army, were all to be brought from Fort George; and although that place was only nine or ten miles from Fort Edward, yet such was the condition of the roads, rendered nearly impassable by the great quantities of rain that had fallen, that the labor of transporting necessaries was incredible. General Burgoyne had collected about one hundred oxen; but it was often necessary to employ ten or twelve of them in transporting a single boat. With his utmost exertions he had, on the 15th of August, conveyed only twelve boats into the Hudson, and provisions for the army for four days in advance. Matters began to assume a very serious aspect indeed; and as the further he removed from the lakes the

more difficult it became to get supplies from that quarter, Burgoyne saw clearly that he must look elsewhere for sustenance for his army.

The British commander was not ignorant that the Americans had accumulated considerable stores, including live cattle, and vehicles of various kinds, at Bennington, about twenty-four miles east of the Hudson. Burgoyne, easily persuaded that the tories in that region would aid his efforts, and thinking that he could alarm the country as well as secure the supplies of which he began to stand in great need, determined to detach Colonel Baum, with a force of some six or eight hundred of Reidesel's dragoons, for the attack upon Bennington. His instructions to Baum were "to try the affections of the country, to disconcert the counsels of the enemy, to mount Reidesel's dragoons, to complete Peter's corps, (of loyalists) and to obtain large supplies of cattle, horses, and carriages." Baum set off, on the 13th of August, on this expedition, which was to result so unfortunately to himself, and which proved in fact the ruin of Burgoyne's entire plans and purposes.

We have spoken of the consternation which filled the minds of men a short time before this, when Burgoyne seemed to be marching in triumph through the country. The alarm, however, subsided, and the New England states resolved to make most vigorous efforts to repel the attack of the enemy. John Langdon, a merchant of Portsmouth and speaker of the New Hampshire Assembly, roused the desponding minds of his fellow members to the

need of providing defence for the frontiers, and with whole-hearted patriotism thus addressed them: "I have three thousand dollars in hard money; I will pledge my plate for three thousand more. I have seventy hogsheads of Tobago rum, which shall be sold for the most it will bring. These are at the service of the state. If we succeed in defending our fire-sides and homes I may be remunerated; if we do not, the property will be of no value to me. Our old friend Stark, who so nobly sustained the honor of our state at Bunker Hill, may be safely entrusted with the conduct of the enterprise, and we will check the progress of Burgoyne." This brave son of New Hampshire, conceiving himself aggrieved by certain action of Congress in appointing junior officers over his head, had resigned his commission. He was now prevailed upon to take service under authority from his native state, it being understood that he was to act independently as to his movements against the enemy. Stark's popularity speedily called in the militia, who were ready to take the field under him without hesitation.

Soon after, Stark proceeded to Manchester, twenty miles north of Bennington, where Colonel Warner had taken
 1777. post with the troops under his command. Here he met General Lincoln, who had been sent by Schuyler to lead the militia to the west bank of the Hudson. Stark refused to accede to Schuyler's demand, and Congress, on the 19th of August, passed a vote of censure upon his conduct. But Stark did not know of this; and as his

course was clearly that of sound policy, and his victory two days before the censure cast upon him showed it to be so, he had the proud satisfaction of knowing that the commander-in-chief approved of his plan of harassing the rear of the British, and that the victory of Bennington paralyzed the entire operations of Burgoyne.

On the day that Baum set out Stark arrived at Bennington. The progress of the German troops, at first tolerably prosperous, was soon impeded by the state of the roads and the weather, and as soon as Stark heard of their approach he hurried off expresses to Warner to join him, who began his march in the night. After sending forward Colonel Gregg to reconnoitre the enemy, he advanced to the rencontre with Baum, who finding the country thus rising around him, halted and entrenched himself in a strong position above the Wollamsac River, and sent off an express to Burgoyne, who instantly dispatched Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman with a strong reinforcement.

During the 15th of August, the rain prevented any serious movement.* The

* An anecdote connected with this battle is worth relating. Among the reinforcements from Berkshire county, came a clergyman, with a portion of his flock, resolved to make bare the arm of flesh against the enemies of the country. Before daylight on the morning of the 16th, he addressed the commander as follows: "We the people of Berkshire have been frequently called upon to fight, but have never been led against the enemy. We have now resolved, if you will not let us fight, never to turn out again." General Stark asked him, "if he wished to march then, when it was dark and rainy." "No," was the answer. "Then," continued Stark, "if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I do not give you fighting enough, I will never ask you to come

Germans and English continued to labor at their entrenchments, upon which they had mounted two pieces of artillery. The following day was bright and sunny, and early in the morning Stark sent forward two columns to storm the entrenchments at different points, and when the firing had commenced, threw himself on horseback and advanced with the rest of his troops. As soon as the enemy's columns were seen forming on the hillside, he exclaimed, "See, men! there are the red-coats; we must beat to-day, or Molly Stark's a widow." The militia replied to this appeal by a tremendous shout, and the battle which ensued, as Stark states in his official report, "lasted two hours, and was the hottest I ever saw. It was like one continual clap of thunder." The Indians ran off at the beginning of the battle; the Tories were driven across the river; and although the Germans fought bravely, they were compelled to abandon the entrenchments, and fled, leaving their artillery and baggage on the field.

As Breyman and his corps approached, they heard the firing, and hurried forward to the aid of their countrymen. An hour or two earlier, and they might have given a different turn to the affair, but the heavy rain had delayed their progress. They met and rallied the fugitives, and returned to the field of battle. Stark's troops, who were engaged in plunder, were taken in great

measure by surprise, and the victory might after all have been wrested from their grasp, but for the opportune arrival of Warner's regiment at the critical moment. The battle continued until sunset, when the Germans, overwhelmed with numbers, at length abandoned their baggage and fled. Colonel Baum, their brave commander, was killed, and the British loss amounted to some eight or nine hundred effective troops, in killed and prisoners. The loss of the Americans was thirty killed and forty wounded. Stark's horse was killed in the action.

Too much praise, as Mr. Everett well remarks,* cannot be bestowed on the conduct of those who gained the battle of Bennington, officers and men. It is perhaps the most conspicuous example of the performance by militia of all that is expected of regular, veteran troops. The fortitude and resolution, with which the lines at Bunker Hill were maintained, by recent recruits, against the assault of a powerful army of experienced soldiers, have always been regarded with admiration. But at Bennington, the hardy yeomen of New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, many of them fresh from the plough and unused to the camp, "advanced," as General Stark expresses it in his official letter, "through fire and smoke, and mounted breastworks, that were well fortified and defended with cannon."

Fortunately for the success of the battle, Stark was most ably seconded by the officers under him; every pre-

again." The weather cleared up, in the course of the day, and the men of Berkshire followed their spiritual guide into action.

* "Life of John Stark," p. 58.

vious disposition of his little force was most faithfully executed. He expresses his particular obligations to Colonels Warner and Herrick, "whose superior skill was of great service to him." Indeed the battle was planned and fought with a degree of military talent and science, which would have done no discredit to any service in Europe. A higher degree of discipline might have enabled the general to check the eagerness of his men to possess themselves of the spoils of victory; but his ability, even in that moment of dispersion and under the flush of success, to meet and conquer a hostile reinforcement, evinces a judgment and resource, not often equalled in partisan warfare.

In fact, it would be the height of injustice not to recognize, in this battle, the marks of the master mind of the leader, which makes good officers and good soldiers out of any materials, and infuses its own spirit into all that surround it. This brilliant exploit was the work of Stark, from its inception to its achievement. His popular name called the militia together. His resolute will obtained him a separate commission,—at the expense, it is true, of a wise political principle,—but on the present occasion, with the happiest effect. His firmness prevented him from being overruled by the influence of General Lincoln, which would have led him, with his troops, across the Hudson. How few are the men, who in such a crisis would not merely not have sought, but actually have repudiated, a junction with the main army! How few, who would not only have desired, but actually insisted on taking the responsibility

of separate action! Having chosen the burden of acting alone, he acquitted himself in the discharge of his duty, with the spirit and vigor of a man, conscious of ability proportioned to the crisis. He advanced against the enemy with promptitude; sent forward a small force to reconnoitre and measure his strength; chose his ground deliberately and with skill; planned and fought the battle with gallantry and success.

The consequences of this victory were of great moment. It roused the people, and nerved them to the contest with the enemy; and it also justified the sagacity of Washington, whose words we have quoted on a previous page. Burgoyne's plans were wholly deranged, and instead of relying upon lateral excursions, to keep the population in alarm, and obtain supplies, he was compelled to procure necessaries as best he might, and the militia flocked to the standard of Gates. His rear was exposed, and Stark, acting on his line of policy, prepared to place himself so that Burgoyne might be hemmed in, and be, as soon after he was, unable to advance or retreat.

The defeat at Bennington was, however, not the only misfortune which now fell upon the British arms. We have noted, on a previous page, that Burgoyne had detached Colonel St. Leger with a body of regular troops, Canadians, loyalists, and Indians, by the way of Oswego, to make a diversion on the upper part of the Mohawk River, and afterwards join him on his way to Albany. On the 2d of August, St. Leger approached Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler, a log fortification, situated on

rising ground, near the source of the Mohawk River, and garrisoned by about six hundred continentals, under the command of Colonel Gansevoort. Next day, he invested the place with an army of sixteen or seventeen hundred men, nearly one half of whom were Indians, and the rest British, Germans, Canadians, and Tories. On being summoned to surrender, Gansevoort answered that he would defend the place to the last.

On the approach of St. Leger to Fort Schuyler, General Herkimer, who commanded the militia of Tryon County, assembled about seven hundred of them, and marched to the assistance of the garrison. On the forenoon of the 6th of August, a messenger from Herkimer found means to enter the fort, and gave notice that he was only eight miles distant, and intended that day to force a passage into the fort, and join the garrison. Gansevoort resolved to aid the attempt by a vigorous sally, and appointed Colonel Willet with upwards of two hundred men to that service.

St. Leger received information of the approach of Herkimer, and placed a large body, consisting of the "Johnson Greens," and Brant's Indians, in ambush, near Oriskany, on the road by which he was to advance. Herkimer fell into the snare. The first notice which he received of the presence of an enemy, was from a heavy discharge of musketry on his troops, which was instantly followed by the war-whoop of the Indians, who attacked the militia with their tomahawks. Though disconcerted by the suddenness of the at-

tack, many of the militia behaved with spirit, and a scene of unutterable confusion and carnage ensued. The royal troops and the militia became so closely crowded together, that they had not room to use fire-arms, but pushed and pulled each other, and, using their daggers, fell pierced by mutual wounds. Some of the militia fled at the first onset; others made their escape afterwards; about a hundred of them retreated to a rising ground, where they bravely defended themselves, till a successful sortie from the fort, compelled the British to look to the defence of their own camp. Colonel Willet, in this sally, killed a number of the enemy, destroyed their provisions, carried off some spoil, and returned to the fort, without the loss of a man. Beside the loss of the brave General Herkimer, who was slain, the number of the killed was computed at four hundred. St. Leger, imitating the grandiloquent style of Burgoyne, again summoned the fort to surrender, but Colonel Gansevoort peremptorily refused.

Colonel Willet, accompanied by Lieutenant Stockwell, having passed through the British camp, eluded the patrols and the savages, and made their way for fifty miles through pathless woods and dangerous morasses, informed General Schuyler of the position of the fort, and the need of help in the emergency. He determined to afford it to the extent of his power, and Arnold, who was always ready for such expeditions, agreed to take command of the troops for the purpose of relieving the fort. Arnold put in practice an acute stratagem, which materially

facilitated his success. It was this. Among the tory prisoners, was one Yost Cuyler, who had been condemned to death, but whom Arnold agreed to spare, on consideration of his implicitly carrying out his plan. Accordingly, Cuyler, having made several holes in his coat, to imitate bullet-shots, rushed breathless among the Indian allies of St. Leger, and informed them that he had just escaped in a battle with the Americans, who were advancing on them with the utmost celerity. While pointing to his coat for proof of his statement, a sachem, also in the plot, came in and confirmed the intelligence. Other scouts arrived speedily with a report, which probably grew out of the affair at Bennington, that Burgoyne's army was entirely routed. All this made a deep impression upon the fickle-minded red men.

Fort Schuyler was better constructed, and defended with more courage than St. Leger had expected; and his light artillery made little impression on it. His Indians, who liked better to take scalps and plunder than to besiege fortresses, became very unmanageable. The loss which they had sustained in the encounters with Herkimer and Willet deeply affected them: they had expected to be witnesses of the triumphs of the British, and to share with them the plunder. Hard service and little reward caused bitter disappointment; and when they knew that a strong detachment of Americans was marching against them, they resolved to take safety in flight. St. Leger employed every argument and artifice to detain them, but in vain;

part of them went off, and all the rest threatened to follow if the siege were persevered in. Therefore, on the 22d of August, St. Leger raised the siege, and retreated with circumstances indicating great alarm: the tents were left standing, the artillery was abandoned, and a great part of the baggage, ammunition, and provisions, fell into the hands of the garrison, a detachment from which harassed the retreating enemy. But the British troops were exposed to greater danger from the fury of their savage allies than from the pursuit of the Americans. During the retreat they robbed the officers of their baggage and the army generally of their provisions and stores. Not content with this, they first stripped off their arms, and afterwards murdered with their own bayonets, all those who from inability to keep up, from fear, or other cause were separated from the main body. The confusion, terror, and sufferings of this retreat found no respite till the royal troops reached the Lake on their way to Montreal.

Arnold arrived at Fort Schuyler two days after the retreat of the besiegers; but finding no occasion for his services, he soon returned to camp. The successful defence of Fort Stanwix or Schuyler powerfully co-operated with the defeat of the royal troops at Bennington in raising the spirits and invigorating the activity of the Americans. The loyalists became timid; the wavering began to doubt the success of the royal arms; and the great body of the people was convinced that nothing but steady exertion on their part was necessary, to ruin that army which

a short time before had appeared to be sweeping every obstacle from its path, on the high road to victory.

Before these important successes had materially changed the face of affairs, Congress had taken a step which was as ungracious as it was unjust towards one of the bravest and most patriotic officers in the American army. Owing to several causes, the New England members were bitterly prejudiced against General Schuyler, and the rapid progress of Burgoyne at the beginning of the campaign raised quite a clamor

1777. against the commander of the northern army. Through the influence of Schuyler's enemies and the well understood wishes of Gates to be placed in command, Congress, on the 4th of August, voted to supersede Schuyler, and elevate Gates to the post of honor. This happening just at the time when it was evident that Burgoyne's career was about to be effectually stopped, was especially aggravating; and Schuyler felt acutely, as every honorable man must feel under such circumstances, the disgrace of being displaced at this critical moment. "It is," said he, writing to Washington, "matter of extreme chagrin to me to be deprived of the command at a time, when soon, if ever, we shall be enabled to face the enemy; when we are on the point of taking ground where they must attack to a disadvantage, should our force be inadequate to facing them in the field; when an opportunity will, in all probability, occur, in which I might evince that I am not what Congress have too plainly insinuated in taking the command from me."

Marshall gives it as his opinion that Schuyler's "removal from the command was probably severe and unjust as respected himself, but perhaps wise as respected America. The frontier towards the lakes was to be defended by the troops of New England; and however unfounded their prejudices against him might be, it was prudent to consult them."

Gates, who arrived on the 19th of August, found every thing in capital condition for successfully carrying on the campaign. Fresh troops had come in, and the people on all sides, the harvesting having just been completed, were ready to join the army. Schuyler, too, rising superior to all personal considerations, intermitted no activity, and receiving Gates with that heightened courtesy, peculiar to gentlemen of the old school, he said to him: "I have done all that could be done, as far as the means were in my power, to inspire confidence in the soldiers of our own army, and I flatter myself with some success, but the palm of victory is denied me, and it is left to you, general, to reap the fruits of my labors. I will not fail, however, to second your views, and my devotion to my country will cause me with alacrity to obey all your orders."

Soon after Gates entered upon the command, he had a brief, and by no means pleasant correspondence with Burgoyne. On the 30th of August, the British general complained of the harsh treatment experienced by the loyalists who had been made prisoners at Bennington, and hinted at retaliation. On the 2d of September, Gates answer-

ed his letter, and recriminated by expatiating on the horrid atrocities perpetrated by the Indians who accompanied the armies of General Burgoyne and Colonel St. Leger, and imputed them to Burgoyne. One barbarous act committed by an Indian attached to Burgoyne's army, although it involved only a case of individual suffering, yet made a deep impression on the public mind, and being published in every newspaper in the country, roused popular indignation to the highest pitch.

A young lady, by the name of M'Crea, as distinguished for her virtues as for the beauty of her person, and the gentleness of her manners, of respectable family, and recently affianced to a British officer, was, on the 27th of July, seized by the savages in her father's house, near Fort Edward, dragged into the woods, with several other young people, of both sexes, and there barbarously scalped, and afterwards murdered. Thus, this ill-fated damsel, instead of being conducted to the hymeneal altar, received an inhuman death at the very hands of the companions in arms of that husband she was about to espouse. Such is the usual account; but other authorities state, that her affianced lover, fearing that some ill might betide the object of his affection, as well in consequence of the obstinate attachment of her father to the royal cause, as because their mutual passion was already publicly talked of, had, by the promise of a large recompense, induced two Indians, of different tribes, to take her under their escort, and conduct her in safety to the camp. The two savages

went accordingly, and brought her through the woods; but just before they were about to place her in the hands of her future husband, they fell to quarrelling about their recompense, each contending that it belonged entirely to himself, when one of them, transported with brutal fury, raised his bloody tomahawk, and with a single blow, laid the unhappy maiden dead at his feet.* No wonder that the minds of the people were embittered against those who could degrade themselves by the aid of such allies. The impulse given to the public mind by such atrocities more than counterbalanced any advantages which the British derived from the assistance of the Indians.†

Although Burgoyne, defeated in his expedition against Bennington, and disappointed in the expectation of assistance from St. Leger, was left to his own resources, yet he was unwilling to abandon the arduous enterprise in which he was engaged; but still hoping every day to hear news of Clinton's approach from New York, he flattered himself that he should be able to accomplish the great object of the campaign. In order, however, to procure subsistence for his army, he was obliged to revert to the tedious and toilsome mode of bringing supplies from Fort George;

* Mr. Lossing, in his valuable "*Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*," has devoted several interesting pages to the consideration of the story of Miss M'Crea, from which it appears most probable, that this young lady was killed by a shot fired by a party of Americans in pursuit of the Indians, who had carried her off:—vol. i., p. 96-100.

† See Appendix II., at the end of the present chapter.

and he prosecuted this work with persevering industry. Having, by unwearied exertions, collected provisions for thirty days, and constructed a bridge of boats over the Hudson, in place of the rafts which had been carried away by a flood, he made what proved to be, in the result, a fatal movement; he crossed the river on the 13th and 14th of September, and encamped on the heights and plains of Saratoga, twenty miles below Fort Edward, and thirty-seven above Albany.

Gates, who was now joined by all the continental troops destined for the northern department, and reinforced by considerable bodies of militia, left the strong position which Schuyler had taken at the confluence of the Mohawk with the Hudson, proceeded sixteen miles up the river toward the enemy, and by advice of the gallant Kosciusko, formed a strong camp at Behmus's Heights, near Stillwater. The two armies were only about twelve miles distant from each other; but the bridges between them were broken down, the roads were bad, and the country was covered with woods; consequently the progress of the British army, encumbered by its fine train of artillery and numerous wagons, was slow, and it was attended with some skirmishing.

On the evening of the 17th, Burgoyne encamped within four miles of the American army, and spent the next day in repairing the bridges between the two camps, which he accomplished with some loss. About mid-day, on the 19th of September, he put himself at the head of the right wing of his

army, and advanced through the woods toward the left of the American camp; General Fraser and Colonel Breyman, with the grenadiers and light infantry, covered his right flank; and the Indians, loyalists, and Canadians, proceeded in front. The left wing and artillery, commanded by Generals Philips and Reidesel, proceeded along the main road near the river.

It would seem to have been Gates's plan, to remain on the defensive within his lines, but the ardor of the troops, and the impetuous daring of Arnold, led to his detaching Morgan, with his riflemen, who, after a spirited skirmish, drove back the Canadians and Indians upon the main body of the English. Fraser, meanwhile, was pushing onward as fast as the irregular and woody ground would permit, to turn the American left, when he was suddenly encountered by Arnold, who had planned a similar attack on him. The latter, with his accustomed bravery, led the men with shouts to the attack, but was at length driven back by Fraser. Rallying again, and joined by fresh reinforcements, he threatened to cut off Fraser's division from the main body; but Fraser parried this attempt, by bringing up new regiments, while Philips dispatched four pieces of light artillery to strengthen the point thus menaced. Thus the conflict was for a while suspended, but about three o'clock it raged with increased fury. The British artillery thundered upon the enemy, but from the closeness of the forest, produced but little effect. Their troops then advanced with the bayonet, driving the Americans within the woods, who

again sallied forth and renewed the combat with desperate fury, and thus each party alternately bore back the other—the British guns being several times taken and retaken. Terrible execution was done by the American riflemen, who climbed into trees, and picked off the British officers; Burgoyne himself having a most narrow escape. The conflict ended only with the day. The Americans retired to their camp, and the British lay all night on their arms near the field of battle.

In this action, in which each party had nearly three thousand men actually engaged, the British lost upwards of five hundred in killed and wounded, and the Americans about four hundred men. Night separated the combatants: each side claimed the victory, and each believed that with a part only of its own force, it had beaten the whole of the hostile army. But although neither army was defeated, it was evident who had gained the advantage; Burgoyne had failed in the attempt to dislodge the enemy, and his progress was arrested. His communication with the lakes was cut off, and his resources were daily failing; while the Americans had the same opportunities of gaining supplies as before, and their strength was still increasing by the arrival of fresh troops. In such circumstances, to fight without a decisive victory, was, to the British, nearly equivalent to a defeat; and to fight without being beaten, was, to the Americans, productive of most of the valuable consequences of victory. Accordingly, the news of the battle was received with joy and exultation

throughout the United States, and the ruin of the invading army was confidently anticipated. The militia were encouraged to take the field, and assist in consummating the work so auspiciously begun. At that time, the army under the command of General Gates did not much exceed seven thousand men; but it was soon after considerably increased.

Burgoyne, seeing that he was now in a most critical condition, and that he must either starve or fight, determined upon the latter. The 7th of 1777. October, had now been reached, and he could not, as he informed Clinton, possibly hold out beyond the 12th. A decisive blow must be struck, and in this way he hoped to find some loophole of escape from his present position. Not daring to withdraw from the lines more than fifteen hundred regular troops, he issued forth on the morning of the 7th, partly to cover a foraging party, and also if possible, to turn the American left, which, since the first battle, had been considerably strengthened. After some preliminary skirmishing, about two o'clock the conflict began in earnest. The British right was under Earl Baccarras, the left under Major Aekland, and the artillery under Major Williams, while Generals Philips and Reidesel commanded the centre. To General Fraser was confided the charge of five hundred picked men, destined, at the critical moment, to fall upon the American left flank. Gates perceiving this design, detached Morgan with his rifle corps and other troops, three times outnumbering Fraser's, to overwhelm that officer at the same mo-

ment that a large force attacked the British left.

Our limits do not admit of details; nor are they important. Both sides fought with bravery and strove hard for victory. The battle raged with unabated fury during the remainder of the day. Arnold, like an incarnate spirit of war and bloodshed, seemed to be everywhere urging on the men to battle. General Fraser, the gallant and able officer, fell mortally wounded; and Burgoyne, at last, overpowered by numbers, and pressed on all sides by the superior fire of the Americans, regained his camp with great difficulty, and with the loss of his field-pieces and most of his artillery corps. Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman was killed, and Major Williams and Major Ackland, the latter being wounded, were made prisoners.* The Americans, whose loss

* Thacher, in his "Military Journal," makes affecting mention of the noble wife of Major Ackland: his words are worth quoting: "This heroic lady, from conjugal affection, was induced to follow the fortune of her husband during the whole campaign through the wilderness. Having been habituated to a mode of life with which those of rank and fortune are peculiarly favored, her delicate frame was ill calculated to sustain the indescribable privations and hardships to which she was unavoidably exposed during an active campaign. Her vehicle of conveyance was, part of the time, a small two-wheeled tumbril, drawn by a single horse, over roads almost impassable. Soon after she received the affecting intelligence that her husband had received a wound, and was a prisoner, she manifested the greatest tenderness and affection, and resolved to visit him in our camp to console and alleviate his sufferings. With this view she obtained a letter from Burgoyne to General Gates, and not permitting the prospect of being out in the night, and drenched in rain, to repress her zeal, she proceeded, in an open boat, with a few attendants, and arrived at our out-post in the night, in a suffering condition, from extreme wet and cold. The sentinel, faithful to his duty, detained them in the boat till Major Dearborn, the officer of

had been comparatively trifling, lay all night on their arms, about half a mile from the British lines, intending to renew the attack in the morning.

During the night, Burgoyne skilfully changed his position, which was clearly untenable, and drew his whole army into a strong camp on the river heights, extending his right up the river. During this movement, General Fraser was fast sinking. He had been carried to a house occupied by the Baroness Reidesel, who, amid the roar of artillery and musketry, was expecting the arrival of her husband, and Generals Burgoyne, Philips, and Fraser to dinner, when the latter was brought in. Other wounded officers speedily followed, until the room of the baroness and her children was turned into an hospital for the dying. During the night, Fraser often exclaimed, "Oh fatal ambition! Poor General Burgoyne! Oh my poor wife!" He expressed a wish to be buried at six next evening, in the great redoubt. About eight in the morning he expired. Although a retreat was now decided on, and delay was dangerous, yet Burgoyne could not but linger a few hours to comply with the request of his gallant companion in arms. The day passed away in skirmishes with the enemy, and in preparations for departure. At six in

the guard, could arrive. He permitted them to land, and afforded Lady Ackland the best accommodations in his power, and treated her with a cup of tea in his guard-house. When General Gates, in the morning, was informed of the unhappy situation of Lady Ackland, he immediately ordered her a safe escort, and treated her himself with the tenderness of a parent, directing that every attention should be bestowed which her rank, sex, character and circumstances required. She was soon conveyed to Albany, where she found her wounded husband."

the evening, the corpse of the departed general, wrapped in a sheet, was brought out, and the generals accompanied it in solemn funeral procession, and in full sight of both armies. The English soldiers, by whom Fraser was greatly beloved, watched its progress with heavy hearts, while the American artillery continued to play upon the redoubt. Having reached the summit of the hill, the funeral procession came to a halt, and the chaplain, with the balls spattering the earth upon him, calmly read the whole of the impressive burial service in the Prayer Book.

Hardly was this sad duty discharged, when the army was put in motion. The sick and wounded were abandoned to the mercy of the Americans, who treated them with great humanity; and all through that night, notwithstanding the rain and mud and the state of the road, the wearied troops slowly advanced. At six in the morning, the army came to a halt; the soldiers, worn out as they were, fell asleep in their wet clothes—the officers were little better off—and the ladies accompanying the army were compelled to submit to the same privations, which they endured with unflagging cheerfulness. The bridge over the Fishkill Creek was broken down, and to cover the retreat, Burgoyne ordered General Schuyler's house and mills to be set on fire. What with the weather and other drawbacks, the army did not reach Saratoga, a distance of only six miles, until evening on the following day.

Burgoyne was now convinced that it was impossible to conduct any further offensive operations, and determined,

as a last resort, to try to make good his retreat to Fort George. Artificers were accordingly dispatched under a strong escort, to repair the bridges and open the roads, but they were compelled to make a precipitate retreat.* The situation of General Burgoyne becoming every hour more hazardous, he resolved to attempt a retreat by night to Fort Edward; but even this retrograde movement was rendered impracticable. While the army was preparing to march, intelligence was received that the Americans had already possessed themselves of the fort, and that they were well provided with artillery. No avenue to escape now appeared. Incessant toil and continual engagements had worn down the British army; its provisions were

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* Marshall, following Gordon, states a fact which shows how imminent a risk was run by the Americans when on the very eve of victory. Gates, it appears, had received what he supposed to be certain intelligence that the main body of Burgoyne's army had marched off for Fort Edward, and that a rear-guard only was left in the camp, who, after a while, were to push off as fast as possible, leaving the heavy baggage behind. On this it was concluded to advance and attack the camp in half an hour. General Nixon's being the eldest brigade, crossed the Saratoga Creek first: unknown to the Americans, Burgoyne had a line formed behind a parcel of brushwood to support the post of artillery where the attack was to be made. General Glover with his brigade was on the point of following Nixon. Just as he entered the water, he saw a British soldier crossing, whom he called and examined. This soldier was a deserter, and communicated the very important fact, that the whole British army were in their encampment. Nixon was immediately stopped, and the intelligence conveyed to Gates, who countermanded his orders for the assault, and called back his troops, not without sustaining some loss from the British artillery. General Wilkinson, in his Memoirs, confirms this statement in its main particulars. See Gordon's "*History of the American Revolution*," vol. ii., p. 261.

nearly exhausted, and there were no means of procuring a supply. The men bore up bravely; while the courage and constancy of the gentle sex were beyond all praise. "A terrible cannonade," says the Baroness Reidesel, in her interesting narrative, "was commenced by the enemy against the house in which I sought to obtain shelter for myself and children, under the mistaken idea that all the generals were in it. Alas! it contained none but wounded and women. We were at last obliged to resort to the cellar for refuge, and in one corner of this I remained the whole day, my children sleeping on the earth with their heads in my lap, and in the same situation I passed a sleepless night. Eleven cannon balls passed through the house, and we could distinctly hear them roll away. One poor soldier, who was lying on a table, for the purpose of having his leg amputated, was struck by a shot, which carried away his other; his comrades had left him, and when we went to his assistance, we found him in a corner of the room, into which he had crept, more dead than alive, scarcely breathing. My reflections on the danger to which my husband was exposed, now agonized me exceedingly, and the thoughts of my children, and the necessity of struggling for their preservation, alone sustained me." The cellar was filled with terrified women and wounded officers, upon whom the baroness attended with devoted zeal, resigning even her own food to relieve their more pressing wants. One day her husband and General Philips came over to see her, at the imminent risk of their lives: the latter

declaring, as he went away, "I would not for ten thousand guineas come again to this place, my heart is almost broken." This sad state of things continued for several days, when, to the baroness's great joy, a cessation of hostilities was agreed upon.

On the morning of the 14th of October, Burgoyne sent the following message to the American commander: "After having fought you twice, Lieutenant-General Burgoyne has waited some days in his present position, determined to try a third conflict against any force you could bring against him. He is apprized of your superiority of numbers, and the disposition of your troops to impede his supplies, and render his retreat a scene of carnage on both sides. In this situation, he is impelled by humanity, and thinks himself justified by established principles and precedents of state and war, to spare the lives of brave men upon honorable terms. Should Major-General Gates be inclined to treat upon that idea, General Burgoyne would propose a cessation of arms during the time necessary to communicate the preliminary terms, by which in any extremity he and his army mean to abide." Two days were spent in discussion and settlement of the terms of a surrender, and on the morning of the 17th of October, the capitulation was formally agreed upon. Gates wished to obtain a surrender, as prisoners
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of war; but knowing that Clinton was making special efforts on the Hudson, in hope of relieving Burgoyne, he did not think it worth while to be too tenacious on this point. The substance of

the terms agreed upon, was as follows: That the army should march out of the camp with all the honors of war, and its camp artillery, to a fixed place, where they were to deposit their arms, and leave the artillery; to be allowed a free embarkation and passage to Europe, from Boston, on condition of their not serving again in America during the present war; the army not to be separated, particularly the men from the officers; roll-carrying and other duties of regularity to be permitted; the officers to be admitted on parole, and to wear their side arms; all private property to be retained, and the public to be delivered upon honor; no baggage to be searched or molested; all persons, of whatever country, appertaining to, or following the camp, to be fully comprehended in the terms of capitulation, and the Canadians to be returned to their own country, liable to its conditions.*

* Wilkinson, who was adjutant-general, in his "Memoirs," gives an account of the first interview, between the conqueror and the conquered: "General Burgoyne proposed to be introduced to General Gates, and we crossed the Fishkill, and proceeded to headquarters on horseback. General Burgoyne in front, with his Adjutant-general Kingston, and his aids-de-camp, Captain Lord Petersham and Lieutenant Wilford, behind him; then followed Major-general Philips, the Baron Reidesel, and the other general officers, and their suites, according to rank. General Gates, advised of Burgoyne's approach, met him at the head of his camp. Burgoyne, in a rich royal uniform, and Gates, in a plain blue frock. When they approached nearly within sword's length, they reined up and halted. I then named the gentlemen, and General Burgoyne, raising his hat most gracefully, said, 'The fortune of war, General Gates, has made me your prisoner;' to which the conqueror, returning a courtly salute, promptly replied, 'I shall always be ready to bear testimony, that it has not been through any fault of your excellency.' Major-

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Early in October, while Burgoyne's condition was daily becoming more and more critical, Clinton, at New York, was anxiously waiting the arrival of troops, in order that he might proceed up the Hudson, and endeavor to relieve Burgoyne. Providentially, for the American cause, the ships were three months on the passage, and did not arrive till the beginning of October. Clinton then immediately prepared to attack Forts Clinton and Montgomery, in the Highlands, with three thousand men, and some ships of war under Commodore Hotham.

These forts were situated on high ground of difficult access, on the western bank of the river, about fifty miles above New York. They were separated by a rivulet, which, flowing from the hills, empties itself into the Hudson. Under cover of the guns, a boom was stretched across the river from bank to bank, and strengthened by an immense iron chain in front, as well as supported by chevaux-de-frise sunk behind it. Above this strong barrier, a frigate and galleys were moored, so as to be able to direct a heavy fire against any vessels that might attempt to force a passage. This seemed to present an insuperable obstacle in the way of the British shipping towards Albany. Fort

general Philips then advanced, and he and General Gates saluted, and shook hands with the familiarity of old acquaintances. The Baron Reidesel and other officers were introduced in their turn." Doctor Ramsay, also, in his "History of the American Revolution," p. 368, says, that "the conduct of General Burgoyne, in this interview with General Gates, was truly dignified, and the historian is at a loss whether to admire most, the magnanimity of the victorious, or the fortitude of the vanquished general."

Independence stood four or five miles below, on a high point of land, on the opposite side of the river. Fort Constitution was six miles above the boom, on an island near the eastern bank: Peekskill, the head-quarters of the officer who commanded on the Hudson, from Kingsbridge to Albany, was just below Fort Independence, on the same side. General Putnam was in command at the time, and had about two thousand men under him.

On the 5th of October, Clinton landed at Verplank's Point, a little below Peekskill, on the same side of the river. Putnam, apprehending that the enemy intended to attack Fort Independence, and to march through the Highlands on the east of the river towards Albany, retired to the heights in his rear; and, entertaining no suspicion of the real point of attack, neglected to strengthen the garrisons of the forts on the western bank.

The British fleet moved higher up the river, in order to conceal what was passing at the place where the troops had landed; and, on the evening of the day on which he had arrived at Verplank's Point, Clinton embarked upwards of two thousand of his men, leaving the rest to guard that post. Early next morning, he landed at Stony Point, on the west side of the river, and immediately began his march over the mountains towards the forts. The roads were difficult, and the enterprise perilous; for a small body of men, properly posted, might not only have arrested his progress, but repulsed him with much loss. He, however, reached the vicinity of the forts before he was

discovered; there he fell in with a patrol, who immediately retreated, and gave warning of the approaching danger. Both forts were attacked at the same time. Fort Montgomery was soon taken, but most of the garrison made their escape, under cover of the darkness, and by their knowledge of the mountain passes. Fort Clinton resisted obstinately, but it was stormed, and a considerable portion of the garrison killed or made prisoners. Putnam, so soon as he heard the firing, endeavored to afford relief to the garrison, but to no purpose. The British loss was about a hundred and fifty; the American loss was double that of the enemy.

The vessels of war belonging to the Americans, being unable to escape, were set on fire, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. "The flames," says Stedman, "suddenly burst forth, and, as every sail was set, the vessels soon became magnificent pyramids of fire. The reflection on the steep side of the opposite mountain, and the long train of ruddy light which shone upon the waters for a prodigious distance, had a wonderful effect; while the air was filled with the continued echoes from the rocky shores, as the flames gradually reached the loaded cannons. The whole was sublimely terminated by the explosions, which left all again in darkness. As soon as daylight enabled them to begin, the fleet set to work and destroyed the boom; Fort Constitution was obliged to surrender, and a free road was open along the river shore to Albany. The British destroyed everything in their power, and sailed up the river as far as Esopus; a fine village,

which, with wanton cruelty, they laid in ashes. Why, instead of this useless vandalism, the British did not push forward to Albany, and make a bold effort in Gates's rear, must remain a problem. Had they done so, it is not improbable, that Burgoyne might have been saved even in his extremity.

These outrages, committed at the very time when Gates was according honorable, and even courteous, consideration to Burgoyne and his army, aggravated greatly the feelings of the Americans, and Gates wrote a sharp letter to Vaughan, the British general, on this subject, concluding it in these words: "Is it thus that the generals of the king expect to make converts to the royal cause? Their cruelties operate a contrary effect: independence is founded upon the universal disgust of the people. The fortune of war has delivered into my hands older and abler generals than General Vaughan is reputed to be; their condition may one day become his, and then no human power can save him from the just vengeance of an offended people."

When the British army left Ticonderoga, it consisted of about ten thousand men, exclusive of Indians; but, by the casualties of war, and by desertion, it was reduced to about six thousand at the time of the surrender. It contained six members of Parliament. General Gates had then under his command upward of nine thousand continentals, and four thousand militia. On this occasion, the Americans gained a remarkably fine train of brass artillery, amounting to forty pieces of different descriptions, and all the arms

and baggage of the troops. Unable longer to retain possession of the forts on the lakes, the British, destroyed the works at Ticonderoga and its vicinity, threw the heavy artillery into the lake, and retreated to Isle aux Noix and St. John's.

Such, says Botta,* was the fate of the British expedition upon the banks of the Hudson. It had been undertaken with singular confidence of success, but the obstacles proved so formidable, that those who had expected from it such brilliant results, were themselves its victims; and those it had alarmed at first, derived from it the most important advantages. There can be no doubt, that, if it was planned with ability, as to us it appears to have been, it was conducted with imprudence by those who were entrusted with its execution. For, it is to be remarked, that its success depended entirely on the combined efforts of the generals who commanded upon the lakes, and of those who had the management of the war in the state of New York. But far from moving in concert, when one advanced, the other retired. When Carleton had obtained the command of the lakes, Howe, instead of ascending the Hudson, towards Albany, carried his arms into New Jersey, and advanced upon the Delaware. When, afterwards, Burgoyne entered Ticonderoga in triumph, Howe embarked upon the expedition against Philadelphia; and thus the army of Canada was deprived of the assistance it ex-

* Botta's "*History of the War of Independence*," vol. ii., p. 328.

pected from New York. The ruin of the whole enterprise is clearly attributable to this want of co-operation.

Immediately after the victory of Saratoga, Gates, whose duty it was to communicate his success to the commander-in-chief, neglected this evident propriety, and dispatched his aid-de-camp, Wilkinson, to carry the good news direct to Congress. On being introduced into the Hall, he said: "The whole British army has laid down arms at Saratoga; our own, full of vigor and courage, expect your orders: it is for your wisdom to decide where the country may still have need of their services." Congress passed a vote of thanks to General Gates and to his army, and Wilkinson was appointed brigadier-general by brevet. They decreed that Gates should be presented with a medal of gold, to be struck expressly in commemoration of so glorious a victory: on one side of it was the bust of the general, with these words around: "HORATIO GATES, *Duci strenuo*; and in the middle, *Comitia Americana*. On the reverse, Burgoyne was represented in the attitude of delivering his sword; and in the back-ground, on the one side, and on the other, were seen the two armies of England and of America. At the top were these words: *Salus regionum septentrion.*; and at the foot, *Hoste ad Saratogam in deditione accepto. Die XVII Oct. MDCCLXXVII.*

The kindness and consideration of the Americans towards their vanquished foes deserve great praise. The sick and the wounded were carefully attended to, and in every way the British officers and troops were made to feel

that their conquerors were as generous as they were brave. General Schuyler was particularly magnanimous. The Baroness Reidesel, in her Narrative, makes mention, in the warmest terms, of his courtesy and politeness to herself and others. "Some days after this," are her words, "we arrived at Albany, where we so often wished ourselves; but we did not enter it as we expected we should—victors! We were received by the *good General Schuyler, his wife, and daughters*, not as enemies, but kind friends, and they treated us with the most marked attention and politeness, as they did General Burgoyne, who had caused General Schuyler's beautifully finished house to be burned. In fact, they behaved like persons of exalted minds, who determined to bury all recollection of *their own* injuries in the contemplation of *our* misfortunes. General Burgoyne was struck with General Schuyler's generosity, and said to him, 'You show me great kindness, though I have done you much injury.' 'That was the fate of war,' replied the brave man; 'let us say no more about it.'"

Burgoyne proceeded to Boston, and was well treated; but it was not long before difficulties arose. Congress was not at all satisfied with the prospect of the British soldiers sailing for England, to relieve others who would be dispatched immediately to America; and taking advantage of several pretexts, more or less urgent, they finally refused to allow the embarkation of the troops at all.* "We shall not under-

* See Marshall's "*Life of Washington*," vol. i.,

take to decide," says an able historian, "whether the fears manifested by Congress had a real foundation, and we shall abstain as well from blaming the imprudence of Burgoyne, as from praising the wisdom, or condemning the distrust of Congress. It is but too cer-

tain, that in these civil dissensions and animosities, appearances become realities and probabilities demonstration. Accordingly, at that time, the Americans complained bitterly of British perfidy, and the English of American want of faith."

pp. 230-32. An English writer, speaking of this matter, uses the following language: "The troops were long detained in Massachusetts; they were afterwards sent to the back parts of Virginia, and none of them were released but by exchange. It was obviously the aim of Congress to keep five thousand men out of the field; but the means which they employed for the accomplishment of their purpose were dishonorable, and they lost more in character than they gained in strength. Honesty is the best policy for

nations, as well as for individuals; but the conduct of the Americans in the matter under consideration, had more of the trick and artifice of low traffickers, than of the fearless integrity becoming the rulers of a powerful people. Some of the allegations by which they attempted to justify themselves were false, and some frivolous. They affected to distrust British faith and honor; but it is easy for a man at any time to accuse his neighbor of bad intentions, if that were to be sustained as a valid plea for his own dishonesty."

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III.

I.—BURGOYNE'S PROCLAMATION.

By JOHN BURGOYNE, Esq., lieutenant-general of his majesty's armies in America, colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons, governor of Fort William, in North Britain, one of the representatives of the Commons of Great Britain, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada, etc., etc.

The forces entrusted to my command, are designed to act in concert, and upon a common principle, with the numerous armies and fleets which already display in every quarter of America, the power, the justice, and, when properly sought, the mercy of the king.

The cause in which the British arms is thus exerted, applies to the most affecting interests of the human heart; and the military servants of the crown, at first called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the rights of the Constitution, now combine with love of their country, and duty

to their sovereign, the other extensive incitements, which form a due sense of the general privileges of mankind. To the eyes and ears of the temperate part of the public, and the breasts of suffering thousands, in the provinces, be the melancholy appeal, whether the present unnatural rebellion has not been made a foundation for the completest system of tyranny that ever God, in his displeasure, suffered for a time to be exercised over a froward and stubborn generation.

Arbitrary imprisonment, confiscation of property, persecution, and torture, unprecedented in the inquisition of the Romish church, are among the palpable enormities that verify the affirmative. These are inflicted, by assemblies and committees, who dare to profess themselves friends to liberty, upon the most quiet subjects, without distinction of age or sex, for the sole crime, often for the sole suspicion, of having adhered in principle to the government under which they were born, and to which, by every tie, divine and human,

they owe allegiance. To consummate these shocking proceedings, the profanation of religion is added to the most profligate prostitution of common reason; the consciences of men are set at naught; and multitudes are compelled not only to bear arms, but also to swear subjection to an usurpation they abhor.

Animated by these considerations; at the head of troops in the full powers of health, discipline, and valor; determined to strike where necessary, and anxious to spare where possible, I, by these presents, invite and exhort all persons, in all places where the progress of this army may point,—and by the blessing of God, I will extend it far—to maintain such a conduct as may justify me in protecting their lands, habitations, and families. The intention of this address is to hold forth security, not depredation to the country. To those whom spirit and principle may induce to partake the glorious task of redeeming their countrymen from dungeons, and re-establishing the blessings of legal government, I offer encouragement and employment; and, upon the first intelligence of their association, I will find means to assist their undertakings. The domestic, the industrious, the infirm, and even the timid inhabitants, I am desirous to protect, provided they remain quietly at their houses; that they do not suffer their cattle to be removed, nor their corn or forage to be secreted or destroyed; that they do not break up their bridges or roads; nor by any other act, directly or indirectly, endeavor to obstruct the operations of the king's troops, or supply or assist those of the enemy.

Every species of provision, brought to my camp, will be paid for at an equitable rate, and in solid coin.

In consciousness of Christianity, my royal master's clemency, and the honor of soldiership, I have dwelt upon this invitation, and wished for more persuasive terms to give it impression. And let not people be led to disregard it, by considering their distance from the immediate situation of my camp. I have but to give stretch to the Indian forces under my direction—and they amount to thousands—to overtake the hardened enemies of Great Britain and America. I consider them the same, wherever they may lurk.

If, notwithstanding these endeavors, and sincere inclinations to effect them, the frenzy of hostility should remain, I trust I shall stand ac-

quitted in the eyes of God and men, in denouncing and executing the vengeance of the state against the wilful outcasts. The messengers of justice and of wrath await them in the field: and devastation, famine, and every concomitant horror, that a reluctant, but indispensable prosecution of military duty must occasion, will bar the way to their return.

JOHN BURGOYNE

Camp, at Ticonderoga, July 2, 1777.

By order of his Excellency, the lieutenant-general.

ROBERT KINGSTON, Secretary.

To JOHN BURGOYNE, Esq., lieutenant-general of his majesty's armies, in America, colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons, governor of Fort William, in North Britain, one of the representatives of the Commons of Great Britain, and commanding an army and fleet employed on an expedition from Canada, etc., etc.

Most high, most mighty, most puissant, and sublime general!

When the forces under your command arrived at Quebec, in order to act in concert, and upon a common principle with the numerous fleets and armies which already display in every quarter of America, the justice and mercy of your king, we, the reptiles of America, were struck with unusual trepidation and astonishment. But what words can express the plenitude of our horror, when the colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons advanced towards Ticonderoga. The mountains shook before thee, and the trees of the forest bowed their lofty heads; the vast lakes of the north were chilled at thy presence, and the mighty cataracts stopped their tremendous career, and were suspended in awe at thy approach. Judge, then, Oh ineffable governor of Fort William, in North Britain, what must have been the terror, dismay, and despair that overspread this paltry continent of America, and us, its wretched inhabitants. Dark and dreary, indeed, was the prospect before us, till, like the sun in the horizon, your most gracious, sublime, and irresistible proclamation, opened the doors of mercy, and snatched us, as it were, from the jaws of annihilation.

We foolishly thought, blind as we were, that your gracious master's fleets and armies were come to destroy us and our liberties; but we are

happy in hearing from you (and who can doubt what you assert?) that they were called forth for the sole purpose of restoring the rights of the Constitution, to a froward and stubborn generation.

And is it for this, O! sublime lieutenant-general, that you have given yourself the trouble to cross the wide Atlantic, and with incredible fatigue, traverse uncultivated wilds? And we ungratefully refuse the proffered blessing? To restore the rights of the Constitution, you have called together an amiable host of savages, and turned them loose to scalp our women and children, and lay our country waste; this they have performed with their usual skill and clemency; and yet we remain insensible of the benefit, and unthankful for so much goodness.

Our Congress have declared independence, and our Assemblies, as your highness justly observes, have most wickedly imprisoned the avowed friends of that power with which they are at war, and most profanely compelled those, whose consciences will not permit them to fight, to pay some small part towards the expenses their country is at, in supporting what is called a necessary defensive war. If we go on thus in our obstinacy and ingratitude, what can we expect, but that you should, in your anger, give a stretch to the Indian forces under your direction, amounting to thousands, to overtake and destroy us? or, which is ten times worse, that you should withdraw your fleets and armies, and leave us to our own misery, without completing the benevolent task you have begun, of restoring to us the rights of the Constitution?

We submit—we submit—most puissant colonel of the queen's regiment of light dragoons, and governor of Fort William, in North Britain. We offer our heads to the scalping-knife, and our bellies to the bayonet. Who can resist the force of your eloquence? Who can withstand the terror of your arms? The invitation you have made, in the consciousness of Christianity, your royal master's clemency, and the honor of soldiership, we thankfully accept. The blood of the slain, the cries of injured virgins and innocent children, and the never ceasing sighs and groans of starving wretches, now languishing in the jails and prisonships of New York, call on us in vain; whilst your sublime proclamation is sounded in our ears. Forgive us, O our country! Forgive us, dear posterity. Forgive us, all ye foreign powers, who

are anxiously watching our conduct in this important struggle, if we yield implicitly to the persuasive tongue of the most elegant colonel of her Majesty's regiment of light dragoons.

Forbear, then, thou magnanimous lieutenant-general! Forbear to denounce vengeance against us; forbear to give a stretch to those restorers of constitutional rights, the Indian forces under your direction. Let not the messengers of justice and wrath await us in the field, and devastation, and every concomitant horror, bar our return to the allegiance of a prince, who, by his royal will, would deprive us of every blessing of life, with all possible clemency.

We are domestic, we are industrious, we are infirm and timid: we shall remain quietly at home, and not remove our cattle, our corn, or forage, in hopes that you will come, at the head of troops, in the full powers of health, discipline, and valor, and take charge of them for yourselves. Behold our wives and daughters, our flocks and herds, our goods and chattels, are they not at the mercy of our lord the king, and of his lieutenant-general, member of the House of Commons, and governor of Fort William, in North Britain?

A. B.

C. D.

E. F., etc., etc., etc.

Saratoga, July 10, 1777.

POETIC VERSION OF THE PROCLAMATION.

[ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCIS HOPKINSON.]

By John Burgoyne, and Burgoyne, John, Esq.,
 And grac'd with titles still more higher,
 For I'm Lieutenant-general, too,
 Of George's troops both red and blue,
 On this extensive continent;
 And of Queen Charlotte's regiment
 Of light dragoons the Colonel;
 And Governor eke of Castle Wil—
 And furthermore, when I am there,
 In House of Commons I appear,
 [Hoping ere long to be a Peer,]
 Being a member of that virtuous band
 Who always vote at North's command;
 Directing, too, the fleet and troops
 From Canada, as thick as hops;
 And all my titles to display,
 I'll end with thriee et cetera.

The troops consign'd to my command,

Like Hercules to purge the land,
 Intend to act in combination
 With th' other forces of the nation,
 Displaying wide thro' every quarter
 What Britain's justice would be after.
 It is not difficult to show it,
 And every mother's son must know it,
 That what she meant at first to gain
 By requisitions and chicane,
 She's now determin'd to acquire
 By kingly reason ; sword and fire.
 I can appeal to all your senses,
 Your judgments, feelings, tastes and fancies ;
 Your ears and eyes have heard and seen,
 How causeless this revolt has been ;
 And what a dust your leaders kick up ;
 In this rebellious civil hiccup,
 And how, upon this curs'd foundation,
 Was rear'd the system of vexation
 Over a stubborn generation.

But now inspired with patriot love
 I come, th' oppression to remove ;
 To free you from the heavy clog
 Of every tyrant demagogue,
 Who for the most romantic story,
 Claps into limbo loyal Tory,
 All hurly burly, hot and hasty,
 Without a writ to hold him fast by ;
 Nor suffers any living creature,
 [Led by the dictates of his nature,]
 To fight in green for Britain's cause,
 Or aid us to restore her laws ;
 In short, the vilest generation
 Which in vindictive indignation,
 Almighty vengeance ever hurl'd
 From this to the infernal world.
 A Tory cannot move his tongue,
 But whip, in prison he is flung,
 His goods and chattels made a prey,
 By those vile mushrooms of a day,
 He's tortured, too, and scratch'd and bit,
 And plung'd into a dreary pit ;
 Where he must suffer sharper doom,
 Than e'er was hatched by Church of Rome.
 These things are done by rogues, who dare
 Profess to breathe in Freedom's air.
 To petticoats alike and breeches
 Their cruel domination stretches,
 For the sole crime, or sole suspicion
 [What worse is done by th' inquisition ?]
 Of still adhering to the crown,

Their tyrants striving to kick down,
 Who, by perverting law and reason,
 Allegiance construe into treason.
 Religion, too, is often made
 A stalking horse to drive the trade,
 And warring churches dare implore,
 Protection from th' Almighty power ;
 They fast and pray : in Providence
 Profess to place their confidence ;
 And vainly think the Lord of all
 Regards our squabbles on this ball ;
 Which would appear as droll in Britain
 As any whim that one could hit on ;
 Men's consciences are set at naught,
 Nor reason valued at a groat ;
 And they that will not swear and fight,
 Must sell their all, and say good night.

By such important views there pres't to
 I issue this my manifesto.
 I, the great knight of de la Mancha,
 Without 'Squire Carleton, my Sancho,
 Will tear you limb from limb asunder,
 With cannon, blunderbuss and thunder ;
 And spoil your feathering and your tarring
 And cagg you up for pickled herring.
 In front of troops as spruce as beaux,
 And ready to lay on their blows,
 I'll spread destruction far and near ;
 And where I cannot kill, I'll spare,
 Inviting, by these presents, all,
 Both young and old, and great and small,
 And rich and poor, and Whig and Tory,
 In cellar deep, or lofty story ;
 Where'er my troops, at my command
 Shall swarm like locusts o'er the land.
 (And they shall march from the North Pole
 As far, at least, as Pensacole,)
 So break off their communications,
 That I can save their habitations ;
 For finding that Sir William's plunders,
 Prove in the event apparent blunders,
 It is my full determination,
 To check all kinds of depredation ;
 But when I've got you in my pow'r,
 Favor'd is he, I last devour.

From him who loves a quiet life,
 And keeps at home to kiss his wife,
 And drinks success to king Pigmalion,
 And calls all Congresses Rabscaillon,
 With neutral stomach eats his supper,
 Nor deems the contest worth a copper ;

I will not defalcate a groat,
 Nor force his wife to cut his throat ;
 But with his doxy he may stay,
 And live to fight another day ;
 Drink all the cider he has made,
 And have to boot, a green cockade.
 But as I like a good Sir Loin,
 And mutton chop whene'er I dine,
 And my poor troops have long kept Lent,
 Not for religion, but for want,
 Whoe'er secretes cow, bull or ox,
 Or shall presume to hide his flocks ;
 Or with felonious hand eloin
 Pig, duck, or gosling from Burgoyne,
 Or dare to pull the bridges down,
 My boys to puzzle or to drown ;
 Or smuggle hay, or plow, or harrow,
 Cart, horses, wagons or wheelbarrow ;
 Or 'thwart the path, lay straw or switch,
 As folks are wont to stop a witch,
 I'll hang him as the Jews did Haman ;
 And smoke his carcase for a gammon.
 I'll pay in coin for what I eat,
 Or Continental counterfeit.
 But what's more likely still, I shall,
 (So fare my troops,) not pay at all.

With the most Christian spirit fir'd,
 And by true soldiership inspir'd,
 I speak as men do in a passion
 To give my speech the more impression.
 If any should so hardened be,
 As to expect impunity,
 Because procul a fulmine,
 I will let loose the dogs of Hell,
 Ten thousand Indians, who shall yell,
 And foam and tear, and grin and roar,
 And drench their moccasins in gore ;
 To these I'll give full scope and play
 From Ticonderog to Florida ;
 They'll scalp your heads, and kick your skins,
 And rip your —, and flay your skins,
 And of your ears be nimble coppers,
 And make your thumbs tobacco-stoppers.
 If after all these loving warnings,
 My wishes and my bowels' yearnings,
 You shall remain as deaf as adder,
 Or grow with hostile rage the madder,
 I swear by George, and by St. Paul,
 I will exterminate you all.
 Subscrib'd with my mannal sign
 To test these presents, JOHN BURGOYNE.

II. EXTRACT FROM GATES'S AND BURGOYNE'S
 CORRESPONDENCE.

GENERAL Burgoyne had complained of the harsh treatment experienced by the provincial prisoners taken at Bennington, and requested that a surgeon from his army should be permitted to visit the wounded ; and that he might be allowed to furnish them with necessaries and attendants. "Duty and principle," he added, "make me a public enemy to the Americans, who have taken up arms ; but I seek to be a generous one ; nor have I the shadow of resentment against any individual, who does not induce it by acts derogatory to those maxims, upon which all men of honor think alike." In answer to this letter, General Gates, who had just taken command of the American army, said, "that the savages of America should, in their warfare, mangle and scalp the unhappy prisoners who fall into their hands, is neither new nor extraordinary, but that the famous Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, in whom the fine gentleman is united with the soldier and the scholar, should hire the savages of America to scalp Europeans, and the descendants of Europeans ; nay, more, that he should pay a price for each scalp so barbarously taken, is more than will be believed in Europe, until authenticated facts shall, in every gazette, confirm the truth of the horrid tale.

"Miss M'Crea, a young lady, lovely to the sight, of virtuous character, and amiable disposition, engaged to an officer of your army, was, with other women and children, taken out of a house near Fort Edward, carried into the woods, and there scalped and mangled in a most shocking manner. Two parents, with their six children, were all treated with the same inhumanity, while quietly resting in their once happy and peaceful dwelling. The miserable fate of Miss M'Crea was particularly aggravated, by being dressed to receive her promised husband ; but met her murderer employed by you. Upwards of one hundred men, women and children, have perished by the hands of the ruffians, to whom, it is asserted, you have paid the price of blood."

To this part of his letter, General Burgoyne replied, "I have hesitated, sir, upon answering the other paragraphs of your letter. I disdain to justify myself against the rhapsodies of fiction and calumny, which, from the first of this contest,

it has been an unvaried American policy to propagate, but which no longer impose on the world. I am induced to deviate from this general rule, in the present instance, lest my silence should be construed an acknowledgment of the truth of your allegations, and a pretence be thence taken for exercising future barbarities by the American troops.

“By this motive, and upon this only, I condescend to inform you, that I would not be conscious of the acts you presume to impute to me, for the whole continent of America, though the wealth of worlds was in its bowels, and a paradise upon its surface.

“It has happened, that all my transactions with the Indian nations, last year and this, have been clearly heard, distinctly understood, accurately minuted, by very numerous, and in many parts, very unprejudiced persons. So immediately opposite to the truth is your assertion, that I have paid a price for scalps, that one of the first regulations established by me at the great council in May, and repeated and enforced, and invariably adhered to since, was, that the Indians should receive compensation for prisoners, because it would prevent cruelty; and that not only such compensation should be withheld, but a strict account demanded for scalps. These pledges of conquest, for such you well know they will ever esteem them, were solemnly and peremptorily prohibited to be taken from the wounded, and even the dying, and the persons of aged men, women, children, and prisoners, were pronounced sacred, even in an assault.

“In regard to Miss M’Crea, her fall wanted not the tragic display you have labored to give it, to make it as sincerely abhorred and lamented by me, as it can be by the tenderest of her friends. The fact was no premeditated barbarity. On the contrary, two chiefs, who had brought her off for the purpose of security, not of violence to her person, disputed which should be her guard, and in a fit of savage passion in one, from whose hands she was snatched, the unhappy woman became the victim. Upon the first intelligence of this event, I obliged the Indians to deliver the murderer into my hands, and though to have punished him by our laws, or principles of justice, would have been perhaps unprecedented, he certainly should have suffered an ignominious death, had I not been convinced from my circumstances and observation, beyond the possibility of a doubt, that a pardon under the terms which I presented, and they accepted, would be more efficacious than an execution, to prevent similar mischiefs.

“The above instance excepted, your intelligence respecting the cruelty of the Indians is false.

“You seem to threaten me with European publications, which affect me as little as any other threats you could make; but in regard to American publications, whether your charge against me, which I acquit you of believing, was penned *from* a gazette, or *for* a gazette, I desire and demand of you, as a man of honor, that should it appear in print at all, this answer may follow it.”

CHAPTER IV.

1777-1778.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR DURING 1777-8.

Effect of the victory of Saratoga — Meeting of Parliament — Need of confederation and union — Measures adopted — Circular letter of Congress — Winter-quarters at Valley Forge — Intense suffering of the army — Sad details — Causes of the want of supplies for the army — Distresses among the officers — Washington strongly advocates the half-pay system — Washington's trials — Invidious comparisons — Attempt to ruin his reputation — Conway's Cabal — Persons connected with it — Anonymous letters, etc. — Washington's letter to Laurens — Party in Congress — Board of War — Gates's and Mifflin's asseverations — Conway's confession — Magnanimity of Washington's conduct — Course of the French ministry — Diplomatic experiences — Effect of the victory of Saratoga upon the views of the French court — Lord North's conciliatory bills — France determines to act with decision — Treaty with France — Notice of it to the English court — Beaumarchais's connection with American affairs — Conciliatory plans sent to America — Terms offered — Rejoicings at the treaty with France — Address by Congress to the Inhabitants of the United States — Royal Commissioners — Attempts at negotiation — Reply of Congress — Botta's remarks on the course pursued by the Americans — British foraging expeditions — Lafayette at Barren Hill. APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV. — I. Articles of Confederation. II. The Battle of the Kegs.

THE victory of Saratoga made it certain, that the Americans had entered upon the contest with England, with a determination to achieve their independence. Reverses, many and severe, had not discouraged them; there was no appearance, whatever, of a disposition to yield; there was every evidence, that the people were resolved at all hazards, to maintain their rights and liberties. And now, when, by a fortunate concurrence of favoring circumstances, they had obtained a great victory, they were better than
1777. ever prepared to persist in the attitude they had assumed, and also to enter upon alliances with foreign powers, suitable to the dignity and importance of a brave and a free people.

Parliament met as usual in November of this year. The customary addresses in answer to the royal speech

were moved, but they were not carried without opposition. In the House of Lords, the celebrated Earl of Chatham, then sinking under the infirmities of age and disease, proposed an amendment, by introducing a clause recommending to his majesty an immediate cessation of hostilities, and the commencement of a treaty of conciliation, "to restore peace and liberty to America, strength and happiness to England, security and permanent prosperity to both countries." In his speech, he animadverted with much severity on the employment of the savages as auxiliaries in the war, although it is true that their aid had not been disdained under his own administration. This amendment, like every other proposal of concession and conciliation, was lost; and the ministerial measures received large majorities in their favor, so confident

were the administration, that the expedition under Burgoyne, would be crowned with success.

On the 3d of December, the news of the victory of Saratoga reached England. Astonishment and dismay were the consequence; Lord North and the ministry were immediately attacked by the opposition. Profoundly mortified and vexed, the ministry endeavored to shift the blame from themselves to the commanders of the army in America. They asserted that they had done every thing which could be done, to warrant success, and deprecated condemnation without full inquiry. A temporary respite was obtained by the ministry, by the adjournment of Parliament to the 20th of January, 1778.

In a previous chapter we have spoken of the measures taken to effect a more solid and effective union of the various colonies, so as to enable Congress to act with vigor and efficiency. It was plain that something must be done, for Congress had no powers or rights, except in so far as the states chose to recognize them, by carrying out its resolves. As a government, it was certain that Congress could not efficiently discharge the duties expected from its position: inherent defects attached to the revolutionary government, and it was fast breaking down, as well from the want of executive authority over the people of the whole country, as from the futility of any federative union among sovereign states, which leaves the execution of the measures adopted in general council, to the separate members of the confederacy.

Early in October, the approach of the British having compelled Congress to retire to Yorktown, the Articles of Confederation were taken up and discussed from day to day, until the middle of November, 1777

At that date, they were adopted for recommendation to the states,* and the following circular letter was addressed to the several legislatures, urging their adoption. "Congress having agreed upon a plan of confederacy for securing the freedom, sovereignty, and independence of the United States, authentic copies are now transmitted for the consideration of the respective legislatures. The business, equally intricate and important, has in its progress been attended with uncommon embarrassments and delay, which the most anxious solicitude and persevering diligence could not prevent.

"To form a permanent union, accommodated to the opinion and wishes of the delegates of so many states, differing in habits, produce, commerce, and internal police, was found to be a work which nothing but time and reflection, conspiring with a disposition to conciliate, could mature and accomplish. Hardly is it to be expected that any plan, in the variety of provisions essential to our union, should exactly correspond with the maxims and political views of every particular state. Let it be remarked, that, after the most careful inquiry and the fullest information, this is proposed as the best which could be adapted to the circumstances

* See Appendix I., at the end of the present chapter.

of all, and as that alone which affords any tolerable prospect of general ratification. Permit us, then, earnestly to recommend these articles to the immediate and dispassionate attention of the legislatures of the respective states. Let them be candidly reviewed under a sense of the difficulty of combining in one general system the various sentiments and interests of a continent divided into so many sovereign and independent communities, under a conviction of the absolute necessity of uniting all our councils and all our strength, to maintain and defend our common liberties. Let them be examined with a liberality becoming brethren and fellow-citizens, surrounded by the same imminent dangers, contending for the same illustrious prize, and deeply interested in being forever bound and connected together by ties the most intimate and indissoluble.

“And finally, let them be adjusted with the temper and magnanimity of wise and patriotic legislators, who, while they are concerned for the prosperity of their more immediate circle, are capable of rising superior to local attachments, when they may be incompatible with the safety, happiness, and glory of the general confederacy.

“We have reason to regret the time which has elapsed in preparing this plan for consideration. With additional solicitude, we look forward to that which must be necessarily spent before it can be ratified. Every motive loudly calls upon us to hasten its conclusion.

“More than any other consideration, it will confound our foreign enemies, defeat the flagitious practices of the dis-

affected, strengthen and confirm our friends, support our public credit, restore the value of our money, enable us to maintain our fleets and armies, and add weight and respect to our counsels at home, and to our treaties abroad.

“In short, this salutary measure can no longer be deferred. It seems essential to our very existence as a free people; and without it, we may soon be constrained to bid adieu to independence, to liberty, and to safety; blessings which, from the justice of our cause, and the favor of our Almighty Creator, visibly manifested in our protection, we have reason to expect, if, in an humble dependence on his divine providence, we strenuously exert the means which are placed in our power. To conclude, if the legislature of any state shall not be assembled, Congress recommend to the executive authority to convene it without delay; and to each respective legislature, it is recommended to invest its delegates with competent powers ultimately, in the name and behalf of the state, to subscribe articles of confederation and perpetual union of the United States, and to attend Congress for that purpose on or before the 10th day of March, 1788.”

Washington, whose intimate sympathy with the people was never lost for a moment, was very loth to exercise the large powers with which he had been entrusted by Congress, and it was a severe trial to him, to be compelled to use forcible means to obtain supplies for the army. In every step which he took, he manifested a deep sense of his responsibility, while he never failed to display firmness and decision,

mingled with great prudence and discretion.*

In a council of the officers, a great variety of opinions was expressed, as to the most eligible place for winter-quarters for the army. Washington, compelled to decide the question himself, fixed upon Valley Forge, as we have before stated; a deep and rugged valley, about twenty miles from Philadelphia; bounded on one side by the Schuylkill, and on the other by ridges of hills. The soldiers were too miserably deficient in suitable clothing, to be exposed to the inclement winter under tents merely: it was therefore determined that a sufficient number of huts should be erected, to be made of logs, and filled in with mortar, in which

1777. they would find a more effectual shelter.† The whole army began its march towards Valley Forge,

* It was in December, 1777, that Mr. Bushnell, the inventor of the American torpedo and other submarine machinery, set afloat in the Delaware a contrivance which frightened the British not a little. This was a squadron of kegs, charged with powder, to explode on coming in contact with any thing. The ice prevented the success of this contrivance, but as a boat was blown up, and some of the kegs exploded, the British at Philadelphia, not knowing what dreadful affairs might be in the water, fired at everything they saw during the ebb tide. For Mr. Hopkinson's "Battle of the Kegs," we refer the reader to Appendix II., at the end of the present chapter.

† It is not pleasant to put it on record, but the legislature of Pennsylvania, vexed at the loss of Philadelphia, found it in their hearts to complain of Washington going into winter-quarters. This drew from him some pretty plain words on this point: "We find gentlemen, without knowing whether the army was really going into winter-quarters or not, reprobating the measure as much as if they thought that the soldiers were made of stocks or stones, and equally insensible of frost and snow; and moreover, as if they conceived it easily practicable for an inferior army, under the disadvantages I have de-

scribed in the middle of December: some of the soldiers were seen to drop dead with cold; others, without shoes, had their feet cut by the ice, and left their tracks in blood. After the most painful efforts, the troops at length reached their destined quarters. They immediately set about constructing their habitations upon a regular plan. In a short time, the barracks were completed, and the soldiers lodged with some slight degree of comfort.

It is impossible, however, to express in words, the intense suffering which the army was called upon to endure at Valley Forge. Utterly destitute of almost every thing necessary to support life; tattered and half-naked; some few of the soldiers had one shirt; many only the moiety of one; and the greater part, none at all. Numbers of these brave men, for want of shoes, were compelled to go barefoot over the frozen ground. Few, if any, had blankets for the night. Great numbers sickened; others, unfitted for service by the cold and their nakedness, were excused by their officers from all military duty, and either remained in

scribed ours to be, which are by no means exaggerated, to confine a superior one, in all respects well appointed, and provided for a winter's campaign, within the city of Philadelphia, and to cover from depredation and waste, the states of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. . . . I can assure these gentlemen, that it is a much easier and less distressing thing, to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, although they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel superabundantly for them, and from my soul I pity those miseries, which it is neither in my power to relieve nor prevent."





their barracks, or were lodged in the houses of the neighboring farmers; and nearly three thousand men were thus rendered incapable of bearing arms. Sadly in want of even straw, to render their huts fitted, in this slight degree, for the occupancy of human beings, the soldiers, overwhelmed with lassitude, enfeebled by hunger, and benumbed with cold, in their service by day and by night, had no other bed in their huts except the bare and humid ground. This cause, joined to the others that have been related, propagated diseases: the hospitals were as rapidly replenished as death evacuated them; and their administration was no less defective in its organization than that of the camp. The unsuitableness of the buildings in which they had been established, the excessive penury of every kind of furniture, and the multitude of sick that crowded them, speedily produced its natural result. The hospital fever broke out in them, and daily swept off the vigorous and more active, as well as the feeble and worn-down defender of his native land.

It was not possible to remedy this sad state of things, by needful changes of linen, for they were utterly unprovided in this respect; nor by a more salubrious diet, when the coarsest was scarcely attainable; nor even by medicines, which were either absolutely wanting, or of the worst quality, and adulterated through the shameless cupidity of the contractors: for such, in general, as has been justly said, has been the nature of these furnishers of armies, that they should rather be denominated the *artisans of scarcity*;

they have always preferred money to the life of the soldier. Hence it was, that the American hospital resembled more a receptacle for the dying than a refuge for the sick: far from restoring health to the diseased, it more often proved mortal to the well. This pestilential den was the terror of the army. The soldiers preferred perishing with cold in the open air, to being buried alive in the midst of the dead. Whether it was the effect of inevitable necessity, or of the avarice of men, it is but too certain, that an untimely death carried off many a brave soldier, who, with better attentions, might have been preserved for the defence of his country in its distress.

Certainly nothing could be imagined to equal the sufferings which the American army had to undergo in the course of this winter, except the almost superhuman firmness with which they bore them. A small number, it is true, seduced by the royalists, deserted their colors, and slunk off to the British army in Philadelphia; but these were, for the most part, Europeans, who had entered the continental service. The true-born Americans, supported by their patriotism, and by their profound veneration and love for Washington, displayed invincible perseverance; they chose rather to suffer all the extremes of famine, and of frost, than to violate, in this dark hour of peril, the faith they had pledged to their country. Had Howe possessed enterprise enough to attack the patriot army at this time, disastrous must have been the consequences. Without military stores, and without provisions, how could the

Americans have defended their entrenchments? Besides, to enter the field anew, in the midst of so rigorous a season, was become for them an absolute impossibility. On the 1st of February, 1778, four thousand of the troops were incapable of any kind of service, for want of clothing.

1778. The condition of the rest was very little better. In a word, out of the eleven or twelve thousand men that were in camp, it would have been difficult to muster five thousand fit for duty.

The reader cannot fail to have been surprised, that the army should have been deficient in supplies of food, in a country abounding with provisions. A few words of explanation seem to be needed, to account for such a fact. Early in the war, the office of commissary-general had been conferred on Colonel Trumbull, of Connecticut, a gentleman well fitted for that important station. Yet, from the difficulty of arranging so complicated a department, complaints were repeatedly made of the insufficiency of supplies. The subject was taken up by Congress; but the remedy administered, served only to increase the disease. The system was not completed till near midsummer; and then its arrangements were such, that Colonel Trumbull refused the office assigned to him. The new plan contemplated a number of subordinate officers, all to be appointed by Congress, and neither accountable to, or removable by, the head of the department. This arrangement, which was made in direct opposition to the opinion of the commander-in-chief, drove

Colonel Trumbull from the army. Congress, however, persisted in the system; and its effects were not long in unfolding themselves. In every military division of the continent, loud complaints were made of the deficiency of supplies. The armies were greatly embarrassed, and their movements suspended, by the want of provisions. The present total failure of all supply was preceded by issuing meat unfit to be eaten. Representations on this subject had been made to the commander-in-chief, and communicated to Congress. That body had authorized him to seize provisions for the use of his army within seventy miles of head-quarters, and to pay for them in money or in certificates. The odium of this measure was increased by the failure of government to provide funds to take up these certificates when presented. At the same time, the provisions carried into Philadelphia, were paid for in specie at a fair price. The temptation was too great to be resisted. Such was the dexterity employed by the inhabitants in eluding the laws that notwithstanding the vigilance of the troops stationed on the lines, they often succeeded in concealing their provisions from those authorized to impress for the army, and in conveying them to Philadelphia. Washington, urged on by Congress, issued a proclamation, requiring all the farmers within seventy miles of Valley Forge, to thresh out one half of their grain by the 1st of February, and the rest by the 1st of March, under the penalty of having the whole seized as straw. Many farmers refused, defended their grain and cattle with muskets and rifle, and in some in-

stances burnt what they could not defend.

It may well be believed, that Washington was filled with anguish at the calamities of the army. But nothing gave him more pain, than to see his soldiers exposed to the most injurious example; the officers openly declared their design of resigning their commissions; and many of them had already left the army, and returned to their families. This determination was principally owing to the depreciation of paper money: it was become so considerable, and the price of all articles of consumption, as well for this reason as from the difficulties of commerce, was so prodigiously advanced, that the officers, far from being able to live as it became their rank, had not even the means of providing for their subsistence. Some had already exhausted their private resources; others had become deeply involved in debt; and it was evident that, unless some steps were taken to prevent it, the army would ere long be deprived of nearly all its best and most efficient officers.

Washington spared no exertions to remedy this evil; besides holding out every encouragement in his power to his officers, he besought Congress to take some steps to meet the emergency. With great force and clearness,* he urged upon Congress to secure half-pay to the officers after the war, either for life, or for a definite term. Disclaiming absolutely any personal interest in the settlement of this question, he observed, that it was easy to talk of pat-

riotism, and to cite a few examples from ancient history, of great enterprises carried by this alone to a successful conclusion; but that they who relied solely upon individual sacrifices for the support of a long and bloody war, must not expect to enjoy their illusion long; that it was necessary to take the passions of men as they are, and not as it might be wished to find them; that the love of country had indeed operated great things in the commencement of the present revolution; but that to continue and complete it, required also the incentive of interest and the hope of reward.

Congress manifested, at first, very little inclination to adopt the propositions of the commander-in-chief, either because they deemed them too extraordinary, or from reluctance to load the state with so heavy a burden, or, finally, because they thought the grants of lands to the officers and soldiers, of which we have already spoken, ought to satisfy the wishes of men possessed of any moderation. But at length, in the spring of 1778, submitting to what seemed to be a necessity, they decreed an allowance of half-pay for life to the officers of the army, with the reservation, however, to the government, of the power to commute it, if deemed expedient, for the sum of six years' half-pay. A short time after, this resolution was reconsidered, and another passed, which restricted the allowance of half-pay to seven years, dating from the end of the war. These measures, though salutary, were not taken till too late, and, moreover, were not sufficiently spontaneous on the part of the gov-

* See Sparks's "*Life of Washington*," pp. 253-63.
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ernment. Already more than two hundred officers of real merit had given up their commissions; and it was again exemplified on this occasion, that a benefit long delayed, and reluctantly conferred, loses a large part of its value in the eyes of those whom it is intended to serve.

It would seem that Washington had a sufficiently heavy burden upon his shoulders, in the harassing cares and anxieties of his position, and that he might have been spared from trials of another sort, to which he was exposed at this time; but Washington experienced what every great and good man must expect to meet with in an envious and malicious world. Thus far, apparently, little else than ill success had attended the military exploits of the commander-in-chief. He had been compelled to retreat continually before a powerful enemy. New York and Philadelphia had been lost; and there was almost nothing of a brilliant or striking character in what had transpired during the war, under Washington's immediate direction. On the other hand, the victory at Saratoga, had thrown a lustre around Gates's name, which far outshone, for the time, the solid and enduring light of Washington's noble and patriotic devotion to his country. It was the first great victory of the war, and it was a victory which necessarily had a most important effect upon the future prospects of the United States. No wonder, then, that restless and envious men should make invidious comparisons between the hero of Saratoga and the commander-in-chief. No wonder, that Washington should

suffer from detraction, and the intrigues of dissatisfied and scheming men, to whom his unsullied virtue, purity and integrity, were invincible obstacles to every design of theirs to promote selfish or ambitious ends.

A direct and systematic attempt was made to ruin the reputation of Washington, and from the name of the person principally concerned, this attempt is known by the title of *Conway's Cabal*. General Gates, and General Mifflin, of the army, and Samuel Adams, and others in Congress, had more or less to do with this matter. Gates and Mifflin had taken offence at something, and were at no time well disposed towards Washington; Conway, a restless, boastful, and intriguing character, was disappointed in not receiving the appointment of inspector-general. Adams, and some of the New England members, do not seem ever to have cordially liked Washington's appointment as commander-in-chief; and now, when the capture of Burgoyne had been effected by the northern army, without the intervention of Washington, the malcontents ventured to assume a bolder attitude. Anonymous letters were freely circulated, attributing the ill success of the American arms to the incapacity, or vacillating policy of Washington, and filled with insinuations, and exaggerated complaints against the commander-in-chief.

Washington was not unaware of what his enemies were attempting; but it was not till after the victory of Saratoga, that the matter assumed a definite shape. Wilkinson, on his way to carry the news to Congress, divulged

part of a letter from Conway to Gates, which was communicated to Washington by Lord Stirling. A correspondence ensued, which is well worth reading, especially as it sets forth, in a very transparent manner, the dignity and uprightness of the father of his country. The result showed, how deep a hold he possessed upon not only the confidence, but also the love and veneration of his country.

One of these anonymous epistles just spoken of, was sent to Mr. Laurens, president of Congress, and was intended to operate upon that body. Another was dispatched to Patrick Henry, governor of Virginia. Both these gentlemen forwarded the letters directly to Washington. We quote the letter received by Henry, as illustrating the mode in which it was intended to ruin the reputation of the commander-in-chief.

“YORKTOWN, *January 12, 1778.*

“DEAR SIR,—The common danger of our country first brought you and me together. I recollect with pleasure the influence of your conversation and eloquence upon the opinions of this country in the beginning of the present controversy. You first taught us to shake off our idolatrous attachment to royalty, and to oppose its encroachments upon our liberties with our very lives. By these means you saved us from ruin. The independence of America is the offspring of that liberal spirit of thinking, and acting, which followed the destruction of the sceptres of kings and the mighty power of Great Britain.

“But, sir, we have only passed the Red Sea. A dreary wilderness is still

before us, and unless a Moses or a Joshua are raised up in our behalf, we must perish before we reach the promised land. We have nothing to fear from our enemies on the way. General Howe, it is true, has taken Philadelphia; but he has only changed his prison. His dominions are bounded on all sides by his out-sentries. America can only be undone by herself. She looks up to her councils and arms for protection; but alas! what are they? her representation in Congress dwindled to only twenty-one members—her Adams, her Wilson, her Henry, are no more among them. Her councils weak, and partial remedies applied constantly for universal diseases. Her army—what is it? a major-general belonging to it, called it a few days ago in my hearing, a *mob*. Discipline unknown, or *wholly* neglected. The quarter-master and commissary’s departments filled with idleness, ignorance and speculation; our hospitals crowded with six thousand sick, but half provided with necessaries or accommodations, and more dying in them in one month, than perished in the field during the whole of the last campaign.

“The money depreciating without any effectual measures being taken to raise it—the country distracted with the Don Quixote attempts to regulate the prices of provisions, an *artificial* famine created by it, and a *real* one dreaded from it. The spirit of the people failing through a more intimate acquaintance with the causes of our misfortunes; many submitting daily to General Howe, and more wishing to do it, only to avoid the calamities which threaten our coun-

try. But is our case desperate? by no means. We have wisdom, virtue, and strength *enough* to save us, if they could be called into action. The northern army has shown us what Americans are capable of doing with a GENERAL at their head. The spirit of the southern army is no ways inferior to the spirit of the northern. A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway would, in a few weeks, render them an irresistible body of men. The last of the above officers has accepted of the new office of inspector-general of our army, in order to reform abuses; but the remedy is only a palliative one. In one of his letters to a friend, he says, 'a great and good God hath decreed America to be free—or the * * * * and weak counsellors would have ruined her long ago;' you may rest assured of *each* of the facts related in this letter. The author of it is one of your Philadelphia friends. A hint of his name, if found out by the hand-writing, must not be mentioned to your most intimate friend. Even the letter *must* be thrown in the fire. But some of its contents ought to be made public, in order to awaken, enlighten, and alarm our country. I rely upon your prudence, and am, dear sir, with my usual attachment to *you*, and to our beloved independence,

"Yours, sincerely,

"His Excellency P. HENRY."

In reply to the letter of Mr. Laurens, enclosing the anonymous communication received by him, Washington, under date of January 31st, wrote
1778. as follows: "I cannot sufficiently express the obligation I feel to

you, for your friendship and politeness upon an occasion in which I am so deeply interested. I was not unapprized, that a malignant faction had been for some time forming to my prejudice; which, conscious as I am of having ever done all in my power to answer the important purposes of the trust reposed in me, could not but give me some pain on a personal account. But my chief concern arises from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences which intestine dissensions may produce to the common cause.

"As I have no other view than to promote the public good, and am unambitious of honors not founded in the approbation of my country, I would not desire in the least degree to suppress a free spirit of inquiry into any part of my conduct, that even faction itself may deem reprehensible. The anonymous paper handed to you, exhibits many serious charges, and it is my wish that it should be submitted to Congress. This I am the more inclined to, as the suppression or concealment may possibly involve you in embarrassments hereafter, since it is uncertain how many, or who, may be privy to the contents.

"My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defence I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets which it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an

elevated station? Merit and talents, with which I can have no pretensions of rivalship, have ever been subject to it. My heart tells me, that it has been my unremitted aim to do the best that circumstances would permit; yet I may have been very often mistaken in the judgment of the means, and may in many instances deserve the imputation of error."

It is evident, from the proceedings of Congress for some time preceding, that there was a considerable party in that body, which lent themselves to this disgraceful attempt against Washington's good name. The appointment of a new Board of War, of which Gates and Mifflin were members, together with a projected expedition to Canada, without at all consulting Washington, were clear indications of the purposes of the Cabal, to endeavor to force the commander-in-chief to resign his post in disgust.* But Washington was not to be moved from his steadfastness.

* Washington, in reply to certain insinuations which had reached him, wrote thus to a friend in New England: "I can assure you, that no person ever heard me drop an expression that had a tendency to resignation. The same principles that led me to embark in the opposition to the arbitrary claims of Great Britain, operate with additional force at this day; nor is it my desire to withdraw my services, while they are considered of importance in the present contest: but to report a design of this kind, is among the arts which those who are endeavoring to effect a change, are practicing to bring it to pass. I have said, and I still do say, that there is not an officer in the United States, that would return to the sweets of domestic life with more heart-felt joy than I should. But I would have this declaration accompanied by these sentiments, that while the public are satisfied with my endeavors, I mean not to shrink from the cause; but the moment her voice, not that of faction, calls upon me to resign, I shall do it with as much pleasure as ever the weary traveller retired to rest."

Lafayette, also, whose love and veneration for the man who called him his friend, knew no bounds, although attempted to be flattered and cajoled into favoring the Cabal, openly and positively refused to have any connection with it. "I am bound to your fate," he wrote to Washington, "and I shall follow it, and sustain it, as well by my sword, as by all the means in my power." And the army, as a whole, were roused to deep indignation at the audacious designs of certain restless and intriguing men against the beloved commander-in-chief.

Gates and Mifflin, in letters quoted by Gordon, strongly asseverated that they were in nowise partakers in any plan for removing Washington from his post. Conway, too, made some efforts of a similar kind; but it may be regarded as certain, that the two former knew very well what was going on, and were prepared to profit by the result;* and as to the latter, his am-

* Shortly after the surrender of Burgoyne, Gates took occasion to hold with Morgan a private conversation. In the course of this he told him, confidentially, that the main army was exceedingly dissatisfied with the conduct of General Washington, that the reputation of that officer was rapidly declining, and that several officers, of great worth, threatened to resign, unless a change was produced in that department. Colonel Morgan, fathoming in an instant the views of his commanding officer, sternly, and with honest indignation, replied, "Sir, I have one favor to ask. Never again mention to me this hateful subject; under no other man but General Washington, as commander-in-chief, will I ever serve." From that time Gates treated Morgan with marked coldness and neglect; and in the official account of the surrender of Burgoyne, did not even mention Morgan's name, although that distinguished officer's services were well and widely known to the army and the country. See Graham's "*Life of General Morgan*," pp. 172, 173.

bitious aims and unscrupulous conduct, soon produced an unlooked for termination of his career. Excessively unpopular in the army, he threw up his office of inspector-general, and in the

latter part of February, he was

1778. wounded in a duel with General Cadwalader. Supposing his wound to be mortal—though he afterwards recovered—under the influence of sudden remorse, he wrote to Washington in the following terms: “I find myself just able to hold the pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief for having done, written, or said any thing disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over; therefore, justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.”

It is superfluous, perhaps, to call the reader's attention to the fact, but no one, we are sure, can examine this portion of our country's history, without a feeling of profound respect and admiration for the magnanimity, the moderation, the self-command, and the nobility of soul which marked the whole course of Washington during this painful and vexatious trial. May his example never be without effect upon those who glory in the name of countrymen of Washington!*

* Mr. Irving gives the following anecdote, furnished to him by Judge Jay. “Shortly before the death of John Adams, I was sitting alone with my

As has been already intimated, in speaking of the foreign relations of the United States, France was only waiting for some positive surety, that the Americans would sustain the contest against the mother country, before she was willing openly to enter the field as the ally of the new republic. 1777.

Although the Americans had not faltered, or manifested any disposition to yield to England, yet the issue was still somewhat uncertain. It was not impossible, that the colonies might be induced to come to terms with the mother country, even if they were not reduced by force of arms. The French ministry were apprehensive, that so soon as France should join the Americans, England might see fit to concede every thing asked for by the colonies, and thus England and America being at peace, France might have the war on her hands alone, and without any purpose to be gained worthy of the struggle. Hence her policy was so shaped, that she held out encouragement, just in proportion to the news of success, or failure, in the contest with England.

father, conversing about the American Revolution. Suddenly he remarked, ‘Ah, William! the history of that Revolution will never be known. Nobody now alive knows it, but John Adams and myself.’ Surprised at such a declaration, I asked him to what he referred. He briefly replied: ‘The proceedings of the old Congress.’ Again I inquired, ‘What proceedings?’ He answered, ‘Those against Washington; from first to last, there was a most bitter party against him.’” As the old Congress held its sessions with closed doors, nothing but what that body saw fit to disclose, was made public. We have no doubt that, had it not been for this, the members of the Cabal would never have dared to venture upon any open attempt to injure Washington with the army and the people.

Pursuing invariably the route marked out by *reason of state*, which admirably suited her convenience, France, on the one hand, amused the British ministers with protestations of friendship, and on the other, encouraged the Americans with secret succors, by the uncertainty and scantiness of them, inflaming their ardor, and confirming their resolution by continual promises of future co-operation. Unshackled in her movements, she thus pledged herself to no party, but tranquilly waited to see what course things would take.

The agents of Congress did not fail, however, to urge and besiege the cabinet of Versailles to come at length to a final decision. But the French ministers, as usual, alleged a variety of excuses in support of their system of procrastination; at one time, that the fleet expected from Newfoundland, crowded with excellent seamen, was not yet arrived; at another, that the galleons of Spain were still at sea; and at another, some new excuse was invented. Thus alternately advancing and receding, never allowing their intentions to be fathomed, they kept the Americans in continual uncertainty. Finally, the commissioners, out of all patience, and determined, if practicable, without waiting longer, to extricate themselves from the perplexing and annoying position in which they were placed, drew up,

1777. about the middle of August, a strongly worded memorial, suggesting very plainly the possibility, that America might, after all, either give up in despair, or yield to the concessions of England, and thus France be deprived of all the ardently wished

for advantages she would gain by England's losing her rich and valuable colonies in America.

This memorial, however, did not produce the desired result, and England was again approached with a proposition to recognize the independence of the United States, and secure, after that, every advantage she might desire to possess. It was forcibly represented, that if the British ministry knew how to profit by the occasion, it depended on themselves to stipulate an arrangement so conducive to the prosperity of Great Britain, that she would seek in vain to procure herself similar advantages by any other means. But the British government, elated with the first successes of Burgoyne, and persuaded that victory would certainly attend his arms, refused to listen to any overtures for accommodation, and rejected the proposition with disdain. The blindness of the British ministers was incurable, and they persisted in refusing to receive America as an ally, while it was possible, choosing rather to treat her as an enemy, to be reduced to absolute, unconditional submission.

The victory of Saratoga gave a new aspect to American affairs in Europe, and equal sagacity and ability were manifested in the attention devoted to the foreign interests of the United States. The same express that carried to England the news of the surrender of Burgoyne, was the bearer of dispatches, the drift of which was to insinuate, that the Americans, disgusted by the excessive delays of the French, and indignant at not having received, in the midst of their reverses, avowed and more effica-

cious succors, were eagerly desirous of an accommodation with England, and to conclude with her a treaty of commerce, provided she acknowledged their independence. In order to give more weight to this suggestion, it was added, that the colonists would feel particular gratification in a reconciliation with the mother country; whereas, in the contrary case, they would be compelled to throw themselves into the arms of the inveterate and implacable enemy of England.

In the then position of affairs, the British ministry, anxious, if possible, to terminate the quarrel with America, before the breaking out of hostilities with France, introduced two bills into the House of Commons: the first declared, that Parliament would impose no tax or duty whatever, payable within any of the colonies of North America,

1777. except only such duties as it might be expedient to impose for the purposes of commerce, the net produce of which should always be paid and applied to, and for, the use of the colonies in which the same shall be respectively levied, in like manner as other duties collected under the authority of their respective legislatures, are ordinarily paid and applied; the second, authorized the appointment of commissioners by the crown, with power to treat with either the constituted authorities, or with individuals in America; but that no stipulation entered into should have any effect till approved in Parliament. It empowered the commissioners, however, to proclaim a cessation of hostilities in any of the colonies; to suspend the operation of the

non-intercourse act; also to suspend, during the continuance of the act, so much of all, or any of the acts of Parliament which have passed since the 10th day of February, 1763, as relates to the colonies; to grant pardons to any number or description of persons; and to appoint a governor in any colony in which his majesty had heretofore exercised the power of making such appointment. The duration of the act was limited to the 1st day of June, 1779.

As soon as Lord North had brought in his *Conciliatory Bills*, the French clearly perceived that the time had now come for them to act with decision.* Accordingly, M. Gerard, in behalf of France, informed the American commissioners, on the 16th of December, "that after a long and mature deliberation upon their propositions, his majesty had determined to recognize the independence of, and to enter into a treaty of commerce and alliance with, the United States of America; and that he would not only acknowledge their independence, but actually support it with all the means

* It may be well here to state, that as, previous to the recognition of independence by the court of France, it was necessary that the intercourse with the American agents should be conducted indirectly and with the utmost secrecy, the French government rendered their secret assistance through the agency of M. Beaumarchais, who, so far as appears, was more desirous of serving himself than the Americans. The mode in which he converted the gratuitous aid of the French court into articles of charge, in his accounts with Congress, and especially his retaining in his hands a million of livres out of the subsidy granted by the French king, are matters worthy of the reader's investigation. He will find a full account, with the documents, in Pitkin's "*Political and Civil History of the United States*," vol. i., pp. 402-22.

in his power; that perhaps he was about to engage himself in an expensive war upon this account, but that he did not expect to be reimbursed by them; in fine, the Americans were not to think that he had entered into this resolution solely with a view of serving them, since, independently of his real attachment to them and their cause, it was evidently the interest of France to diminish the power of England, by severing her colonies from her." On the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of commerce was signed by Franklin, Deane, and Lee, on the part of the

United States, and by M. Gerard, on the part of France, together with a treaty of defensive alliance, in case war should be the consequence of this commercial connection. The essential and direct end of this alliance was, "to maintain the liberty, sovereignty, and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce."

Official notice of this treaty was communicated in March, by the French ambassador, to the court of London, couched in the most approved diplomatic terms, but by no means free from sarcastic pungency. We give the concluding portion of this document as an illustration of the way in which men can say one thing, while they mean quite another.

"In making this communication to the Court of London, the king is firmly persuaded, that it will find in it fresh proofs of his majesty's constant and sincere dispositions for peace; and that his Britannic majesty, animated by the

same sentiments, will equally avoid every thing that may interrupt good harmony: and that he will take, in particular, effectual measures to hinder the commerce of his majesty's subjects with the United States of America from being disturbed, and cause to be observed, in this respect, the usages received between trading nations and the rules that may be considered as subsisting between the crowns of France and Great Britain.

"In this just confidence, the underwritten ambassador might think it superfluous to apprise the British ministry, that the king, his master, being determined effectually to protect the lawful freedom of the commerce of his subjects, and to sustain the honor of his flag, his majesty has taken in consequence eventual measures, in concert with the United States of North America."

Truly, such a communication as this, was well calculated to rouse the spirit of England, and to provoke its king and people to seek redress in war. "If—as Botta acutely says—it was one of those shrewd turns which are not unusual among princes in their reciprocal intercourse, it was also one of those which they are not accustomed to forgive."

Copies of Lord North's plans for conciliation were dispatched in advance, and reached America about the middle of April. Governor Tryon had them printed, and had the assurance to send copies to Washington, with the request that he would aid in circulating them, "that the people at large might be acquaint-

ed with the favorable disposition of Great Britain towards the American colonies." Washington immediately forwarded the papers to Congress.

The terms now offered by the British ministry would, at the beginning of the struggle, have been received with great satisfaction. But the position of affairs was very different, in 1778, from what it was three or four years before. Independence had been resolved upon, and independence the Americans were determined to have, at any sacrifice. Washington urged with great force, that nothing less than independence, would possibly answer; no terms short of this, would be of any avail; "a peace on other terms, would be a peace of war." Congress held the same views, and, on the 22d of April, unanimously resolved, that the offers of the British ministry could not be accepted. At the same time, they ordered the bills to be published in connection with their proceedings, and circulated throughout the country. It deserves to be noted here, that this action of Congress was taken ten days before it was known that the French had entered into a treaty with the United States.

The news of this auspicious event reached Congress, on the 2d of May. The treaties were immediately ratified, and great rejoicing spread throughout the whole country.* On the 6th inst., in pursuance of the orders issued by

the commander-in-chief, the whole army in camp at Valley Forge, participated in the general joy and satisfaction, and appropriate religious exercises were observed with great unanimity. The whole ceremony was conducted with excellent order, and was closed with an entertainment, music, patriotic toasts, etc. A few days later, Congress prepared an "Address to the Inhabitants of the United States." It is a document of considerable interest, written in an animated but rather turgid style, and was calculated to have a powerful effect. Congress also recommended, that it be read in all the churches, by the ministers of various denominations. The reader will, we are sure, be interested in a paragraph or two from this Address. "The haughty prince who spurned us from his feet with contumely and disdain, and the Parliament which proscribed us, now descend to offer terms of accommodation. Whilst in the full career of victory, they pulled off the mask, and avowed their intended despotism. But having lavished in vain the blood and treasure of their subjects in pursuit of this execrable purpose, they now endeavor to ensnare us with the insidious offers of reconciliation. They intend to lull you with fallacious hopes of peace, until they can assemble new armies to prosecute their nefarious designs. If this is not the case, why do they strain every nerve to levy men

* "In national events, the public attention is generally fixed on the movements of armies and fleets. Mankind never fail to do homage to the able general and expert admiral. To this they are justly entitled; but as great a tribute is due to the statesman, who, from a more elevated station, determines on measures in which the

general safety and welfare of empires are involved. This glory in a particular manner, belongs to the Count de Vergennes, who, as his Most Christian Majesty's minister for foreign affairs, conducted the conferences which terminated in these treaties." —Ramsay's "*History of the American Revolution*," p. 379.

throughout their islands? why do they meanly court every little tyrant of Europe to sell them his unhappy slaves? why do they continue to imbitter the minds of the savages against you? Surely this is not the way to conciliate the affections of America. Be not, therefore, deceived. You have still to expect one severe conflict. Your foreign alliances, though they secure your independence, cannot secure your country from desolation, your habitations from plunder, your wives from insult or violation, nor your children from butchery. Foiled in their principal design, you must expect to feel the rage of disappointed ambition. Arise then! to your tents! and gird you for battle! It is time to turn the headlong current of vengeance upon the head of the destroyer. They have filled up the measure of their abominations, and like ripe fruit, must soon drop from the tree. Although much is done, yet much remains to do. Expect not peace, whilst any corner of America is in possession of your foes. You must drive them away from this land of promise, a land flowing indeed with milk and honey. Your brethren at the extremities of the continent, already implore your friendship and protection. It is your duty to grant their request. They hunger and thirst after liberty. Be it yours, to dispense to them the heavenly gift. And what is there now to prevent it?"

Early in June, the Earl of Carlisle and Messrs. Eden and Johnstone, arrived in Philadelphia, as the royal commissioners, sent out in pursuance of the plans for conciliation adopted by Lord

North. Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe as commander-in-chief, requested a passport for Dr. Ferguson, the secretary of the commissioners, to proceed to Yorktown, and lay certain papers before Congress. Washington, not deeming the matter within his province, declined, until he could have the instruction of Congress, who sustained him in refusing the passport. The commissioners, impatient of delay, sent on the papers through the ordinary medium of a flag, addressed to the president of Congress.*

The commissioners offered, in their letter, to consent to an immediate cessation of hostilities by sea and land; to agree that no military force should be kept up in the colonies without the consent of Congress; and also, both to give up the right of taxation, and to provide for a representation in Parliament. They promised to sustain, and finally pay off, the paper money then in circulation. Every inducement, short of the recognition of independence, was held out, to lead the colonists to return to their allegiance. But if, when relying upon their own strength alone, they had refused to listen to such overtures, they were not likely to do so now that they were assured of the support of France. By order of Congress, the president of that body wrote as fol-

* Acting under a strong impulse, Lafayette was induced to send a challenge to the Earl of Carlisle, who, as he thought, had impeached the honor of France, in the communications which were made by the commissioners to Congress. The Earl, we are glad to say, declined a resort to this barbarous mode of settling the points in dispute between England and France.

lows to the commissioners: "I have received the letter from your Excellencies, dated the 9th instant, with the enclosures, and laid them before Congress. Nothing but an earnest desire to spare the further effusion of human blood could have induced them to read a paper containing expressions so disrespectful to his Most Christian Majesty, the good and great ally of these States, or to consider propositions so derogatory to the honor of an independent nation. The acts of the British Parliament, the commission from your sovereign, and your letter, suppose the people of these States to be subjects of the crown of Great Britain, and are founded on the idea of dependence, which is utterly inadmissible. I am further directed to inform your Excellencies, that Congress are inclined to peace, notwithstanding the unjust claims from which this war originated, and the savage manner in which it hath been conducted. They will therefore be ready to enter upon the consideration of a treaty of peace and commerce, not inconsistent with treaties already subsisting, when the king of Great Britain shall demonstrate a sincere disposition for that purpose. The only solid proof of this disposition will be an explicit acknowledgment of these States, or the withdrawing his fleets and armies."

The British commissioners remained several months in the country,* and

* The commissioners published their final manifesto and proclamation to the Americans, on the 3d of October, and on the 10th, Congress issued a cautionary declaration in reply. No overtures were made to the commissioners from any quarter; and not long after they embarked for England. Thacher.

made many and various attempts to accomplish the objects of their mission; but without success. 1778.

They were compelled to return to England baffled and disappointed. Thus the Americans,—as an eloquent historian suggests—steady in their resolutions, chose rather to trust to their own fortune, which they had already proved, and to the hope they placed in that of France, than to link themselves anew to the tottering destiny of England; abandoning all idea of peace, war became the sole object of their solicitude. Such was the issue of the attempts to effect an accommodation; and thus were extinguished the hopes which the negotiation had given birth to in England. By not consenting to concessions until the time for them was passed, the English themselves furnished a justification of the refusal of the Americans. It cannot be positively affirmed that these overtures, on the part of England, were only an artifice, to divide the Americans among themselves, to detach them from France, and to have them afterwards at their discretion; but it is certain, that after so many rancorous animosities, so many sanguinary battles,

in his "Military Journal," states, that "Governor Johnstone, one of the commissioners, with inexcusable effrontery, offered a bribe to Mr. Reed, a member of Congress. In an interview with Mrs. Ferguson, at Philadelphia, whose husband was a royalist, he desired she would mention to Mr. Reed, that if he would engage his interest to promote the object of their commission, he might have any *office in the colonies, in the gift of his Britannic majesty, and ten thousand pounds in hand.* Having solicited an interview with Mr. Reed, Mrs. Ferguson made her communication. Spurning the idea of being purchased, he replied, "that he was not worth purchasing, but such as he was, the king of Great Britain was not rich enough to do it."

after the innumerable excesses of rapine, cruelty and lust, the Americans could not be blamed for believing that the British ministers designed to ensnare them. The wound was incurable, and friendship could not be restored. This was universally admitted to be true; and whoever will reflect attentively upon the long series of events which we have related up to this time, will perceive that the Americans were always constant in their resolution, the English always versatile, uncertain, and wavering. Hence it is not at all surprising, that those found new friends, and that these not only lost theirs, but also made enemies of them at the very moment when they could do them the least harm, and might receive the most from them. Vigorous resolutions prevent danger; half measures invite and aggravate it.

Washington's position and activity during the winter and spring, had seriously straitened the British army in Philadelphia for forage and fresh provisions. A portion, at least, of the people of Pennsylvania were not ill affected to the royal cause, nor without a desire to supply the troops, while many more were willing to carry victuals to Philadelphia, where they found a ready market, and payment in gold or silver; whereas the army at Valley Forge could pay only in paper money of uncertain value. But it was not easy to reach Philadelphia, nor safe to attempt it; for the American parties often intercepted them, took the provisions without payment, and not unfrequently added corporal chastisement. The first operations on the part of the

British, therefore, in the campaign of 1778, were undertaken in order to procure supplies for the army. About the middle of March, a strong detachment, under Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, made a foraging excursion, for six or seven days, into 1778. New Jersey. Acting out the spirit of a threat, made by the royal commissioners to increase the horrors of war, they bayoneted in cold blood some fifty or sixty of the militia, and returned to Philadelphia with little loss. Early on the morning of the 4th of May, the British came suddenly upon some militia at Crooked Billet, about seventeen miles from Philadelphia; but the Americans effected their escape with the loss of their baggage. On the 7th of May, the British undertook an expedition against the galleys and other shipping which had escaped up the Delaware, after the reduction of Mud Island, and destroyed some thirty or forty vessels and some stores and provisions. The undisputed superiority of the British naval force, and the consequent command of the Delaware, gave them great facilities in directing a suitable armament against any particular point; and the movements of the militia, on whom Congress chiefly depended for repelling sudden predatory incursions, and for guarding the roads to Philadelphia, were often tardy and inefficient. The roads were ill guarded; and the British commonly accomplished their foraging, and returned to camp, before an adequate force could be assembled to oppose them.

We close the present chapter with a brilliant exploit of the gallant La-

fayette. Washington, quite certain that the British were preparing to evacuate Philadelphia, ordered Lafayette to cross the Schuylkill, and take post at Barren Hill, about twelve miles in front of the army at Valley Forge. He planned his piquets and videttes, and sent out patrols on all the roads by which it was probable the enemy would approach him. About two miles on his left was Whitemarsh, where a number of roads form a junction. The marquis intrusted the guard of these roads to some militia, whom he ordered there, but who never went. A quaker, inferring from the marquis's directing him to provide lodgings for the night, that he intended remaining there, sent information of it to the enemy, who by their spies having obtained intelligence of the marquis's situation, formed an instantaneous design of surprising him. For that purpose, on the night of May the 19th, General Grant marched out of Philadelphia with full seven thousand men, and a number of cannon. By taking the Frankfort road, and crossing the country through the old York road and Whitemarsh, the next morning he entered the road on which the marquis was, about two miles in his rear, at Plymouth meeting-house. From this place to Matson's Ford on the Schuylkill is about one mile and a quarter, the only ford by which the marquis could effect a retreat, and about two miles from Barren Hill church. Other troops were advancing

to take the marquis in front, and to cooperate with General Grant who instead of hastening to and securing the ford, marched down toward the marquis on the main road, by which mean the latter gained intelligence of the other's being in his rear. The marquis, happily, by an instant decision, retreated by the road leading from Barren Hill church to Matson's Ford, and had nearly effected his retreat over the Schuylkill before the enemy were sensible of their error. They then doubled their pace to come up with his rear; but his retreat was so handsome and timely, that the troops were all crossed and formed before they could come near the ford in force. His whole loss was no more than nine men. The American army had early information of the marquis's danger, and were in great anxiety about him. They began firing some of their heaviest artillery, hoping as the wind being fair, the sound would be conveyed to the enemy in such a manner as to excite mistaken apprehensions; which they think was the case, as the enemy, after the marquis had crossed, made a precipitate march back to Philadelphia, seemingly under an apprehension that they should be pursued and attacked by the whole army. Had General Grant marched down at once to Matson's Ford, and secured it, the marquis, with his select corps, must have surrendered or been cut to pieces; and their loss would have almost fatally endangered the entire army.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER IV.

I. ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION.

To all to whom these presents shall come, we, the undersigned, delegates of the states affixed to our names, send greeting.

WHEREAS, the delegates of the United States of America in Congress assembled, did, on the fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, and in the second year of the independence of America, agree to certain Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, in the words following, viz. :—

Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union between the States of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

ARTICLE 1. The style of this confederacy shall be, "The United States of America."

ARTICLE 2. Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence, and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 3. The said states hereby severally enter into a firm league of friendship with each other, for their common defence, the security of their liberties, and their mutual and general welfare; binding themselves to assist each other against all force offered to, or attacks made upon them, or any of them, on account of religion, sovereignty, trade, or any other pretence whatever.

ARTICLE 4. The better to secure and perpetuate mutual friendship, and intercourse among the people of the different states in this Union, the free inhabitants of each of these states, paupers, vagabonds, and fugitives from justice, excepted, shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of free citizens in the several states; and the people of each state shall have free ingress and regress to and from any other state, and shall enjoy therein all the privileges of trade and commerce, subject to the same duties, impositions, and restrictions, as the inhabitants thereof respectively, provided that such restrictions shall not extend so far as to prevent the removal of property imported into any state to any other state, of which the owner is an inhabitant; provided also, that no imposition, duties, or restriction, shall be laid by any state on the property of the United States or either of them.

If any person guilty of or charged with treason, felony, or other high misdemeanor, in any state, shall flee from justice, and be found in any of the United States, he shall, upon demand of the governor or executive power of the state from which he fled, be delivered up and removed to the state having jurisdiction of his offence.

Full faith and credit shall be given in each of these states to the records, acts, and judicial proceedings of the courts and magistrates of every other state.

ARTICLE 5. For the more convenient management of the general interests of the United States, delegates shall be annually appointed in such manner as the legislature of each state shall direct to meet in Congress on the first Monday in November, in every year, with a power reserved to each state to recall its delegates or any of them, at any time within the year, and to send others in their stead for the remainder of the year.

No state shall be represented in Congress by

less than two, nor by more than seven members ; and no person shall be capable of being a delegate for more than three years in any term of six years ; nor shall any person, being a delegate, be capable of holding any office under the United States, for which he, or another for his benefit, receives any salary, fees, or emoluments of any kind.

Each state shall maintain its own delegates in a meeting of the states, and while they act as members of the committee of the states.

In determining questions in the United States in Congress assembled, each state shall have one vote.

Freedom of speech and debate in Congress shall not be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Congress ; and the members of Congress shall be protected in their persons from arrests and imprisonments, during the time of their going to and from and attendance on Congress, except for treason, felony, or breach of the peace.

ARTICLE 6. No state, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, shall send any embassy to, or receive any embassy from, or enter into any conference, agreement, alliance, or treaty, with any king, prince, or state ; nor shall any person holding any office of profit or trust under the United States, or any of them, accept of any present, emolument, office or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state ; nor shall the United States in Congress assembled, or any of them, grant any title of nobility.

No two or more states shall enter into any treaty, confederation, or alliance whatever, between them, without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, specifying accurately the purposes for which the same is to be entered into and how long it shall continue.

No state shall lay any imposts or duties, which may interfere with any stipulations in treaties entered into by the United States in Congress assembled, with any king, prince, or state, in pursuance of any treaties already proposed by Congress to the courts of France and Spain.

No vessel of war shall be kept up in time of peace by any state, except such number only as shall be deemed necessary by the United States in Congress assembled for the defence of such state or its trade ; nor shall any body of forces be kept up by any state in time of peace, except such number only as, in the judgment of the United States

in Congress assembled, shall be deemed requisite to garrison the forts necessary for the defence of such state ; but every state shall always keep up a well regulated and disciplined militia, sufficiently armed and accoutred, and shall provide and have constantly ready for use, in public stores, a due number of field-pieces and tents, and a proper quantity of arms, ammunition, and camp equipage.

No state shall engage in any war without the consent of the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be actually invaded by enemies or shall have received certain advice of a resolution being formed by some nation of Indians to invade such state, and the danger is so imminent as not to admit of a delay till the United States in Congress assembled can be consulted ; nor shall any state grant commissions to any ships or vessels of war, nor letters of marque or reprisal, except it be after a declaration of war by the United States in Congress assembled, and then only against the kingdom or state, and the subjects thereof, against which war has been so declared, and under such regulations as shall be established by the United States in Congress assembled, unless such state be infested by pirates, in which case vessels of war may be fitted out for that occasion, and kept so long as the danger shall continue, or until the United States in Congress assembled shall determine otherwise.

ARTICLE 7. When land forces are raised by any state for the common defence, all officers of or under the rank of colonel, shall be appointed by the legislature of each state respectively, by whom such forces shall be raised, or in such manner as such state shall direct, and all vacancies shall be filled up by the state which first made the appointment.

ARTICLE 8. All charges of war, and all other expenses that shall be incurred for the common defence or general welfare, and allowed by the United States in Congress assembled, shall be defrayed out of a common treasury, which shall be supplied by the several states in proportion to the value of all land within each state granted to or surveyed for any person, as such land and the buildings and improvements thereon shall be estimated according to such mode as the United States in Congress assembled shall from time to time direct and appoint.

The taxes for paying that proportion shall be laid and levied by the authority and direction of

the legislatures of the several states, within the time agreed upon by the United States in Congress assembled.

ARTICLE 9. The United States in Congress assembled shall have the sole and exclusive right and power of determining on peace and war, except in the cases mentioned in the sixth article ; of sending and receiving ambassadors ; entering into treaties and alliances—provided, that no treaty of commerce shall be made whereby the legislative power of the respective states shall be restrained from imposing such imposts and duties on foreigners as their own people are subjected to, or from prohibiting the exportation or importation of any species of goods or commodities whatsoever ; of establishing rules for deciding in all cases, what captures on land or water shall be legal, and in what manner prizes taken by land or naval forces in the service of the United States shall be divided or appropriated ; of granting letters of marque and reprisal in times of peace, appointing courts for the trial of piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and establishing courts for receiving and determining finally appeals in all cases of captures—provided, that no member of Congress shall be appointed a judge of any of the said courts.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also be the last resort on appeal in all disputes and differences now subsisting or that hereafter may arise between two or more states concerning boundary, jurisdiction, or any other cause whatever ; which authority shall always be exercised in the manner following : whenever the legislative or executive authority or lawful agent of any state in controversy with another shall present a petition to Congress, stating the matter in question, and praying for a hearing, notice thereof shall be given by order of Congress to the legislative or executive authority of the other state in controversy, and a day assigned for the appearance of the parties, by their lawful agents, who shall then be directed to appoint by joint consent commissioners or judges, to constitute a court for hearing and determining the matter in question ; but if they cannot agree, Congress shall name three persons out of each of the United States, and from the list of such persons each party shall alternately strike out one, the petitioners beginning until the number shall be reduced to thirteen ; and from that number not less than seven

nor more than nine names, as Congress shall direct, shall, in the presence of Congress, be drawn out by lot ; and the persons whose names shall be so drawn, or any five of them, shall be commissioners or judges, to hear and finally determine the controversy, so always as a major part of the judges, who shall hear the cause, shall agree in the determination : and if either party shall neglect to attend at the day appointed, without showing reasons which Congress shall judge sufficient, or being present shall refuse to strike, the Congress shall proceed to nominate three persons out of each state, and the secretary of Congress shall strike in behalf of such party absent or refusing ; and the judgment and sentence of the court to be appointed in the manner before prescribed, shall be final and conclusive, and if any of the parties shall refuse to submit to the authority of such court, or to appear, or defend their claim or cause, the court shall nevertheless proceed to pronounce sentence or judgment, which shall in like manner be final and decisive, the judgment or sentence and other proceedings, being in either case transmitted to Congress, and lodged among the acts of Congress for the security of the parties concerned : provided, that every commissioner, before he sits in judgment, shall take an oath, to be administered by one of the judges of the supreme or superior court of the state, where the cause shall be tried, “ well and truly to hear and determine the matter in question, according to the best of his judgment, without favor, affection, or hope of reward :” provided also, that no state shall be deprived of territory for the benefit of the United States.

All controversies concerning the private right of soil, claimed under different grants of two or more states, whose jurisdictions, as they may respect such lands and the states which passed such grants are adjusted, the said grants or either of them being at the same time claimed to have originated antecedent to such settlement of jurisdiction, shall, on the petition of either party to the Congress of the United States, be finally determined, as near as may be, in the same manner as is before prescribed for deciding disputes respecting territorial jurisdiction between different states.

The United States in Congress assembled shall also have the sole and exclusive right and power of regulating the alloy and value of coin struck by their own authority, or by that of the respective states—fixing the standard of weights and

measures throughout the United States—regulating the trade and managing all affairs with the Indians not members of any of the states; provided that the legislative right of any state within its own limits be not infringed or violated—establishing and regulating post-offices from one state to another throughout all the United States, and exacting such postage on the papers passing through the same, as may be requisite to defray the expenses of the said office—appointing all officers of the land forces in the service of the United States excepting regimental officers—appointing all the officers of the naval forces, and commissioning all officers whatever in the service of the United States—making rules for the government and regulation of the said land and naval forces, and directing their operations.

The United States in Congress assembled shall have authority to appoint a committee to sit in the recess of Congress, to be denominated “a committee of the states,” and to consist of one delegate from each state; and to appoint such other committees and civil officers as may be necessary for managing the general affairs of the United States, under their direction—to appoint one of their number to preside, provided that no person be allowed to serve in the office of president more than one year in any term of three years—to ascertain the necessary sums of money to be raised for the service of the United States, and to appropriate and apply the same for defraying the public expenses—to borrow money or emit bills on the credit of the United States, transmitting every half-year to the respective states an account of the sums of money so borrowed or emitted—to build and equip a navy—to agree upon the number of land forces, and to make requisitions from each state for its quota, in proportion to the number of white inhabitants in such state; which requisition shall be binding, and thereupon the legislature of each state shall appoint the regimental officers, raise the men, and clothe, arm, and equip them, in a soldier-like manner, at the expense of the United States; and the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled: but if the United States in Congress assembled, shall, on consideration of circumstances, judge proper that any state should not raise men or should raise a smaller

number than its quota, and that any other state should raise a greater number of men than the quota thereof, such extra number shall be raised, officered, clothed, armed, and equipped, in the same manner as the quota of such state, unless the legislature of such state shall judge that such extra number cannot safely be spared out of the same; in which case they shall raise, officer, clothe, arm, and equip, as many of such extra number as they judge can be safely spared. And the officers and men so clothed, armed, and equipped, shall march to the place appointed, and within the time agreed on by the United States in Congress assembled.

The United States in Congress assembled shall never engage in a war, nor grant letters of marque and reprisal in time of peace, nor enter into any treaties or alliances, nor coin money, nor regulate the value thereof, nor ascertain the sums and expenses necessary for the defence and welfare of the United States or any of them, nor emit bills, nor borrow money on the credit of the United States, nor appropriate money, nor agree upon the number of vessels of war, to be built or purchased, or the number of land or sea forces to be raised, nor appoint a commander-in-chief of the army or navy, unless nine states assent to the same; nor shall a question on any other point, except for adjourning from day to day, be determined, unless by the votes of a majority of the United States in Congress assembled.

The Congress of the United States shall have power to adjourn to any time within the year, and to any place within the United States, so that no period of adjournment be for a longer duration than the space of six months; and shall publish the journal of their proceedings monthly, except such parts thereof relating to treaties, alliances, or military operations, as in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the delegates of each state on any question shall be entered on the journal, when it is desired by any delegate; and the delegates of a state or any of them, at his or their request, shall be furnished with a transcript of the said journal, except such parts as are above excepted, to lay before the legislatures of the several states.

ARTICLE 10. The committee of the states, or any nine of them, shall be authorized to execute, in the recess of Congress, such of the powers of Congress as the United States in Congress as

sembled, by the consent of nine states, shall from time to time, think expedient to vest them with; provided that no power be delegated to the said committee, for the exercise of which, by the Articles of Confederation, the voice of nine states in the Congress of the United States assembled is requisite.

ARTICLE 11. Canada, acceding to this confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into, and entitled to, all the advantages of this Union; but no other colony shall be admitted into the same unless such admission be agreed to by nine states.

ARTICLE 12. All bills of credit emitted, moneys borrowed, and debts contracted, by or under the authority of Congress, before the assembling of the United States, in pursuance of the present confederation, shall be deemed and considered as a charge against the United States, for payment and satisfaction whereof the said United States and the public faith are hereby solemnly pledged.

ARTICLE 13. Every state shall abide by the decision of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by this confederation, are submitted to them. And the articles of this confederation shall be inviolably observed by every state, and the Union shall be perpetual; nor shall any alteration at any time hereafter be made in any of them, unless such alteration be agreed to in a Congress of the United States, and be afterward confirmed by the legislature of every state.

And whereas it has pleased the great Governor of the world to incline the hearts of the legislatures we respectively represent in Congress, to approve of and to authorize us to ratify the said Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union: *know ye*, that we, the undersigned delegates, by virtue of the power and authority to us given for that purpose, do, by these presents, in the name and in behalf of our respective constituents, fully and entirely ratify and confirm each and every of the said Articles of confederation and perpetual Union, and all and singular the matters and things therein contained; and we do further solemnly plight and engage the faith of our respective constituents, that they shall abide by the determinations of the United States in Congress assembled, on all questions which, by the said confederation, are submitted to them; and that the articles thereof shall be inviolably observed by the states we respectively represent; and that the Union be perpetual.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands, in Congress. Done at Philadelphia, in the state of Pennsylvania, the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, and in the third year of the independence of America.

New Hampshire. WILLIAM CLINGAN,
JOSIAH BARTLETT, JOSEPH REED.
JOHN WENTWORTH, JR.

Massachusetts Bay. THOMAS M'KEAN,
JOHN DICKINSON,
SAMUEL ADAMS, NICHOLAS VAN DYKE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY,

Maryland. JOHN HANSON,
SAMUEL HOLTEN. DANIEL CARROLL.

Rhode Island. RICHARD HENRY LEE,
HENRY MARCHANT, JOHN BANISTER,
JOHN COLLINS. THOMAS ADAMS,
JOHN HARVIE,

Connecticut. FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT
ROGER SHERMAN, LEE.
SAMUEL HUNTINGTON,

North Carolina. JOHN PENN,
OLIVER WOLCOTT, CONSTABLE HARNETT,
TITUS HOSMER, JOHN WILLIAMS.
ANDREW ADAMS.

New York. JOHN MATTHEWS,
JAMES DUANE, RICHARD HUTSON,
FRANCIS LEWIS, THOMAS HEYWARD, JR.
WILLIAM DUER, WILLIAM HENRY DRAY
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS. TON,

New Jersey. JOHN WITHERSPOON,
NATH. SCUDDER.

Pennsylvania. JOHN WALTON,
ROBERT MORRIS, EDWARD TELFAIR,
DANIEL ROBERDEAU, ED. LANGWORTHY.
JONATH. BAYARD SMITH.

II. BATTLE OF THE KEGS.

BY FRANCIS HOPKINSON.*

GALLANTS, attend, and hear a friend,
Trill forth harmonious ditty,
Strange things I'll tell, which late befell,
In Philadelphia city.

* The Messrs. Duyckinck, in the "Cyclopadia of American Literature," (vol. i. p. 209) give an interesting account of the life and valuable services of this distinguished man. The ballad here given is one of the best known of his many effective contributions in behalf of his country's cause.

'Twas early day, as poets say,
Just when the sun was rising,
A soldier stood, on a log of wood,
And saw a thing surprising.

As in amaze he stood to gaze,
The truth can't be denied, sir,
He spied a score of kegs or more,
Come floating down the tide, sir.

A sailor, too, in jerkin blue,
This strange appearance viewing,
First damned his eyes, in great surprise,
Then said, "Some mischief's brewing.

"These kegs, I'm told, the rebels hold,
Packed up like pickled herring,
And they're come down, t' attack the town,
In this new way of ferrying."

The soldier flew, the sailor too,
And scared almost to death, sir,
Wore out their shoes to spread the news,
And ran till out of breath, sir.

Now up and down, throughout the town
Most frantic scenes were acted ;
And some ran here, and others there,
Like men almost distracted.

Some fire cried, which some denied,
But said the earth had quakéd ;
And girls and boys, with hideous noise,
Ran through the streets half naked.

Sir William, he, snug as a flea,
Lay all this time a snoring ;
Nor dreamed of harm, as he lay warm,
In bed with Mrs. Loring.

Now in a fright, he starts upright,
Awaked by such a clatter ;
He rubs his eyes, and boldly cries,
"For God's sake, what's the matter ?"

At his bedside, he then espied,
Sir Erskine at command, sir,
Upon one foot he had one boot,
And t'other in his hand, sir.

"Arise ! arise ! Sir Erskine cries,
The rebels—more's the pity—

Without a boat, are all afloat,
And rang'd before the city.

"The motley crew, in vessels new,
With Satan for their guide, sir,
Packed up in bags, or wooden kegs,
Come driving down the tide, sir.

"Therefore prepare for bloody war ;
These kegs must all be routed,
Or surely we despis'd shall be,
And British courage doubted."

The royal band, now ready stand,
All rangéd in dread array, sir,
With stomachs stout, to see it out,
And make a bloody day, sir.

The cannons roar from shore to shore,
The small arms make a rattle ;
Since wars began, I'm sure no man
Ere saw so strange a battle.

The rebel dales, the rebel vales,
With rebel trees surrounded,
The distant woods, the hills and floods,
With rebel echoes sounded.

The fish below swam to and fro,
Attack'd from every quarter ;
Why sure, thought they, the devil's to pay
'Mongst folks above the water.

The kegs, 'tis said, though strongly made
Of rebel staves and hoops, sir,
Could not oppose their powerful foes,
The conquering British troops, sir.

From morn till night, these men of might
Displayed amazing courage ;
And when the sun was fairly down,
Retired to sup their porridge.

An hundred men, with each a pen,
Or more, upon my word, sir,
It is most true would be too few,
Their valor to record, sir.

Such feats did they perform that day,
Against those wicked kegs, sir,
That years to come, if they get home,
They'll make their boasts and brags, sir.



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